ONLINE NEWS REPORTING:

A COMPARATIVE TEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF HARD NEWS LIVE BLOGS AND TRADITIONAL ONLINE NEWS ARTICLES AND A READER RESPONSE ANALYSIS USING APPRAISAL

by

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Abstract

This thesis investigates the differences between live blogs and traditional online news articles, and differences in how readers evaluate them. Building on developments in reader response studies, news media studies, and studies of evaluative language, I analysed live blogs and traditional online news articles for their structure and use of evaluative language. I show how live blogs present news events as more temporally close to the reader than traditional online news articles and ascribe evaluations of the reported news events to news actors, while traditional online news articles present evaluations of the news events more often as objective. Additionally, I conducted twenty interviews in an experimental setting with live blog or traditional online news article readers. I used qualitative linguistic analysis to investigate evaluations of the news texts and evaluations of the news events following the Appraisal framework. This analysis showed that all readers implicitly evaluated news events following news values. It also showed that readers of live blogs were more likely than traditional online news article readers to evaluate news events as affective, ascribing these evaluations to the inclusion of social media, primarily Tweets, in the live blogs.

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Chapter 1 INTRODUCTION

In 2011 John Symes, a journalist with over 30 years' experience, published a blog post arguing that liveblogging was 'the death of journalism'. Using examples from *The Guardian*'s website, he argued that the combination of short updates, unknown citizen sources, and lack of editing had led to a format that stood in contrast with journalism's core values of writing clearly and concisely with confirmed information. Symes made his claim soon after the Arab Spring had caused problems for access to information via conventional journalistic methods. News media began relying on citizen sources that were reporting on their surroundings via social media. News institutions began to draw on these sources, using live blogs, which had previously been used in sports reporting and reporting from tech conventions (Schonfeld 2008).

While not everyone agreed with Symes (2011) that live blogs were the death of journalism, many agree that the Arab Spring created a change in news reporting (Al Abdallah 2011; Wells 2011; Brown, Guskin & Mitchell 2012; Gillard 2012; Bebawi 2013). Matt Wells (2011) published a response on *The Guardian* website to Symes (2011). Wells (2011) argued that liveblogging was 'the most important journalistic development of the past year' because 'the best elements of liveblogging – how it is so transparent about sources, how it dispenses with false journalistic fripperies and embraces the audience – are so strong that, rather than foretelling the death of journalism, the live blog is surely the embodiment of its future'. This thesis investigates whether these changes, the transparency of sourcing, the use of citizen sources, the updates, have an impact on readers. Do these changes influence readers' evaluations of the reported news events? Do these changes influence readers' evaluations of the news texts?

1.1 Research Rationale

There are three main concerns that arise from the emergence of live blogs in hard news reporting and the discussions that ensued: (1) the changes in news texts between more

traditional online news articles and the newer live blogs, (2) influences of live blogs' format on reader response, (3) the analysis of evaluative language to investigate reader response. The following sections explain how these issues have arisen within academic scholarship and how this thesis will address them.

Within academic scholarship, this interest in live blogs has mostly emerged from the field of digital journalism (see for example Chadwick 2011; Thurman & Walters 2013; Thurman & Newman 2014; Hermida, Lewis & Zamith 2014; Thurman & Schapals 2016). While there has been less attention within linguistics for these changing news formats, language in news media has been a concern in many fields of linguistics such as critical discourse analysis (Van Dijk 1988a; Fairclough 1995; Machin & Mayr 2012), sociolinguistics (Bell 1991), conversation analysis (Thornborrow & Montgomery 2010) and corpus linguistics (Bednarek & Caple 2017). News media research allows us to investigate socio-political trends in societies, representation of different populations and, more specifically, investigate how news media portrays and influences its environment. Linguistic research into news media has largely been concerned with the properties of news texts. It has also made claims about the potential effects of these texts on readers. However, these claims have focused on text analysis, not empirical reader response. This thesis is aimed at addressing this gap through the analysis of reader response data to news texts. Additionally, this thesis distinguishes between evaluations of 'news texts' and evaluations of 'news events' in order to investigate the relation between the news text and the evaluations of the news event. I consider the news event as the event that took place in the real world and the news participants involved in that event. This is comparable to the 'story' in narratology discussed by Chatman (1978) with the exception that the news event is taken to be a real event whereas the fictional story referred to in narratology is constructed by the author. The news text is considered as the presentation of the event, the structure and the chosen wording. The news text constructs the newsworthiness of an event (Bednarek & Caple 2017), thereby making an event into a news event. The news text is comparable to the 'discourse' as defined by Chatman (1978), which he described as the narration of the story.

Following recent developments in digital journalism (Witschge, Anderson, Domingo & Hermida 2016; Franklin & Eldridge 2017), this thesis concentrates on online news texts, specifically live blogs and 'traditional online news articles' (Bunz 2010; Thurman & Schapals 2016: 286). Live blogs are defined as news texts which consist of 'a single blog post on a specific topic to which time-stamped content is progressively added for a finite period— anywhere between half an hour and 24 hours' (Thurman & Walters 2013: 2) and will be referred to as LB throughout this thesis. LBs can be classified as 'emergent' following Herring's (2012) three classifications of web texts: familiar, reconfigured and emergent. The format emerged on the internet from the resources and formats available online instead of being based on offline texts. Traditional online news articles are news texts which are uploaded as one complete text, bar minor edits, and use an inverted-pyramid structure exemplary of print news texts. These texts can be classified as 'familiar' (Herring 2012), as they resemble their print antecedents and will be referred to as 'TONA' throughout this thesis. Within digital journalism studies, there has been a focus on the shift in news reporting to a more personal reporting style with an increased use of audience input through social media and online reader comments (see for example Witschge, Anderson, Domingo & Hermida 2016; Franklin & Eldridge 2017). My thesis analyses how this change in news reporting, of which LBs are an example, impacts reader responses to both the reported news event and the format in which the news is presented, which I refer to as the news text.

Following the recent turn in reader response studies of focusing on 'real' readers, my thesis contributes by focusing on readers' use of evaluative language in their discussions of news events and news texts and the use of evaluative language in the news texts to which the readers respond. This method of analysis will rest on the assumption that reading is an interpretive act and therefore inherently evaluative. By using Martin and White's (2005) Appraisal[1] framework, I compare and contrast LB readers' evaluative language use and stance-taking to those of TONA readers. This method of analysis has been used to analyse

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[1] Appraisal and its categories are capitalised following Hommerberg (2015), Hommerberg & Don (2015), and Don (2017).

news texts (White 2003) as well as reader positioning in (news) texts (White 2006; Coffin & O'Halloran 2005) showing its effectiveness in investigating evaluative language in and about news. This thesis advances this work by applying the framework to 'real' reader responses, proving the usefulness of evaluative language analysis in reader response research.

The research questions this thesis answers are the following:

RQ1: How do LBs represent news events as compared to TONAs?

RQ2: How did readers evaluate the style and format of TONAs as compared to LBs?

RQ3: How did readers evaluate the reported news events in TONAs as compared to LBs?

RQ4: How far does the Appraisal system for Attitudinal evaluation and Engagement help illuminate reader response data?

1.2 Social context

With the use of social media both in news texts and as a method of sharing news, news values and perceptions of newsworthiness have changed to include an increased focus on the emotionality of news events (Chouliaraki 2015; Bednarek 2016). The inclusion of an emotional aspect of news events creates more shareable news, placing more emphasis on the affective aspect of news stories (Papacharissi 2016; Bednarek 2016). This emotionality can also be seen in the inclusion of social media within news texts, as LBs often

Figure 1.1 Use of video interviews in BBC LB on Parsons Green tube attack on 15 September 2017 (BBC.co.uk 2017)

include Tweets from the scene of the reported news event and embedded video interviews with eye witnesses. Figure 1.1 shows an example of this inclusion of multimedia. The image depicts one update of a *BBC* LB on 15 September 2017 reporting on a tube attack at Parsons Green in London. The video shows an interview with an eye-witness of the attack. Both the headline above the video and the content of the thumbnail invoke emotion as they describe the attack from a first-person perspective. This thesis is interested in the relations between inclusions like these, e.g. Tweets, and readers' evaluations and descriptions of the news events.

A second factor which makes the study of LBs particularly pertinent is the recent changes the consumption of news. In the USA, the internet has been the main source of news for internet users since 2013 (Newman et al. 2017). Globally, this is true for internet users between 18 and 44 years old, while internet users aged 45 and upwards use television as their main news source (Newman et al. 2017). This thesis concentrates on news readers who use internet as their main news source, with respondents aged between 18 and 30 years old. UK citizens with internet access, together with Finland, Norway and Sweden, most commonly find their news via news websites of established news institutions (Newman et al. 2017). *BBC*.co.uk is visited most by UK residents, with 47 per cent of internet users visiting at least once a week. The *Guardian*.co.uk is in second place, with 14 per cent of internet users visiting at least once a week (Newman et al. 2017). The main reasons given by *BBC* news readers for using *BBC*.co.uk for news consumption is that the news provided is 'accurate and reliable' (Newman et al. 2017), signalling some trust in established news institutions.

Finally, following a recent interest in 'fake news' (Lazer et al. 2018) and misinformation campaigns online, I believe it is crucial to investigate how readers may be affected by different formats of news texts. This is of concern to media literacy scholars, following Potter (2004: 58) who defines media literacy as 'the set of perspectives from which we expose ourselves to the media and interpret the meaning of the messages we encounter'. My research is particularly interested in the second part of his definition: how readers interpret messages and

how news texts may relate to these interpretations. As readers are exposed to news texts, they may 'act in a media-literate manner' (Potter 2004: 61) by carefully scrutinising the news text. Lazer et al. (2018) suggest that improving media literacy, which includes knowledge of news production as well as news consumption (Ashley, Maksl & Craft 2013: 13), may help to 'empower individuals' to critically evaluate news texts. My research contributes to this field by investigating in linguistic detail how evaluations of news events may be related to LBs and TONAs.

This thesis investigates online news consumption, focusing specifically on new online news formats and how these live blogs may relate to readers' evaluations of reported news events. As online news consumption grows, so will LB audiences, making it crucial to understand the potential impact of these news formats on their viewers and readers.

1.3 Structure of Thesis

This thesis consists of eleven chapters. The current chapter has introduced the research including the social context, the research rationale and my research questions. Chapters Two and Three provide the research context. Chapter Two discusses previous research in linguistic approaches to news media (section 2.1.1), current research into online news media (sections 2.1.2 and 2.1.3) and developments in reader response theory (section 2.2). Chapter Three outlines the theory behind my methodological approach. It begins by discussing traditions in the analysis of evaluative language (section 3.1), containing accounts of narrative evaluation (section 3.1.1), sociolinguistics (section 3.1.2), systemic functional linguistics (section 3.1.3), and stance-taking (sections 3.1.4 and 3.1.5). I follow that with an overview of the Appraisal framework (section 3.2), current directions in Appraisal research (section 3.3) and the use of Appraisal analysis for reader response research (section 3.4). Chapter Four outlines my methodology, including data collection (section 4.3) and data analysis (sections 4.4 and 4.5). My first analysis chapter is Chapter Five, which analyses the news texts used in my reader response data collection. It provides an overview of LB features (section 5.1.1) and general

structure of the news texts (section 5.1.2). I then analyse the use of Appraisal in the news texts (section 5.2). This chapter answers research question one. Chapters Six to Nine analyse my reader response data. These chapters are all structured following the subcategories of the Appraisal framework. Chapter Six analyses Attitudinal Appraisal in respondents' evaluations of the news texts. Chapter Seven analyses Engagement in respondents' evaluations of the news texts. These chapters combined answer research question two. Chapter Eight analyses Attitudinal Appraisal in respondents' evaluations of the news events. Chapter Nine analyses Engagement in respondents' evaluations of the news events. These chapters together address research question three. Chapter Ten synthesises the results from chapters Five to Nine and re-states the answers to research questions one, two and three and answers research question four. Finally, I conclude my thesis in Chapter Eleven, providing my results and the implications of my results for scholars of linguistics, reader response, digital media as well as professional journalists.

Chapter 2 NEWS MEDIA & READER RESPONSE RESEARCH

2.0 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to introduce the theoretical background in which my research is grounded. I begin with linguistic research focused on news media, showing how the evolving trends and developments in this field have points of continuity and contrast that inform the study of LBs. In order to analyse 'new' news media in this research, it is imperative to discuss news media research which forms the basis for current new media research and which is, in some cases, still applicable to new media. Section 2.1 discusses research on news media within linguistics, moving from sociolinguistics and critical discourse analysis to the focus on news values in critical discourse analysis and computer-assisted discourse studies. I will explore more recent news media research and identify its application to research into reader response and online news reporting. In section 2.2 I will discuss the theoretical background to reception studies research within linguistics. Focusing on the divide between naturalistic and empirical reader studies, as used in stylistics, this section will explore how reader response studies has developed over time and how it is applicable to the current research.

2.1 Directions in News Media Research

Due to the amount of freely accessible data available, news media provides opportunities for a variety of research. As news media is commonly considered to be agenda-setting and agenda-shaping it can be used to analyse current political, social and economic climates (McCombs & Shaw 1972). In recent years, with a shift towards digital journalism, citizen journalism and news reporting via social media networks, this assumed power of news media has been questioned but research showed that this power remains with elite news actors, both inside and outside news institutions (Scheufele & Tewksbury 2007; Meraz 2009; Skogerbø, Bruns, Quodling & Ingebretsen 2016).

2.1.1 Linguistic Approaches to News Media Research

The field of linguistics has examined news media using a broad range of approaches and methods. The following section will discuss four linguistic approaches to news media research that were key in the development of the field. Following Bednarek and Caple's (2012) brief outline of news media studies, each approach will be discussed in chronological order. Moving from a sociolinguistic approach, with a focus on Bell's (1991) work *The Language of News Media*, to a critical discourse analysis approach focusing on Van Dijk (1988a; 1988b), Fowler (1991), Fairclough (1995) and Richardson (2007), I will then discuss more recent approaches to news media studies relevant to my research. Finally, this section discusses news values, specifically work by Galtung and Ruge (1965), Bell (1991), Bednarek (2006) and Bednarek and Caple (2014; 2017).

2.1.1.1 Sociolinguistics

Sociolinguistic and critical linguistic approaches to news media started developing at the same time in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Where critical discourse analysis was focused on analysing text ideologies, sociolinguistic work was concentrated around development of linguistic practices within the genre of news media texts. Bell's (1991) work *The Language of News Media* is considered to be one of most comprehensive research pieces on language in news media. It covers the three stages of news media: production, consumption and the news texts. While the methods of studying news media have developed since its publication, the overview of news media and its language has been applicable since (Bell & Garrett 1998; Dor 2003; Landert 2014). Bell (1991) starts with an analysis of the production of news, demonstrating how Goffman's (1981) three-part division of 'the speaker' functions in news media language. The animator, or 'the talking machine', the author, or the person who wrote the utterance, and the principal, or the person 'whose beliefs have been told' or 'whose position is established by the words' (Goffman 1981: 144) are all part of the production of news: the animator as the news presenter, the author as the reporter, editor or analyst and

the principal as the news institution as a whole. Therefore Bell (1991: 52-3) argues that news should be analysed as 'embedded talk'. He states that the process of transforming a news event into a news text involves multiple stages of transformation by multiple people (see also Schudson 1989). What is considered to be 'news' is the resulting news text, not the initial news event. As Bell (1991: 53) states, 'news is what people say more than what people do', stressing the importance of linguistic analysis of news texts.

Bell (1991: 168-9) also discussed the structure of traditional news media, using the term 'inverted pyramid' to describe the style of news texts (see also Schudson 1989; Pöttker 2003). Comparing news structure to Labov's (1972) narrative structure, he sets out how news texts move from the main points of the news event, or the abstract, through progressively less important information. This structure has been used in most, if not all, forms of traditional print news media and is therefore the schema of news media that consumers of news possess (Van Dijk 1988a: 151; Zhang & Liu 2016), though it has recently been suggested that this may not be true for Arabic contexts (Makki & White 2018). If news producers create reports that depart from this structure this could cause problems in comprehension and understanding of news as shown in literary research (Brewer & Lichtenstein 1980; Thorndyke 1977) and more recently in audience studies to news media (Machill, Köhler & Waldhauser 2007; Zhang & Liu 2016).

2.1.1.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

Developing concurrently to Bell's (1991) sociolinguistic approach, research into news media took a critical discourse analytical approach (Van Dijk 1988a; 1988b; Fowler 1991; Fairclough 1995). Van Dijk (1988a; 1988b), Fowler (1991) and Fairclough (1995) believed socio-economic and political contexts to be crucial for their understanding of, often hidden, presentations of reality in news media.

Like Bell (1991), Van Dijk (1988a; 1988b) was concerned with both the production and consumption of news media (1988a) as well as the pervasiveness of ideological perspectives within news media (1988b). However, in contrast to Bell (1991), Van Dijk's work on news consumption took an experimental approach. He (1988a) argued that readers have fixed schemas of news texts and the disruption or change of these schemas can lead to a decrease in understanding and recall of the news events. Van Dijk's (1988a) experimental research focused on Dutch readers of two national Dutch newspapers. Researchers approached members of the public and, if the approached person read one of the two newspapers that morning, asked them to re-tell any news events they had read about. The experiment also included a recall task which took place several days after reading the news text. Van Dijk (1988a: 168-70) found that headlines and leads were recalled most easily, concluding that the inverted pyramid structure plays a crucial role in both immediate and delayed recall of news events. He (1988a: 170) also found that general knowledge of socio-political contexts aids the memorisation of news, leading into his work focused on representation in news (1988b).

Van Dijk's (1988b) work 'News Analysis' began to emphasise more strongly his ideological critique of the news, focusing on the presentation of different social and ethnic groups within Dutch news. Using a variety of linguistic tools such as metaphor, lexical description of actors, and clause structure, Van Dijk (1988b: 292) showed how 'the representation of the powerless' in news media can 'legitimise their subjugation'. Most interesting for the current research is Van Dijk's (1988b) perspective on active and passive access to news. He (1988b: 191-2) showed that minority groups in the Netherlands were less likely to be directly quoted, even in news about minority groups, meaning they only had passive access to news. This was in opposition to 'white autochthonous Dutch' speakers who had active access to the news through interviews and direct speech presentation (Van Dijk 1988b). These ideas of access are still relevant in today's digital journalism as it has become easier to include the perspective of a number of diverse voices in news reporting through the

inclusion of social media (Hermida 2016; Chouliaraki 2017; Wall 2017; Gulýas 2017). News media however is still dominated by 'elite sources' (Hermida 2017: 409).

Fowler (1991: 1) begins his work by stating that it 'is a study of how language is used in newspapers to form ideas and beliefs' and that 'language is not neutral, but a highly constructive mediator'. These ideas built on work in sociology, where Tuchman (1978) had argued that news is a 'construction of reality'. Fowler (1991) argued that news institutions consider themselves to be objective reporters of news, who have no impact on the understanding or evaluation of the news by their audiences (see also Schudson 1989 for a journalism perspective). He (1991) supported Van Dijk's (1988b) ideas that in reality, news reporting is biased through its linguistic choices which can be analysed using linguistic tools such as foregrounding, lexical choices and Halliday's (1976) meta-functions of language. By analysing the use of interpersonal, ideational and textual functions of language within news media, Fowler (1991) analysed how the implied or ideal reader is guided towards a specific ideology.

This critical approach to news media was echoed by Fairclough (1995) in his work focused on mass media texts developing 'critical media literacy'. He (1995: 202-3) included more linguistic tools, arguing that the analysis of intertextuality, representations of actors, processes, and identities as well as images, and the inclusion of context of the news text, is crucial in developing a 'critical literacy of media language'. Richardson (2007) applied this analysis to newspapers to analyse the presentation of war and the 'othering' of minorities in news media.

While CDA approaches have furthered the linguistic analysis of the news media significantly, there has been criticism of the approach (Stubbs 1994; 2001; Toolan 1997; Widdowson 2000; Breeze 2011). CDA has been criticised for its lack of systematic, linguistic analysis and its limited data sets (Stubbs 1994; Toolan 1997; Widdowson 2000). Stubbs (1994) argued that grammatical analysis, specifically computerised grammatical analysis, can increase reliability of analyses. Widdowson (2000) added that no linguistic analysis could

account for both the intentionality of the text and the interpretation of the text by readers. Stubbs' (2001: 169) response to Widdowson's article, which also included criticism on corpus linguistics, re-affirmed the importance of 'textual interpretation', signalling a need for further investigations into 'evaluative and Attitudinal meanings' established in texts. Additionally, Critical Discourse Analysis has been criticised for its lack of methodological rigour and the ability for researchers to 'cherry-pick' texts to uncover predetermined phenomena (Partington, Duguid & Taylor 2013; Baker & McEnery 2015). A more recent turn in critical discourse analysis, corpus-assisted discourse studies, aims to combat this criticism as it includes corpus based analyses.

2.1.1.3 News Values

News values were first established by Galtung and Ruge (1965) who studied international news reporting in Norwegian newspapers. They found twelve 'news values' which determined the newsworthiness of an event. These included frequency, unambiguity, meaningfulness, unexpectedness, references to elite persons or nations, and negativity. Galtung and Ruge (1965) took a content analysis approach, focusing on what characteristics reported news events shared in order to determine what makes an event 'news'. Within linguistics, news values have not received much attention over time (Bednarek & Caple 2014). Most notable are Bell (1991), Cotter (2010) and Bednarek and Caple (Bednarek 2006; Bednarek & Caple 2014; 2017). Bell (1991) was the first to establish that news values can be highlighted through discourse choices in news texts. Bell (1991: 155) equated news values to the 'often unconscious criteria by which newsworkers make their professional judgements' about the newsworthiness of an event. He also emphasised that news values are inherently ideological as they 'reflect ideologies and priorities held in society' (Bell 1991: 156). Bednarek (2006) extended on this assumption by taking into consideration how evaluative language may influence the construction of news values in news discourse. This suggests that the analysis of evaluative language may be used to reveal how news is valued and can therefore be

important in establishing how audiences judge newsworthiness. This provides a new perspective on news value research, as most research has concentrated on how news producers judge news values and how texts construct news values (Bell 1991; Cotter 2010). Cotter (2010) for example took an ethnographic approach as she studied the production of news from inside newsrooms, interviewing journalists to uncover decisions about newsworthiness. Most recently Bednarek and Caple (2014; 2017) have developed DNVA, discursive news value analysis. This includes the study of the construction of newsworthiness in the discourse of news texts and the images in news texts (Potts, Bednarek & Caple 2015).

My main concern lies with which news values exist in texts and how readers respond to these news values. As Bednarek and Caple's (2017) approach is the broadest yet, including analyses of both text and images from a corpus of news texts, I follow the news values identified by them. Bednarek and Caple (2017: 55) list eleven news values. They are presented in table 2.1 with their definition included.

News Value	Definition
aesthetic appeal	'The event is discursively constructed as beautiful (visuals only)'
consonance	'The event is discursively constructed as (stereo)typical'
eliteness	'The event is discursively constructed as of high status or fame'
impact	'The event is discursively constructed as having significant effects or consequences'
negativity	'The event is discursively constructed as negative'
personalisation	'The event is discursively constructed as having a personal or 'human' face'
positivity	'The event is discursively constructed as positive'
proximity	'The event is discursively constructed as geographically or culturally near'
superlativeness	'The event is discursively constructed as being of high intensity or large scope'
timeliness	'The event is discursively constructed as timely in relation to the publication date'
unexpectedness	'The event is discursively constructed as unexpected'

Table 2.1 News Values as Identified by Bednarek & Caple (2017: 55)

While this approach by Bednarek and Caple (2017) takes into account a wide variety of news stories, some news values contain multiple categories. They (2017: 56) admit that certain news values can be further separated such as proximity, which can be divided into cultural and geographical proximity, or timeliness, which may refer to recency or seasonality. The proximity distinction specifically is important in my research as social proximity increases with the inclusion of direct speech (Caldas-Coulthard 1994) and the embedding of social media (Landert 2014). This suggests that LBs may present news with increased social proximity as opposed to TONAs which are said to include fewer instances of direct speech and social media (Thurman 2015).

2.1.2 New Directions in Journalism Studies

In the age of the internet, journalism is increasingly moving online. From online sourcing to online reporting, journalism studies are evolving with the development of digital journalism studies. Deuze (2003) characterises online news through three parts: (1) hypertextuality, the inclusion of hyperlinks, (2) multimediality, the inclusion of multiple media forms within one news text, (3) interactivity, the ability of news texts to adjust to individual readers. The largest shift in digital news however, is increased active access for readers (Thurman & Hermida 2010; Papacharissi & de Fatima Oliveira 2012; Russell 2016). Whereas in print journalism, readers only had access to the text as it was published, readers of online news texts have the ability to participate, produce and adapt different types of online news texts. This creates interdependency between producers and audience that is specific and new to digital journalism (Chadwick 2011; Wolover 2016).

The following section discusses how changes in digital journalism affect news production and news consumption. It explores the place of the audience in the news production process. As citizens have varying access to the news, so there are varying forms of journalism. This section focuses in particular on citizen journalism and participatory journalism. Then, it discusses the personalisation of news, and its different forms. Drawing on

Deuze's (2003) types of interactivity, it explores how this affects online news reporting. This section concludes with a discussion of affective journalism. While not limited to digital journalism, affective journalism has increased due to journalists' increasing access via social media to personal narratives of citizens and the inclusion of these narratives in news texts.

2.1.2.1 Citizens in the News Production Process

As noted in my introduction, many researchers hail the Arab Spring as the spark for the increased development of citizen journalism (Allagui & Kuebler 2011; Lotan et al. 2011; Khondker 2011; Russell 2016). News institutions relied on reports from citizens 'on the ground' via social media because journalists were limited in their ability to enter countries in Northern Africa (Russell 2016). This inclusion of citizen sources has since become more standard in online news reporting, taking different forms. These forms are distinguished by the production power given to sources. Citizens can either produce their own content or participate through media-established facilities (Hermida 2010; Shao 2009). While some research includes all participatory actions of 'ordinary' people as citizen journalism (Goode 2009), I follow the distinction where the former is generally considered 'citizen journalism', while the latter is part of 'participatory or ambient journalism' (Hermida & Thurman 2008; Thurman & Hermida 2010; Borger, Van Hoof & Sanders 2016). Citizen journalism is initiated by citizens, for citizens, without interference of news institutions (Thurman & Hermida 2010; Borger, Van Hoof & Sanders 2016). It can include minority voices and can be seen as acting against the Western centralisation of news (Chouliaraki 2010). This is also referred to as 'produsage', citizen journalism concerned with news production lead by users (Bruns 2008; Papacharissi 2014).

Participatory journalism on the other hand, is part of established news institutions. It includes *The Guardian*'s 'Have Your Say', where readers can write an opinion piece which is consequently selected, edited, processed and published on *The Guardian*'s website. The power remains with the established news media. It is comparable to Hermida's 'ambient journalism' which 'delivers a fragmented mix of information, enlightenment, entertainment, and

engagement from a range of sources' (Hermida, Lewis & Zamith 2014: 428). Common in digital news reporting is the inclusion of Tweets from citizen witnesses (Allan 2016). These are citizens who did not 'seek out the news' but incidentally witnessed an event (Allan 2016: 276). Citizen witnesses can inform audiences and news institutions through social media, or through direct contact with journalists. Social media sources tend to be appropriated by news institutions, as citizens do not usually Tweet specifically for the inclusion in news reports (Chouliaraki 2010). While citizen witnesses can provide information about the news event, they are primarily used to illustrate the event (Van Leuven, Heinrich & Deprez 2015). This is not limited to Twitter as other social media like Snapchat also include user uploads in Snapchat's own news stories.

While digital journalism appears to equalise citizens and journalists, it should not be considered as a 'flattened hierarchy' (Hänska Ahy 2016: 101). Citizen journalism may be agenda-setting but the traditional power of verification and the construction of news values remains mostly with news institutions (Chadwick 2011; Hänska Ahy 2016).

2.1.2.2 Personalisation of News

Digital news reporting is becoming increasingly personal (Hermida 2016: 83). Thurman and Shifferes (2012) define personalisation of news as a form of interactivity, which can be divided into three types: (1) navigational interactivity, (2) functional interactivity, and (3) adaptive interactivity (Deuze 2003). Navigational interactivity allows the user to control their movement through the news website or the news article. This type of interactivity has also been approached from a linguistic perspective under the title of hypermodality (Lemke 2002). Hypermodality however contains a stronger focus on the interaction of multimodal elements to create meaning in hypertexts whereas navigational interactivity refers to the usage of these hyperlinks by readers. Functional interactivity allows the user to participate in the news, for example through the comment section below news texts. Adaptive interactivity refers to the alteration of news websites based on users' previous interactions with the website (Deuze

2003). News can be personalised to suit the users' preferences and interests. Personalisation of news is also evolving in its presentation and language use. Specifically network journalism, a mix between established and social media sources, provides 'a widening perspective' including more personal narratives from social media users (Van Leuven, Heinrich & Deprez 2015: 577).

Landert (2014) investigated language and multimedia use by news reporters to personalise mass media communication. She includes audience interaction, imagery, news actors, direct speech and personal pronouns. Landert (2014) argues that the increased use of 'ordinary' news actors, direct speech, which decreases the distance between the speaker and the hearer, and first and second personal pronouns, creates personalisation of news intended for mass audiences. Some of these personalisation strategies have been found to exist more in LBs than other forms of online news reporting. This increased personalisation leads to journalism with increasing affective impact on the audience (Allan 2016).

2.1.2.3 Affective Journalism

The personalisation of news through the telling of personal narratives is part of affective journalism. Boltanski (1999: 66) divides news into two parts: an emotional narrative increasing reader engagement and objective information increasing reader judgement. This division is echoed in the definition of affective news, which includes a focus on news as well as emotion (Papacharissi & de Fatima Oliveira 2012; Papacharissi 2014). Interest in the emotionality in news is not new to digital journalism. Tuchman (1978) discussed the implicit nature of emotionality in the news. She argued that journalists use quotations to convey emotional impact to remain an objective, emotionally uninvolved reporter (Tuchman 1978: 122-3; White 2006). Wahl-Jorgenson (2012: 130) named this 'the outsourcing of emotional labour'.

In digital journalism, this outsourcing takes place primarily through citizen witnesses on social media (Allan 2016). Papacharissi (2014) shows that retweets rarely contribute

information, instead adding personal and emotional narratives. These are then in turn appropriated by LBs and other forms of networked journalism (Chouliaraki 2010). Stories containing these emotional narratives are more likely to be shared, causing emotionality to become 'a form of news currency' (Myrick & Wojdynski 2016: 2076-7). In addition, emotional news narratives increase active responses from audience for example in the form of monetary donations (Wahl-Jorgenson 2012). While researchers have investigated the increased response rate associated with affective journalism, there has been a lack of focus on the linguistic responses of readers and the impact of affective journalism on their description of and evaluations of reported news events.

2.1.2.4 Convergence

Digital journalism can also be characterised by its transmediality, which Jansson and Lindell (2015: 82) define as 'the increasingly inter-connected and open-ended circulation of media content between various platforms, where social agents are increasingly involved in the production of flows'. Transmediality or 'convergence' (Jenkins 2004; Jenkins & Deuze 2006) manifests on multiple levels. Consumers can access media through a variety of platforms and devices such as computers, cell phones, print or radio. Additionally, the media itself can be presented in various forms through audio and visual channels. The convergence, or coming together, of a range of technologies allows consumers to access what they want, in the forms they choose. This level of access and choice alters the power dynamics of the media landscape: where consumers used to be passive, they now hold power to set the agenda by choosing what they consume.

Additionally, the forms of media available for producing and consuming the news have changed. The range of technologies and access available to consumers has led to 'the responsibility of choice shifting from technical and economic, to moral, social and emotional concerns' (Madianou & Miller 2012: 171). Media and, of particular concern to my research, news outlets have started to draw on a range of mediated sources for their personal stories

and reactions to events which are then incorporated into the news reporting as discussed earlier (Van Leuven, Heinrich & Deprez 2015). LBs are a key example of both convergence or transmediality, and what Madianou and Miller (2012) call 'polymedia', which concentrates on the interpersonal shifts due to transmediality, as LBs consist of a mix of technologies and sources. LBs include information presented through other platforms such as Twitter, news agencies, YouTube or other news institutions. These different media converge within one platform: the LB to be presented as one news text.

2.1.3 Live Blogs

LBs combine the emotionality of affective journalism with the personalisation of news through a mix of updates and voices in one news text. They have been hailed as 'news' new front page' (Beckett 2010: 3) and 'a crucible in digital journalism' (Thurman & Schapals 2016: 1). A *BBC* journalist even stated that LBs 'transformed the way we think about news, our sourcing, everything' (in Thurman & Schapals 2016: 1). The *Guardian*, one of the UK's leading news institutions, publishes around 149 LBs per month (Thurman & Walters 2013). Fifteen per cent of consumers read LBs on a regular basis and readers of online news spend more time on LBs than any other online news format (Thurman & Walters 2013; Thurman 2015). It has become the default news format for breaking news stories and 'outperforms all other online journalism sources' (Thurman 2013: 3, 85). Beckett (2010: 4) attributes LBs' popularity to the fact that they meet the audience's 'demand for immediacy, reflection, context and diversity', as they mix sources, media, tone and content into one continually updated platform. The increasing use by both producers and consumers of this new format warrants further research.

2.1.3.1 Production

LBs are generally produced by multiple journalists who can reside in different locations (Thurman & Rodgers 2014; Steensen 2014). Its characteristics include speed of reporting, informal tone, the use of first and second person pronouns and transparency in corrections of

previously published information (Thurman & Walters 2013; Tereszkiewicz 2014; Thurman & Schapals 2016). There has been limited research into LBs, with most research conducted by Thurman. This indicates a need for more researchers to investigate LBs and their effects on readers.

LBs are produced using online software. Journalists can instantaneously update the LB, embed social media, and see how many users are reading the LB. The software is restrictive in that only one person can edit a LB at a time, which limits editing before publication of updates (Hoekman in personal communication 2013). LBs tend to rely on known sources, though some reporters include unverified information (Thurman 2015a). This happens mostly during breaking news reporting. If unverified information is added, the journalist will clearly label the information as unverified and provide updates when new information is received (Thurman 2015a). It should be noted however that not all journalists agree with the practice of including unverified information and it is ultimately decided by the reporter updating the LB (Thurman 2015a: 7). Citizen witnesses are included in LBs, specifically when limited information is available through established sources (Thurman & Rodgers 2014). Witness reports that are 'concrete, emotionally interesting, and imagery-producing' are included more regularly to cover the emotional narrative that journalists will not provide (Thurman 2015b: 360). While LBs include a variety of sources and media, they tend to be more homogenous across different media outlets than expected from polyvocal texts. LB producers will re-produce material from other news institutions as the audience demands regular, verified updates on developing situations (Chouliaraki 2010: 308).

2.1.3.2 Textual Features

LBs are considered examples of networked journalism because they exhibit specific textual features: hyperlinks, polyvocality, multimediality and informality. Each of these features is key to networked journalism as their combination results in a text with a variety of sources. LBs consist of short updates and follow a reverse-chronological structure, with the newest update

at the top of the page. Each update contains different information through various multimedia: summary headlines, Tweets, videos, third party content, and breaking information. The updates also contain a 'generous use of hyperlinks' (Thurman & Walters 2013: 3). Andrew Sparrow, author of political LBs, even stated that hyperlinks are 'the essence of LBs' (in Thurman 2015: 4). Hyperlinks appear throughout the text and allow users to trace quotations, videos or photographs to its original place of publication. LBs also contain five-and-a-half times more multimedia elements than TONAs (Thurman & Schapals 2016). They provide the reader with navigational interactivity not only within the news institution's website but onto other publications and social media sources, contributing to the polyvocality of LBs.

Breaking news LBs are more likely to include citizen sources than traditional news articles (Thurman & Rodgers 2014; Van Leuven, Heinrich & Deprez 2015). Thurman and Schapals (2016: 289) conducted 'a content analysis of 75 LBs, 842 online articles, and 148 print articles … across six UK national news publishers'. They found that LBs used direct speech in 68 per cent of polyvocal instances, while TONAs used direct speech in 57 per cent of polyvocal instances. This percentage was lower at 54 per cent for print articles (Thurman & Schapals 2016: 289). Use of direct speech has been shown to increase vividness of the speaker and the reported speech (Yao, Belin & Scheepers 2011; Groenewold, Bastiaanse, Nickels & Huiskes 2014). This has also been investigated in news texts, as Caldas-Coulthard (1994) argued that some reporting verbs may appear objective but will have a different effect on meaning when compared to the use of other reporting verbs. The increase in direct speech also increases the emotional content as citizen sources are primarily used for eye-witness reports (Thurman 2015b). This suggests that the increased use of direct speech in LBs combined with its use of citizen sources and hyperlinks, could increase the news texts' impact on the readers' evaluation of vividness of reporting.

It should be noted that some research has indicated that Tweets in LBs are primarily professional sources, such as journalists, news agencies or other news publishers (Meraz 2009; Chouliaraki 2015). Chouliaraki (2015) qualified Tweets in LBs as one of two categories:

civilian witnesses and professional witnesses. Civilian witnesses are witnesses who report news events from a personal capacity. Professional witnesses report from their professional capacity as journalists, spokespeople or doctors for example, reporting indirectly, relaying experiences of citizens, or directly, relaying their own experiences. While the reporter's voice contains primarily categorical language, the eye-witness reports add 'liveness' (Chouliaraki 2010). This was investigated further by Tereszkiewicz (2014) who identified specific linguistic features used to create 'liveness' in LBs.

Tereszkiewicz (2014) identified seven discourse elements within hard news LBs: (1) interactional elements, (2) reporter voice, (3) 'the news at work', (4) intertextuality and polyvocality, (5) closing, (6) opening and (7) headlines and leads. The interactivity, intertextuality and polyvocality increase the emotionality and personalisation of the LBs. The reporter voice, 'the news at work', the closing, the opening and the headlines and leads increase the 'liveness' and informality of LBs. The opening, closing, headlines and leads set the LB in its temporal space, aided by the inclusion of time stamps on updates. The opening and closing of the LBs increase the informal tone as reporters introduce themselves and directly address the reader to welcome them to the LB. This use of first and second personal pronouns has been shown to increase personalisation (Landert 2014). The reporter voice and the 'news at work' increase the assumed transparency of the LBs. Tereszkiewicz's (2014) 'news at work' updates include unverified information, which is flagged by the reporters as unverified and to be updated once confirmed, and corrections to previously published information. The reporter voice includes statements from the reporter, for example through the use of first person pronouns and reporter's evaluations and subjectivity. These expressions include 'markers of concession, modal verbs and evaluative vocabulary' (Tereszkiewicz 2014: 313).

The inclusion of increased personalisation, subjectivity, interactivity, multimediality and emotionality in LBs as compared to TONAs may have effects on the reader. Each of these has the potential to impact reader's responses to both the text and the news event. While

consumption habits of LB readers has been studied thoroughly (Thurman & Walters 2013; Thurman & Newman 2014; Thurman & Rodgers 2014), there has yet to be research conducted on consumers' evaluations of LBs and the influence of this new format on consumers' evaluations of news events (Thurman & Schapals 2016: 283).

2.2 Reader Response Theory

The field of reader response theory contains many approaches to the study of reading. These approaches vary from theoretical studies of readers to experimental studies of readers. While all focus on some aspect of reading, reader response studies tend to differentiate themselves by three aspects: what is being read, who the reader is and what the best method of studying this reader is (Riddle Harding 2014). The following section will explore these three aspects of reader response studies and surrounding fields such as reader response criticism, media response theory and reception studies.

2.2.1 The development of reader response theory

The first explorations into the study of reading emerged in response to formalism (Riddle Harding 2014). Reader response critics found that formalists' sole focus on the text did not provide an answer to the meaning of a text. Fish (1970; 1980) believed that meaning was only constructed by the reader and that as the reader continued reading a text, meaning continued to change. This approach to the study of reading grew in importance in the 1970s (Riddle Harding 2014: 69) with scholars such as Fetterley (1977), Iser (1974) and Fish (1980) publishing works on their interpretations of reader response criticism. Each took a separate approach, the impact of which can still be found in today's reader response studies.

Iser (1974) focused his reader response criticism on the relationship between the author and the reader of the text. He believed that meaning is co-constructed by both producer and consumer and the true meaning lies between both. Iser (1974) named his reader the

'implied reader'. Fetterley (1977) applied a feminist approach, developing the concept of the 'resisting reader'. She believed it could not be assumed that readers will accept the position put forth by texts. Fetterley (1977) challenged the notion of texts containing one meaning, including influences of social context into the meaning making process. Fish (1970; 1980) took what can be considered as the most oppositional approach to formalism as he believed meaning could not and did not exist without a reader. He argued that reader response critics should not analyse the meaning nor content of a text, but what the text 'does' (Fish 1970: 124-6). This included the creation of attitudes and beliefs within a reader. Fish names his reader 'the informed reader' (1970: 145). This was a reader who was fully competent in the language of the text, both grammatically and semantically, and had 'literary competence' meaning the reader understood uses of figurative language for example (Fish 1970: 145).

While the approaches to reader response were a revolt against an overt focus on the text instead of the reader, none of the research included studies of real readers. Instead, reader response criticism was based on the text itself (Allington & Swann 2009: 221). In response to this text-focused reader response criticism, an ethnographic approach to reader response developed, studying readers' behaviour at home (Boyarin 1992). As ethnographic reading studies continued to develop into the 1990s, reader response theory evolved to include empirical methodologies (Klemenz-Belgardt 1981; Van Peer 1983; Miall & Kuiken 1994; 1998).

In the late 2000s, reader response studies began to concentrate on using experimental settings to study reading. Researchers used 'textoids': small researcher-constructed sections of text created to study specific textual features (Miall & Kuiken 1998; Peplow & Carter 2014). These types of studies were named as reception studies and focused on 'interpretive practices' as 'mobilised by specific texts' (Allington & Pihlaja 2016: 202). The experimental methods garnered criticism for researcher influence through researcher-created text and a lack of study of 'natural' reading (Hall 2009; Allington & Swann 2009; Peplow & Carter 2014). In response, there have been a growing number of researchers focused on the 'naturalistic

study of reading' (Peplow & Carter 2014: 442). This has resulted in studies of book groups (Peplow 2011), online book reviews (Nuttall 2017) and online discussion forums (Thomas & Round 2016).

Allington and Swann (2009) identify four traditions within current reader response studies: (1) empirical literary studies, (2) media reception studies, (3) ethnographic studies, and (4) studies of the history of reading. Riddle Harding (2014: 74-8) identifies six approaches, including more recent developments in reader response studies such as cognitive reader response studies and queer reader response studies. My research is grounded in media reception studies. As the research I undertake in this thesis is grounded in a 'real' readers approach to reader response theory, the following section will discuss the assumptions underlying this approach as well as criticism it has received.

2.2.2 The study of real readers

The study of 'real' reader response is based on the assumption that to understand reading practices, research needs to study real readers. This has been done through two methodological approaches: empirical and naturalistic. In my research, I take an empirical approach to the study of reader response. Therefore, I will first discuss naturalistic approaches to reader response theory to outline this field of study and identify problems with this field in terms of the study of online news media. I will then outline the field of empirical reader response theory, identify criticism this field has received and argue for its use in the current study.

2.2.2.1 Naturalistic studies of real readers

Peplow and Carter (2014: 441-2) use the term 'naturalistic study of reading' to encompass qualitative studies of readers who are discussing reading in a natural environment. This approach to the study of reading grew from criticism of an empirical approach to reader

response studies, as it was argued that empirical studies provided no insight into naturalistic reading (Allington & Swann 2009; Hall 2009). Currently, this field of research also includes the study of readers' online book reviews (Whiteley 2010; Nuttall 2017), online book and fan-fiction forums (Thomas 2007; Thomas & Round 2016), news website reader comments (Neurauter-Kessels 2011) as well as other forms of online reader interaction such as blogs, fanfiction and chatrooms (see 'Researching Readers Online' project by Thomas & Round 2017).

Naturalistic reader response research focuses on analysing 'the-reader-in-talk' (Benwell 2009; Hall 2009; Myers 2009), meaning the ways in which the reader, the reading experience and the text are constructed in discussions about reading. Through the study of 'natural conversations around fiction' (Eriksson Barajas 2015: 5), the researcher can analyse how readers co-construct an interpretation of their reading experience (Hall 2009: 335). This style of reader response theory relies on the assumption that reading is an inherently 'social activity' (Thomas & Round 2016: 242) as it studies how reading is constructed in groups. This method of analysing reader response is often praised for its limited influence of the researcher on the data (Allington & Swann 2009; Peplow & Carter 2014; Nuttall 2017), however it has also prompted two main forms of criticism.

Firstly, studying reading-in-talk provides no understanding of the act of reading itself, in its 'originary moment' (Benwell 2009: 300). Naturalistic studies of reading analyse data that is produced after the reading has taken place. This is not a concern for my research however, as my study is not aimed at investigating the act of reading itself but the influence of texts on readers. Secondly, when studying reading-in-talk, the researcher is led by the participants' concerns with the text, not aspects of the text as selected by the researcher (Nuttall 2017). While this is invaluable research, it can transpire that the research becomes increasingly concerned with communities of practice, and the construction of a group identity (Benwell 2009; Peplow 2011). As readers of news do not naturally come together to discuss specific news texts similarly to book groups, and online news comments do not accurately represent

the news texts' audiences (Steensen 2014: 1203), there are few natural settings which can be used for a naturalistic reader response study in news media.

For these reasons, the following section will discuss how empirical methods have been used to study reader response and provide arguments for why this method is applicable to the current research.

2.2.2.2 Empirical studies of real readers

Empirical research into reader response began to develop in the late 1970s as a response to the more theoretical approach to reader response studies. Researchers were aware of possible effects of texts through text analysis, and became interested in studying those effects in readers. While they acknowledged that the initial response to reading was internal (Klemenz-Belgardt 1981: 360), they argued that 'expressed response' (Cooper 1976) provided enough information about effects on readers to warrant further study.

Klemenz-Belgardt (1981: 361) divided this 'expressed response' into seven categories. The initial four were aimed at responses to literary texts, while the last three could be applied to any text.

(1) 'Engagement and inner involvement' – this category included many reading effects studied today: emotional reaction, evaluation of the text, identifying with the text and applying the text to other experiences.

(2) 'Perception and analysis' – this category referred to the reader's ability to comprehend and explain the text, with a specific focus on the explanation of literariness of the text

(3) 'Interpretation' – this category referred to the reader's interpretation of the meaning of the text

(4) 'Evaluation' – this category seemed to overlap with the first category of engagement as it is concerned with the valuation of the text: to what extent the text represents a 'literary experience'

(5) 'Pattern of preference' – consistently applied evaluations

(6) 'Pattern of response' – consistently applied responses

(7) 'Variety of response' – indicating the reader's ability to interact with the text on different levels

Each of these categories interacted to form the reader's expressed response, which was considered to be most interesting for researchers of literary response (Klemenz-Belgardt 1981: 360). These types of behaviour and utterances were studied in experimental settings where participants were asked to read extracts of stories (Van Peer 1983) or short stories (Miall & Kuiken 1994), and were consequently prompted for evaluations of the text.

In a recent overview of the state of literary empirical work, Miall (2006) found that this method of reader response continues to take place in controlled and monitored circumstances. In literary empirical research, the texts tend to be specifically selected for the purpose of the research and different reading conditions can be compared. These types of experiments are concerned with investigating the effects of 'specific aspects of the reading process, such as the influence of features of literary style, the effects of empathy in reading narrative, or the impact of significant reading experiences on a reader's memory and self-concept' (Miall 2006: 292). This style of research is mainly quantitative as it investigates effects of reading on groups of participants (Peplow & Carter 2014).

While most empirical research as described above takes place within literary studies, the current research aims to investigate news media reader response. By pre-selecting news texts for readers, withholding the purpose of the study and using semi-structured interview techniques, the effects of different news formats can be studied and compared.

2.2.3 Reader Response in News Media research

Readers have been considered in news media research from the beginning as this field grew from concerns about media's influence on readers. News media research was primarily

focused on the text and the researcher's interpretation of the text through the use of critical discourse analysis (Van Dijk 1988a; 1988b; Bell 1991; Fowler 1991; Fairclough 1995). More recently, digital journalism studies have used quantitative methods to investigate readers' evaluations of online news texts (Thurman & Walters 2013; Thurman & Newman 2014). Reader response as applied to literary texts using discourse analysis, remains underused within news media studies as this field tends to take a more quantitative approach. The following section will discuss two fields of study within audience response to news media which have been growing in recent years: reader positioning within news texts and quantitative studies of real readers.

2.2.3.1 Readers of news

Milburn and McGrail (1992) conducted audience response research studying the effects of the dramatization of television news. They defined dramatization of news in two ways, (1) the news would invoke an emotional response in the audience, (2) the news story would use 'underlying myths' which 'fit a culturally defined world view' (Milburn & McGrail 1992: 615-6). They argued that the audience's exposure to emotional scenes in a news story would inhibit their ability to process the story, therefore decreasing the audience's recall and understanding of the news. This was based on the theory that the activation of 'simplifying schemata' associated with dramatic television news, would decrease audiences' 'complex thought' capabilities (Milburn & McGrail 1992: 619). This has since been debated as research has shown that televised messages do not inherently invoke lower cognitive processing (Chipman, Kendall, Slater & Auld 1996). Lang (2000) also argued that emotional responses lead to less storage of information but the information which was stored would be recalled better. There appears to be some effect of dramatization of news on reader response and this dramatization of news is echoed in hard news LB reporting which has been criticised for dramatizing breaking news (Elliott 2015).

While linguistic news media research has clearly indicated a need for audience response research (White 2006), studies of real readers of news media have been limited. In part, there is difficulty in the replication of the experience of reading live news reports such as LBs. As live reporting is a key feature of LBs, reader response research needs to take this into consideration when investigating responses to these news texts. However, 'liveness' is a broad concept that applies not only to the immediacy of the broadcast but also to the experience of a live broadcast, which creates a group experience for the whole audience. One news reader will be aware that others may also be reading the LB simultaneously, which Couldry (2004: 356) argues is a key feature of 'liveness'. This means that any form of experimental replication of LB reading experiences will always be problematic as 'liveness' cannot be replicated. I discuss my approach to this further in Chapter Four where I describe my methodology. Research within linguistics is focused on corpus approaches to reader comments on online newspaper stories and blogs and is primarily concerned with how reader comments define topics of texts (Kehoe & Gee 2011; 2012; Miller, Xu & Barnett 2016). Quantitative investigations of real readers in online news media have seen a recent resurgence in the field of digital journalism. Research conducted within news media reader response has focused primarily on the effect of the format of news stories (Thurman & Walters 2013; Thurman & Newman 2014; Li 2016), or the impact of social media on news reporting (Myrick & Wojdynski 2015; Hermida 2016).

On the format of news, Zhang and Liu (2016) found that the inverted pyramid structure aided readers in their recollection of the news stories. This implies that news format may have an effect on reader recollection, and should be studied as part of reader response. Emde, Klimmt & Schluetz (2016: 609) found that written news told in a chronological or causal order with 'more personalisation and suspense-eliciting techniques' increased adolescents' involvement with news stories. It did not show a significant difference in information processing. However, a similar study in adults found that narrative structures in television news did improve information processing (Machill, Köhler & Waldhauser 2007). Emde, Klimmt

and Schluetz (2016: 619) suggest that these differences indicate that written texts are easier to process as readers can re-read to improve understanding, while audio-visual texts are generally not re-watched. As LBs include audio-visual updates, forms of personalisation and suspense-eliciting techniques, not necessarily employed with that intent, it must be considered that LBs could increase reader engagement with news stories and improve reader comprehension.

Richardson (1998) combined textual analysis and response studies. His research focused on studying comprehension of economic news by studying group interviews of TV audiences. He argued that the combination of audience response studies with the analysis of the text that the respondents read could 'enrich' discourse studies of news media (Richardson 1998: 222). I agree with this perspective, specifically when studying online news media in which response studies have concentrated on quantitative approaches. Research into readers of LBs has been limited to readers' quantitative evaluations of the LB format and content, without attention to readers' evaluations of the news event nor the impact of the format of LBs on readers' affective responses. The following section will discuss studies conducted by media researchers on audiences of LBs.

2.2.3.2 Readers of LBs

Thurman and Walters (2013) conducted one of the first quantitative investigations into the production and consumption of LBs. They interviewed LB producers at *The Guardian* about the production methods and concerns that have arisen with the implementation of LBs. Additionally, they used questionnaires hyperlinked from LBs to approach readers of LBs and obtain their responses. Their interviews with LB producers showed that journalists felt their role in LB production more closely resembled a role of a mediator than that of a first person reporter (Thurman & Walters 2013: 13). The journalists also believed that social media plays a key role in the production as 'a LB without social media "wouldn't make any sense"' (Weaver in Thurman & Walters 2013: 13). This is in contrast with previous definitions of the roles of

journalists. Bell (1991) believed that journalists were more active in news production, performing as editors who transform an event into a news event. This suggests a shift from journalists as active participants in the construction of news to, at least in the perception of journalists, a more passive curator of news. It should be considered that even as curators, journalists' personal biases may influence news through the selection of social media that is included in LBs.

Thurman and Walters' (2013: 14) reader survey indicated that LB readers appreciated LBs' timeliness, tone, sense of community and curation more than any other characteristic. Respondents disliked LBs' content, accessibility, writing quality and the reverse-chronological format (Thurman & Walters 2013: 15). They were found to spend more time on LBs than on TONAs, and would return to LBs throughout the day (ibid 15; Thurman & Rodgers 2014). Breaking news LBs were more popular with readers than any other LB topic (Thurman & Walters 2013: 15; Thurman & Rodgers 2014: 5). Respondents also positively commented on the 'neutral tone' of LBs and the transparency of the collection and correction of content (Thurman & Walters 2013: 16). In a follow-up study, Thurman and Newman (2014: 660) confirmed that readers perceived LBs to be more balanced than TONAs due to the 'the range of opinions' reported and 'their links to sources'. Thurman and Schapals (2016) found however that the frequency of quotations in LBs are similar to TONAs. The main difference was found in the type of quotation used, as LBs tended to include more first person, 'on the ground' reporting than TONAs (Thurman & Schapals 2016: 10).

Each of these investigations indicates a difference in reader response to LBs compared to TONAs. However, as Steensen (2014: 1198) suggested, there are methodological problems with these studies as they lack 'thoroughness': by using questionnaires, respondents are limited in their answers. While open-ended questions were included, the researchers did not include any linguistic analysis of these answers, instead using them to contextualise the statistical data. Steensen (2014) suggests taking a discourse analytical approach to reader response in digital journalism to provide a more detailed account

of how readers approach digital news texts. By approaching reader response in news media more like reader response is and has been approached in literary studies, I argue that qualitative research can help explore specific respondents' opinions in a more reflexive way.

To investigate readers' evaluations of both news texts and the underlying news stories in linguistic detail, I analyse the respondents' use of evaluative language. Chapter Three will provide an overview of the study of evaluative language. I will show why Appraisal theory is the most useful framework to analyse reader response to digital journalism based on previous work in the field of Appraisal.

2.3 Summary

This chapter has provided an overview of research upon which my thesis builds. I have shown how news media studies have developed in the field of linguistics. I discussed a variety of linguistic approaches to news media; from sociolinguistic approaches which focused on the different parts of the production and consumption of news media to critical discourse analysis, which focused on ideologies that are present in news texts, to the more recent corpus-assisted discourse studies focusing on news values, which aimed to provide thorough methodologies for the analysis of news texts. This final approach has been used to investigate how news values are constructed in news texts (Bednarek & Caple 2014; 2017). I outlined the lack of linguistic and qualitative research into online news media, specifically into LBs. As LBs are thought to be a growing form of news reporting (Hoekman 2013), it is crucial to understand how news events are constructed through this new format of news reporting.

Secondly, I discussed the development of reader response theory and its relation to the study of news media. I argued that it is important to study 'real' reader responses, specifically when analysing news media, as the presentation of news texts may influence audiences' evaluations of news events around the world. My qualitative approach adds to existing research into LB audiences, which have focused on quantitative surveys. By

combining an analysis of news texts and an analysis of reader responses to those news texts,

I can investigate not only reader evaluations of the news texts and news events but additionally

I can identify how the presentation of the news texts may relate to readers' evaluations.

Chapter 3 APPROACHES TO EVALUATIVE LANGUAGE

3.0 Introduction

This thesis is concerned with how readers respond to two aspects of LBs as compared with TONAs; the news events and the formats in which they are reported (the news texts). I investigate how readers evaluate both news text and news event and how they position themselves in relation to the news text and its producers. As these reader responses are inherently evaluative, the framework I used to analyse the interview data incorporates various analyses of evaluative language. This is the Appraisal framework, as developed by Martin and White (2005).

Appraisal theory is grounded in Systemic Functional Linguistics (Halliday 1976; Halliday & Matthiessen 2004) and analyses language as a social function. However, as Martin and White (2005: 2) point out, it brings together and develops from a number of different aspects of evaluation that have been documented previously, such as affect, modality, evidentiality, attitudinal evaluations, intensification and vague language. In order to set the Appraisal theory in the context of evaluative language more generally, section 3.1 introduces different approaches taken to analyse evaluative language; narrative evaluation in section 3.1.1, sociolinguistics in section 3.1.2, systemic functional linguistics and Appraisal in section 3.1.3 and stance-taking in sections 3.1.4 and 3.1.5. Section 3.2 outlines the framework as presented by Martin and White in their 2005 publication, which offers the most comprehensive Appraisal overview. Section 3.3 explores some of the current issues within Appraisal research, such as the refinement of existing Attitudinal Appraisal categories including embedded categories (see Painter 2003; Macken-Horarik & Isaac 2014; Hommerberg 2015; Su Hang 2015; Don 2016), the use of Engagement in different contexts (see Miller 2002; 2004; Breeze 2016; Põldvere, Fuoli & Paradis 2016; Bondi 2017) and the relationship between speakers and audiences (see Macken-Horarik 2003a; Macken-Horarik 2003b, Precht 2003, White 2006). Section 3.4 identifies its possible applications in reader response research to online

news media. Section 3.5 summarises the applications of Appraisal research and outlines the contributions this thesis makes to the field.

3.1 Traditions in Evaluative Language Analysis

Evaluative language can be defined as language that expresses 'the speaker or writer[2]'s attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on, or feelings about the entities or propositions that he or she is talking about. That attitude may relate to certainty or obligation or desirability or any number of other sets of values' (Thompson & Hunston 2000: 5). Research into evaluation has evolved from a variety of (sub)disciplinary traditions, which have recently been brought together due to a recognition of shared concern (Thompson & Hunston 2000; Englebretson 2007) and have also been joined in the development of Appraisal theory (Martin 1995; White 2003; Martin & White 2005). These areas of concern include stance, affect, intersubjectivity (DuBois & Kärkkäinen 2012: 446), modality, evidentiality, hedging, vague language, and attitude (Precht 2003). Each approach assumes that evaluative language by nature is dialogic and interpersonal: the idea that each utterance is based on or shaped by previous utterances either from the same speaker or different speakers (Bakhtin 1981: 278). Therefore, every text must be approached as part of a larger context, and as referring either implicitly or explicitly to that context. This also implies that evaluative language is subjective to the speaker, as each evaluative utterance carries the context of the speaker's perspectives (Martin & White 2005: 1; Goźdź-Roszkowski & Hunston 2016: 131).

Evaluation is also considered to be continuous throughout texts (Bakhtin 1981; Du Bois & Kärkkäinen 2012; Martínez Caro 2014). This continuity connects the different approaches to evaluative language analysis. In stance-taking, discourse analysis, and functional approaches, evaluative language is considered to be used both implicitly and explicitly throughout texts. Though it can be more or less concentrated in different parts of a text, each evaluative instance joins to shape the prosody of the entire text (Martínez Caro 2014) and the

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[2] The remainder of this thesis will use the term 'speaker' to include both speakers and writers.

prosody of the entire text shapes the meaning of the individual evaluative instances. Therefore it is key when analysing evaluative language in texts to adopt a methodological approach that considers how individual evaluative instances are shaped by the prosody of the text as a whole.

3.1.1 Narrative Evaluation

Within discourse studies, studies of evaluative language have covered a wide range of linguistic phenomena, including reporting verbs, adverbs and nouns, grammatical constructions, and semantics. One of the most prominent explorations of evaluative language in discourse analysis is found in Labov and Waletzky's (1967; further developed by Labov 1972) work on narrative structure. Labov (1972; 2013) stated that his work on evaluation was the most influential out of each aspect of his narrative structure. For Labov, evaluation serves a referential, interpersonal and structural function. Evaluation is one of six parts of the structure of a narrative, and while listed as appearing in fifth place between the complicating action and the resolution, Labov states that it can appear throughout the narrative (1972: 362). He (1972) distinguishes between external and embedded evaluation. External evaluation is presented as the narrator's voice and stops the narrative, while embedded evaluation is intertwined with the narrative and can be presented for example as character's speech and thought or evaluative action.

While this thesis' main data set are interviews, involving shorter answers with limited space for narratological development, the news texts contain instances of narrative, adapted to the news text format (Bell 1991). White (1997: 112-3) found that news texts contain satellites which can perform one of five functions: elaboration, cause-and-effect, justification, contextualisation and appraisal. Each satellite provides additional information about the news event, with appraisal satellites 'typically' attributed to 'some expert external source' (White 1997: 13; see also Stubbs 1996). This mirrors Labov's internal evaluation, which is typically attributed to a character within the narrative. By attributing the evaluation to a character

(narrative) or a news actor (news texts), the author distances themselves from the evaluation. In hard news, the topic of concern in this thesis, this is especially salient as journalists aim to portray the report as 'neutral' (White 1997: 6). By identifying these instances of evaluation in the news texts and in the reader responses, this thesis investigates the ways in which voices are presented in different news texts and how readers respond to these differing presentations.

3.1.2 Sociolinguistics

Lemke's (1989; 1992; 1998) work on evaluative language in news media focused on Labov's internal evaluation, as Lemke (1989: 48) stated that the use of implicit evaluation is crucial to investigate, as the 'disguising' of the 'promotion of one group's value interests over others' leads to an ideological text. His research concentrated on how evaluative language affects texts' ideology, both explicitly and implicitly, and how evaluation is manifested through both interpersonal evaluation and Attitudinal evaluation. This need for a focus on implicit evaluation, next to the existing focus on explicit evaluation, is echoed by Macken-Horarik (2003b) and White (2006: 59) who both emphasise that implicit evaluations are most persuasive as they 'seem to arise naturally out of factual content'.

Lemke (1998) was also one of the first researchers to further develop linguistic resources for the creation of attitude in text. He believed stance was not limited to interpersonal meaning but also included ideational meaning, taking a more functionalist approach. To identify attitude in texts, he (1998) employed a corpus analysis to identify semantic dimensions of adjectival propositions in the clause: 'it is ... that …'. This led to the identification of seven semantic dimensions used to establish attitude: (1) desirability/inclination, (2) warrantibility/probability, (3) normativity/appropriateness, (4) usuality/expectability, (5) importance/significance, (6) comprehensibility/obviousness, (7) humorousness/seriousness (Lemke 1998: 4-5). Some of these categories, such as probability and expectability, overlap with Biber and Finegan's (1989) and Precht's (2003) stance

markers, while others such as comprehensibility and normativity are new markers indicating attitudinal evaluation. Lemke (1998) also stressed the importance of the consideration of a text as a whole instead of the analyses of individual instances of evaluation. He found that a text's evaluative prosody can influence individual instances of evaluation through metaphor, cohesion and projection. Lemke's categories and concern with evaluative prosody are echoed in the development of the Appraisal framework (Martin 1997; White 2003; Martin & White 2005), as the Attitudinal part of the framework built on Lemke's categories.

Stubbs (1996) argued that evaluation appears throughout texts and manifests itself in varying forms such as modal verbs, auxiliary verbs, adverbs, noun choice and vague language. This suggests a need to take multiple approaches when locating evaluative instances in texts and has led to further developments of both stance research and new frameworks for the analysis of evaluation such as Appraisal (Martin & White 2005). Martin and White (2005) stressed Stubbs' (1996) and Lemke's (1989; 1992; 1998) concerns that individual evaluative instances have to be considered in relation to the prosody of the text as a whole. Recently, Fuoli and Hommerberg (2015) and Fuoli (2018) have published 'step-wise annotation manuals' for Appraisal analysis which include establishing the prosody of the text and adapting categorisations of evaluative language to the evaluation found in the whole text.

3.1.3 Systemic Functional Linguistics

Systemic functional linguistics approaches evaluative language in context. This includes analysing evaluative instances in relation to the evaluative prosody of the entire text, in relation to the field of the text and in relation to the direct co-text of the evaluative instance. Systemic functional linguistics' approach to evaluative language draws upon preceding research, most notably Labov (Martin & Plum 1997), Stubbs (1996) and Lemke (1989; 1992; 1998) and it considers both the sociolinguistic approach to evaluation through the ideational aspect and the stance approach through the interpersonal aspect of evaluation. Systemic functional linguistics was developed by Halliday (1976; with Matthiessen 2004). It assumes that meaning

is mutually negotiated between people whether through direct communication such as conversations, or indirect communication such as news texts (Eggins 2004). Continuing from that assumption, systemic functional linguists assume that texts can create multiple meanings and that language is organised specifically to make meaning (Eggins 2004). Halliday (1976) argues that language contains three 'meta-functions': the ideational, the interpersonal and the textual. The ideational function, he states (1976: 23) can be analysed through the transitivity system and the interpersonal function through 'the system of mood'. The textual function of language forms the organisation of language and can be analysed through grammatical analysis.

Martin (1995) used systemic functional linguistics in his study of reader positioning, focusing on academic and news texts. Martin (1995: 28) investigated the use of 'appraisal resources such as modalising, amplifying, reaction emotionally, judging morally, and evaluating aesthetically'. Martin (1995: 30) identified a distinction in judgment between 'social esteem' and 'social sanction'. Social esteem involves judgements of shared unspoken values such as normality (Normality), capability (Capacity) and tenacity (Tenacity). Social sanction involves judgements of shared, more explicit values often encoded in laws and regulations, such as truthfulness (Veracity) and ethics (Propriety) (Martin & White 2005: 52-3). White (2003) was interested in the use of voices in text, building on stance research to identify lexical realisation of stance taking in news texts. He separated reference to outside perspectives into Monoglossia and Heteroglossia. Monoglossia includes generalisations (Scheibman 2007), bare assertions (White 2003) and categorical language (Chouliaraki 2010). Heteroglossia includes language that references outside voices, either through Expansion, identifying possible alternatives, or through Contraction, rejecting possible alternatives. This system has been used primarily within analyses of texts to investigate reader positioning (Coffin & O'Halloran 2005) and thereby construes a model reader, which cannot make assumptions about 'real' readers (Allington & Swann 2009).

Martin and White (2005) went on to develop what is considered to be the most systematic and most 'fully theorised form of evaluative language analysis' (Bednarek 2006; Goźdź-Roszkowski & Hunston 2016: 134). By linking each metafunction of language to a type of evaluation or Appraisal as demonstrated in table 3.1, they developed a system for the analysis of evaluation in news discourse. This could then be used for a systemic linguistic analysis of the underlying ideological evaluation in news discourse that critical discourse analysts aimed to investigate.

Martin & White (2005)	Halliday (1976)	Textual features
Attitude	Ideational / Interpersonal	Affected actors, processes, evaluative adjectives
Engagement	Stance / Interpersonal	Mood, modality, reporting verbs, clause structure
Graduation	Textual / Interpersonal	Adverbs, modality

Table 3.1 Systemic Functional Linguistics and Appraisal

The Appraisal system focuses on both the interpersonal and the ideational evaluative functions of language, combining stance with discourse analysis (Lemke 1998; Bednarek 2006; Englebretson 2007). It accounts for both modality and affect, which Thompson and Hunston (2000: 20) identify as 'the two main types of evaluation'. Bednarek (2006) however has criticised the framework for only accounting for epistemic and evidential modality, failing to account for deontic and dynamic modality. While Martin and White (2005) account for deontic modality within Propriety, a sub-category of social esteem focusing on judgements of ethics, their focus on deontic modality is limited.

Appraisal places emphasis on lexical realisations of evaluation, not accounting for grammatical realisations of evaluation. This leads to a focus on semantics, which can create subjective analyses as each researcher carries their own interpretation of their reading of evaluative instances. Martin and White (2005) have also stated that the framework is continually developing, with Martin (2016) emphasising the need for adaptation of the

framework based on the field of the analysed texts. Recent research has set forth methods of intra-coder and inter-coder agreement to combat this subjectivity (Read & Carroll 2012; Fuoli & Hommerberg 2015; Fuoli 2018). These measures will be further discussed in Chapter Four's methodology discussions.

Appraisal also focuses on the need to analyse evaluation in context, both larger social context and the co-text of each evaluative instance (Miller 2002; Page 2003; Macken-Horarik 2003; Bednarek 2006; Martin 2016). As Bednarek (2006: 31) states, Appraisal is 'relatively open-ended', allowing for the framework to be adopted to different fields and to be developed as research continues. This allows me to use the Appraisal framework to analyse two types of texts and compare the Appraisal results: news texts and reader responses to the news texts. While this adaptability may lead to subjectivity, it also allows researchers to compare different texts using the same set of categories.

3.1.4 Developments of Stance Research

Stance research focuses on the act of expressing perspectives and opinions, with a focus on how speakers align themselves with others and position themselves in relation to the stance object. This field links closely with the Engagement category in Appraisal. Stance researchers consider evaluation as a speech act (Austin 1975) which establishes the speaker's value positions. This parallels concerns with the interpersonal aspects of evaluation in narrative analysis and sociolinguistic approaches to evaluation. This thesis investigates how readers position themselves in relation to the news event and how they align themselves with the news text. Stance has been defined in a variety of ways (see for example Precht 2003; DuBois 2007; Jaffe 2009), with most definitions focused on the active aspect of stance taking from its base in speech act theory (Austin 1975). This thesis will use DuBois' (2007) definition as this provides the most thorough overview of stance and formed the basis of DuBois' dialogic syntax, a popular analysis framework for stance research. DuBois (2007: 163) stated,

'Stance is a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means (language, gesture, and other symbolic forms), through which social actors simultaneously evaluate objects, position subjects (themselves and others), and align with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field'.

This definition of stance focuses initially on the idea that stance-taking is both active and public, meaning that the analysis of stance is possible through the analysis of communication, which in this thesis focuses on the use of language. Alba-Juez and Thompson (2014: 10) have suggested that stance separates itself from other forms of evaluative language analysis as it is concerned with both the 'textual phase' and the 'pre-realisation phase'. This pre-realisation phase manifests itself in language when there is no stance expression, which can be analysed as 'neutral stance' (Alba-Juez & Thompson 2014: 10). This neutrality, though not explicit in DuBois' (2007) definition, is also included in stance-taking and is accounted for in Appraisal through Monoglossia.

Research on stance-taking is rooted in conversation analysis as stance-taking is considered to be a speech act (Goźdź-Roszkowski & Hunston 2016) and a way of the speaker (dis)aligning themselves with their conversation partner(s). It is active by nature and inherently interactional as it requires the speaker to position themselves in relation to their own previous utterances and other speakers' utterances (Englebretson 2007: 3-8; Kärkkäinen 2007: 184). With stance-taking being considered a speech act, there is also a need for researchers to consider both the locutionary and illocutionary effects of any utterance (Englebretson 2007). The three main functions of stance-taking are (1) evaluating, which is accounted for in Attitudinal Appraisal, (2) positioning and (3) aligning, which are accounted for in Engagement, and each are functions of language that should be considered in the analysis of reader response. This thesis in particular analyses readers' evaluations of the news texts and the news events, how readers position themselves in relation to the news texts and how readers (dis)align themselves with the news texts in relation to the news events.

There are a variety of stance markers, with most studies based on Biber and Finegan's (1988; 1989) work. They (1988; 1989) approached stance as evaluation that is lexicogrammatically marked rather than primarily an illocutionary act as DuBois (2007) does. In their 1989 work, Biber and Finegan identified a total of twelve categories of grammatical and lexical markers indicating stance and six 'stance styles' based on a cluster analysis of 500 texts spread across 24 genres. The twelve categories they established included markers of affect such as 'adverbs, verbs and adjectives', markers of certainty, markers of doubt, 'hedges, emphatics' and epistemic modals (Biber & Finegan 1989: 93). Through application of these twelve categories to their corpus, they identified six 'stance styles': (1) 'affect', (2) 'faceless stance', (3) 'interactional epistemic stance', (4) 'expository expression of doubt', (5) 'predictive persuasion' and (6) 'oral controversial persuasion' (Biber & Finegan 1989: 116). Some of these styles were confined to specific text genres, such as predictive persuasion being primarily found in letters of recommendation.

For my research, I am particularly interested in 'faceless stance' and 'expository expression of doubt', which were commonly found in written 'exposition' texts such as news texts. The concern relates therefore not only to how voices are presented in news texts and how readers respond to them (see section 3.1.1) but also to the presentation of voiceless statements. Faceless stance included an 'absence of all stance features', comparable to Alba-Juez and Thompson's (2014) 'neutral stance' and Martin and White's (2005) Monoglossia, and 'expository expressions of doubt' included epistemic modality, indicating a lack of information in the speaker (Biber & Finegan 1989: 116). Scheibman (2007) further considers faceless stance in the form of generalisations as a manner of alignment and expression of power and authority. If news events are presented without any stance features, and with instances of epistemic modality, that may have an influence on how readers respond to the news text and the news event as it would be presented without interjection of the journalists.

3.1.5 The Stance Triangle

These styles and categories continue to be used in more recent work on stance. Precht (2003:

242) for example, identifies devices used for stance-taking: 'hedging, vague language,

evidentiality, attitude, affect and modality'. DuBois (2007) developed the stance triangle (see

figure 3.1), which included not just alignment with other speakers, but alignment with other

speakers through the evaluation of the same topic. By evaluating the same object or

proposition, the two subjects (dis)align themselves with or from each other. DuBois (2014) created dialogic syntax from the stance triangle. This method of analysis focuses on the repetition of syntax and lexis from one speaker's turn to the next (DuBois 2014). While this thesis is not concerned with conversation analysis, this repetition is present between the interviewer and the interviewee (Lampropoulou &

Figure 3.1 The Stance Triangle (DuBois 2007: 163)

Myers 2013). The stance triangle also partly informs this research. Though DuBois imagined

the two subjects to be in conversation, this thesis envisions these subjects as the interviewee

and the news texts, both of which are evaluating (implicitly and explicitly) the news events.

Concurrently, the interviewee (dis)aligns themselves with the news text, while the news text

aligns itself with its readership. While this alignment does not happen near-simultaneously as

it would in conversation, the stance triangle is still applicable to this interaction as written text

remains dialogic (Coulthard 1994). My thesis is also concerned with how the readers, as

subject 1, evaluate the news texts. Both these evaluations, of the news text and of the news

event, occur intermingled throughout the reader responses. The relations between the

respondents, the news texts and the news events are presented in their stance triangle in

figure 3.2. By identifying the evaluated object, I have separated the evaluations between chapters concerned with the evaluation of the news event (Chapters Eight and Nine) and chapters concerned with the evaluation of the news text (Chapters Six and Seven).
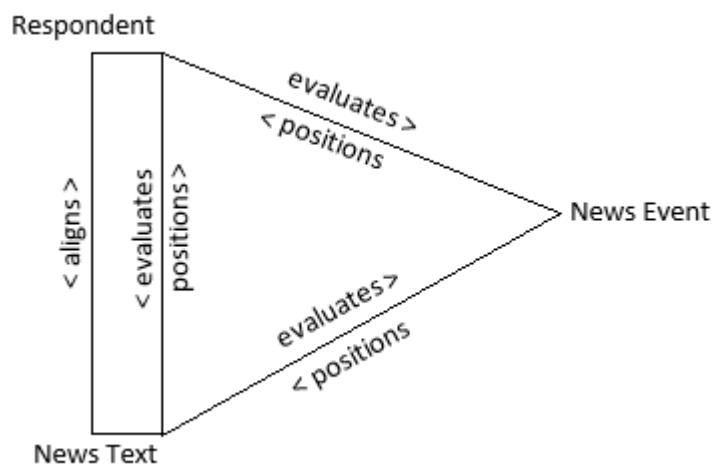
Figure 3.2 Stance Triangle as Applicable to My Research

While stance research combines the study of the language (the referential aspect of evaluation) and the interpersonal aspects of evaluation, it generally separates attitudinal evaluation from stance as can be seen in Thompson and Hunston's (2000: 5) definition of evaluation as used at the start of section 3.1. Evaluative language is language that expresses 'the speaker or writer's attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on, or feelings about the entities or propositions that he or she is talking about. That attitude may relate to certainty or obligation or desirability or any number of other sets of values' (Thompson & Hunston 2000: 5). This distinction, though not present in DuBois' (2007) definition of stance, is present in Precht's (2003) work. She (2003) distinguishes between evaluations of propositions (stance) and evaluation of objects (Appraisal). Thompson (2014) makes a similar distinction, stating that Martin (1995), one of the founders of Appraisal, focuses on the evaluation of entities. However, these distinctions focus on Attitudinal Appraisal, one of three branches of the framework, which is indeed concerned with the evaluation of entities (Martin & White 2005). This branch has received most attention (Painter 2003; Page 2003; Macken-Horarik & Isaac 2014; Thompson 2014; Don 2016; Martin 2017) and is the central branch according to Martin and White (2005). The remaining two categories of the Appraisal framework, Graduation and Engagement, concentrate on the analysis of modality, hedging, positioning, alignment and boosting, each part of stance-taking. Taking this

in consideration, I concur with Thompson (2014: 48) in his statement that 'the most fully developed model of evaluation is that of Appraisal'.

3.2 Overview of Appraisal framework

The Appraisal system is divided into three main categories: Attitude, Engagement, and Graduation. Attitudinal evaluation is concerned with three types of evaluation. 'Emotional reactions' constitute the sub-category of Affect, 'judgements of behaviour' constitute the sub-category of Judgement, and 'evaluations of things' constitute the sub-category of Appreciation (Martin & White 2005: 35). Attitudinal Appraisal is realised primarily through the use of evaluative lexis, and can therefore be highly dependent upon the field of the analysed text as this determines its values. Engagement is grounded in Bakhtin's (1981) theory of the dialogic nature of language; the idea that all language is based on previous utterances, yet Martin and White (2005: 92) draw upon Voloshinov for their chosen terminology. While they acknowledge that all utterances engage with previous and future utterances in some form, Martin and White (2005: 92-3) differentiated between those that explicitly engage with other perspectives and those that do not explicitly do so. White (2003) divides Engagement into two main categories: Monoglossia and Heteroglossia. Monoglossic utterances are utterances which do not explicitly 'engage with dialogic alternatives' and are also referred to as 'Heteroglossic disengagement' (White 2003: 262). Heteroglossic utterances explicitly 'engage with dialogic alternatives' (White 2003: 262). This Engagement can be positive, negative or neutral. Engagement can be realised primarily on a lexico-grammatical level through modality, reporting clauses and vocation. Finally, Graduation is concerned with 'grading phenomena whereby feelings are amplified and categories blurred' (Martin & White 2005: 35). Force is the sub-category attending to the amplification of evaluations, which is primarily expressed through intensification. Focus is the sub-category attending to the blurring of categories and can be realised through evaluative lexis as well as intensification. Figure 3.3 provides an overview of the Appraisal system as discussed above.
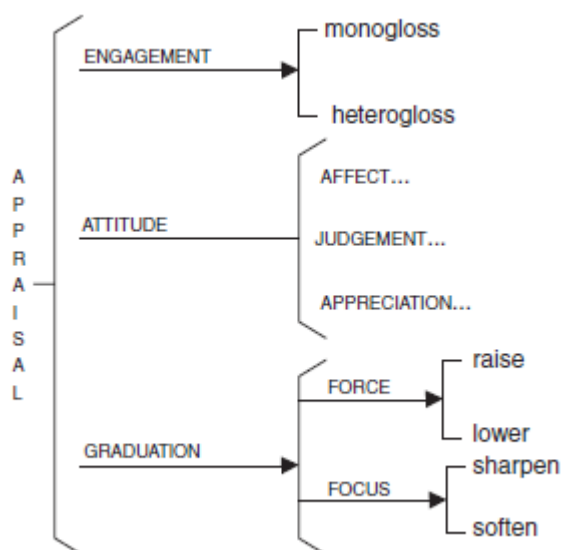
Figure 3.3: Overview of Appraisal (Martin & White 2005: 38)

3.2.1 Attitude

Attitudinal Appraisal is divided into three semantic domains: 'emotion, ethics and aesthetics' (Martin & White 2005: 42). Affect is concerned with emotional responses, Judgement is concerned with evaluation of human behaviour and Appreciation is concerned with the evaluations of 'semiotic and natural phenomena' (Martin & White 2005: 43). Each evaluative instance can present as inscribed evaluation, an explicit evaluative instance, or as invoked evaluation, an implicit evaluative instance. These implicit realisations can also function as 'tokens', and may function as a token for invoked evaluation in another category (Thompson 2014).

3.2.1.1 Affect

Affect is concerned with emotional responses. These responses can belong to the speaker or be attributed to characters. They are primarily realised through the use of affective adjectives or adverbs and affective processes. Martin and White (2005: 46) divide these realisations into three categories demonstrated in table 3.2.

Affect as 'quality'		
Describing participants	'a **sad** captain'	Epithet
Attributed to participants	'the captain was **sad**'	Attribute
Manner of processes	'the captain left **sadly**'	Circumstance
Affect as 'process'		
Affective mental	'his departure **upset** him'	Process (effective
	'he **missed** them'	Process (middle)
Affective behavioural	'the captain **wept**'	Process
Affect as 'comment'		
Desiderative	'**sadly**, he had to go'	Modal Adjunct

Table 3.2: Realisations of Affect (Martin & White 2005: 46)

They further divide affect into four emotion groups: (1) un/happiness, (2) in/security, (3) dis/inclination, (4) dis/satisfaction, following some of Lemke's (1998) typologies of Attitudinal meaning.

3.2.1.2 Judgement

The category of Judgement is based on White's (2003) work on moral judgment and is divided into Social Esteem and Social Sanction. It is focused on the moral judgement of people and their behaviour. Social Esteem is generally found in spoken English and it is concerned with establishing shared values among social networks (Martin & White 2005: 52). Social Sanction is generally found in written English as it concerns rules outlined in laws and regulations (ibid: 52). Social esteem is divided into three categories: (1) Normality, (2) Capacity, and (3) Tenacity. Normality is concerned with 'how special' someone is, Capacity is concerned with their capabilities and Tenacity is concerned with their dependability. Positive Social Esteem results in lexis that 'admires' the evaluated person such as 'lucky, normal, powerful, brave,

reliable', while negative social esteem results in lexis that 'criticises' the evaluated person such as 'odd, slow, timid, unsuccessful, immature' (Martin & White 2005: 53). Social Sanction is divided into two categories: (1) Veracity and (2) Propriety. While Veracity is concerned with truth-value, it is realised as a judgement of a person and their honesty as opposed to an objective truth. Therefore, Social Sanction is used as a means of established a value position, not a truth position (White 2003). Propriety is concerned with ethical judgement of a person and their actions. Positive Social Sanction leads to lexis representing 'praise' such as 'honest, frank, good, polite, fair', while negative Social Sanction leads to lexis representing 'condemnation' such as 'dishonest, manipulative, bad, evil, selfish' (Martin & White 2005: 53).

3.2.1.3 Appreciation

Appreciation, the final category within Attitudinal Appraisal, is concerned with the evaluation of objects. It is divided into Reaction; 'do they catch our attention (Impact); do they please us?' (Quality), Composition; 'Balance and Complexity', and Valuation; 'how innovative, authentic, timely' (Martin & White 2005: 56). Appreciation is the category most susceptible to change depending on the field of the text, as something that is complex might be positive in evaluations of literary works, yet negative in evaluations of children's literature. Bednarek (2010) shows for example how news values are central to the evaluation of news texts, while Hommerberg and Don (2015) apply Appreciation categories to wine reviews, adapting each category to suit the lexis used in that field. Chapter Four will set out the assumptions used to adapt Appreciation to the analysis of news texts and the reader responses to news texts used in this research.

3.2.2 Engagement

The category of Engagement comes closest to stance research as it is concerned with 'the linguistic resources by which speakers/writers adopt a stance towards the value positions being referenced by the text and with respect to those they address' (Martin & White 2005:

92). From Precht's (2003) linguistic resources used to take a stance, Engagement includes modality, hedging, vague language and evidentiality. Engagement is divided into two main categories: Monoglossia and Heteroglossia.

3.2.2.1 Monoglossia

White (2003: 262) considers Monoglossia to be a form of Heteroglossia, specifically 'Heteroglossic disengagement'. It includes bare assertions, which are not presented to be 'at risk' or 'in doubt' (White 2003: 263). These generalisations can be used to demonstrate the speaker's authority and their alignment with other speakers and texts (Miller 2004; Scheibman 2007). As Monoglossic statements are often presented as facts, they are essential in the investigation of texts' underlying ideology (Lemke 1989) and crucial in the investigation of reader response to texts.

3.2.2.2 Heteroglossic Expansion

Heteroglossic Expansion allows for 'dialogically alternative positions or voices' (Martin & White 2005: 102). This can be achieved through either Entertainment of other value positions or Attribution of value positions. Figure 3.4 on the next page shows the division as presented by Martin and White (2005: 117). Entertainment includes evidential modality, presented in reporting clauses or adverbials (Palmer 2001; Martin & White 2005). Although the examples given by Martin and White in figure 3.4 generally function as Entertainment, it should be noted that context and co-text is crucial in the analysis. The reporting clause 'I think' for example has been shown to not only function as providing a dialogic alternative, but also as a discourse marker introducing a new turn (Kärkkäinen 2003).

Attribution, which as discussed in section 2.1 is used by journalists to not only include different perspectives in their news texts but also to include emotionality of the news event, can be presented in two manners. Acknowledgement provides neutral reporting clauses

introducing different perspectives, while Distancing provides reporting clauses that indicate doubt or disagreement between the speaker and the introduced information.
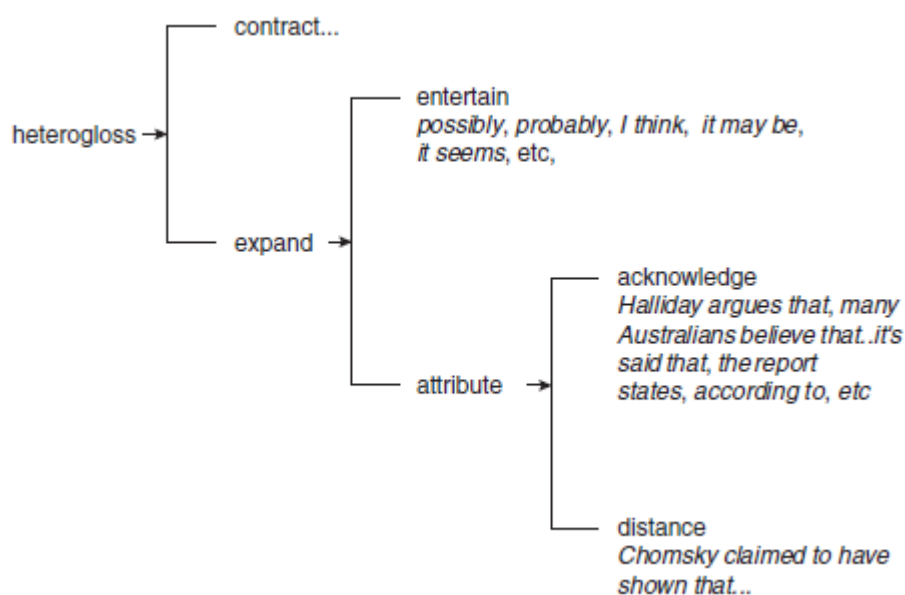
Figure 3.4: Heteroglossic Expansion (Martin & White 2005: 117)

3.2.2.3 Heteroglossic Contraction

Heteroglossic Contraction provides alternative perspectives, while directing the audience to 'exclude certain dialogic alternatives' or 'constrain the scope of these alternatives' (Martin & White 2005: 117). This can be achieved by positively affirming one perspective, labelled as 'Proclaim' or by Denying or Countering alternative perspectives, labelled as 'Disclaim'. Each category and its further subcategories are presented in figure 3.5 on the next page.
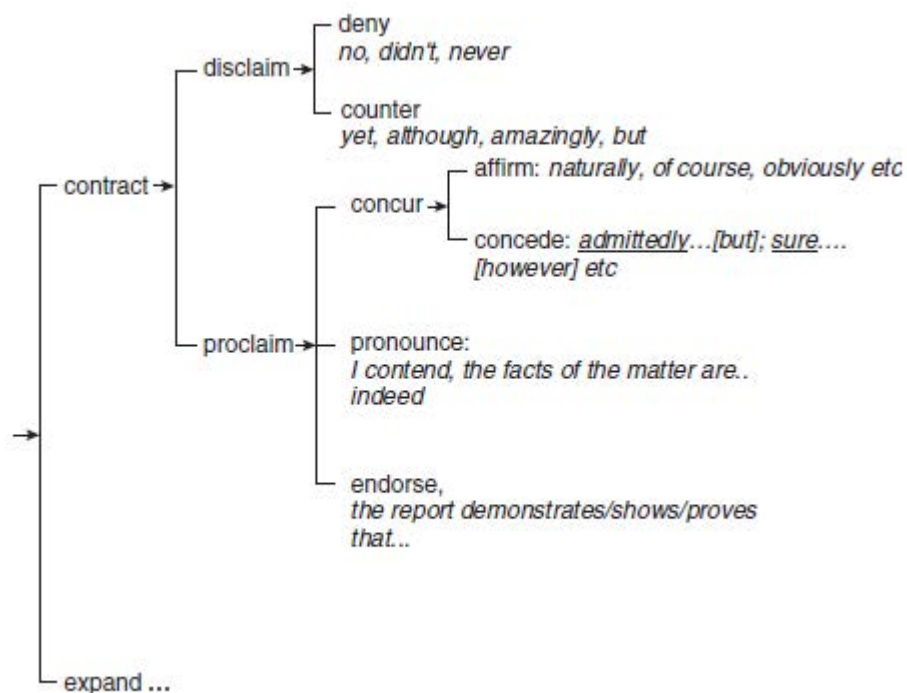
Figure 3.5: Heteroglossic Contraction (Martin & White 2005: 134)

Disclamations can be presented as Denials, using negation, or as Counters, using adverbials or countering conjunctions. Proclamations can be presented as Concurrence, either through affirming adverbials, labelled Affirm, or through conjunctions indicating Concede. Proclamations can also be presented as Pronouncements, supporting the statement either explicitly using first person pronouns or discourse formations (Lemke 1989), or as Endorsements using reporting clauses positively evaluating the following reported clause.

3.2.3 Graduation

The final category of the Appraisal framework is Graduation. This category is concerned with 'up-scaling and down-scaling' (Martin & White 2005: 135), or 'amplifying' and 'diminishing' (Martin 1995). Graduation can often be identified alongside Attitudinal evaluations as a means of grading the strength of the evaluation. While Graduation is often presented in texts as topological, Martin and White (2005: 137) present it as a typological category of Appraisal,

similar to Attitude and Engagement. Graduation is divided into two main subcategories: Force and Focus. Force is concerned with evaluations made about intensity or amount, and is inherently topological. It includes subcategories such as intensification and quantification, each further defined in figure 3.6. Labov's (1972; 1984) intensifiers are part of Force. While this includes non-linguistic expressions such as gestures and phonological changes, my thesis does not include analysis of these features to limit the scope of my research. Focus 'is scaled by reference to the degree to which [the evaluated topic] matches some supposed core or exemplary instance of a semantic category' (Martin & White 2005: 137). It can either 'soften' or 'sharpen' an evaluation. The statement, 'he is a true friend', makes an assumption about the semantic category of 'friends' and places 'him', the evaluated topic, sharply into this category.
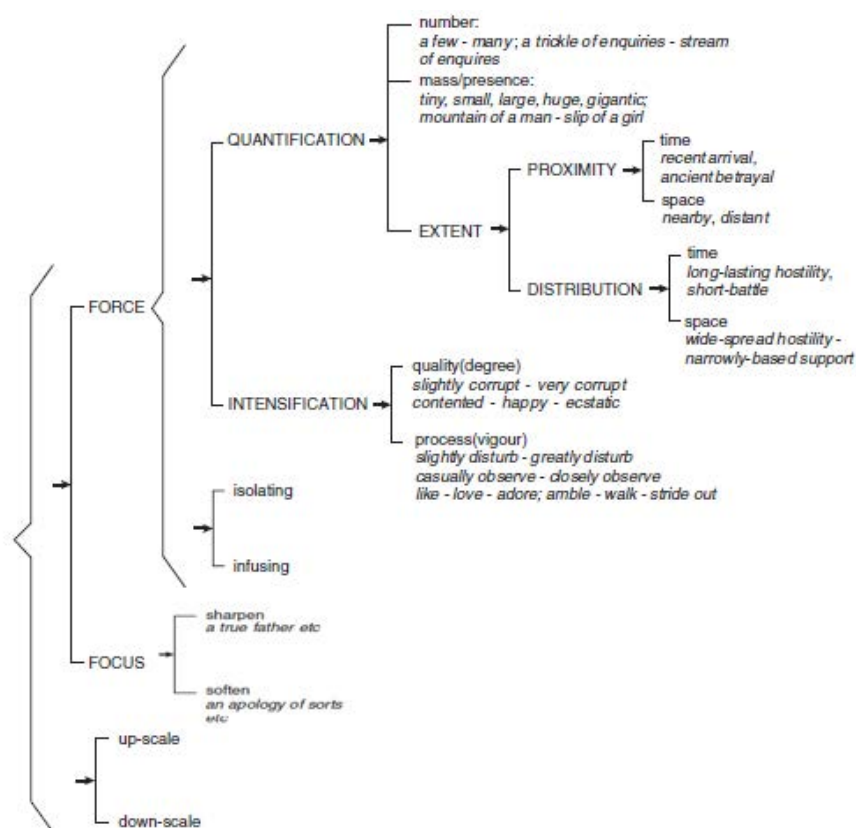
Figure 3.6: Graduation (Martin & White 2005: 138, 154)

3.3 Current directions within Appraisal

Research within Appraisal has explored evaluative language found in a variety of texts and interactional contexts. The following section will discuss several directions this field has taken over the past years. Firstly, it evaluates the focus on and adaptation of Attitudinal Appraisal and how it has been proposed to be adjusted to different texts' fields. Secondly, it discusses a more recent shift to Engagement analyses in different fields and focused on different specific textual features. Thirdly, it discusses the use of corpus methodologies, including difficulties and criticisms levelled against these approaches. The fourth and final issue arises from invoked instances of Appraisal and its categorisations.

Attitudinal research has received the most attention within evaluation research (see for example Painter 2003; Page 2003; Bednarek 2009; Don 2009; 2016; Zappavigna 2011; Macken-Horarik & Isaac 2014; Thompson 2014; Hommerberg 2015; Hommerberg & Don 2015; Sabao 2016; Martin 2017). As categories within Attitude are dependent, at least to some extent, upon the field of the analysed text, further specification of categories is necessary and unavoidable when applying Appraisal to different topics and genres. Appraisal has been adapted to a variety of fields such as news reporting (Coffin & O'Halloran 2005; Bednarek 2006; White 2006; 2012; Thomson, White & Kitley 2008; Breeze 2016; Sabao 2016), academic writing (Derewianka 2007; White 2011), ESL and EFL (Mei 2007; Chang & Schleppegrell 2011; Brooke 2014; Ngo & Unsworth 2015), online forums and discussions (Don 2009; 2016; Drasovean & Tagg 2015), wine reviews (Hommerberg 2015; Hommerberg & Don 2015), business communication (Fuoli 2012; Morrish & Sauntson 2013; Fuoli & Hommerberg 2015), hashtags on Twitter and Facebook (Zappavigna 2011; 2017; Chiluwa and Ifukor 2015); Rate my Professor (Millar & Hunston 2015), grant proposals (Pascual & Unger 2010), and historical texts (Coffin 2002). My thesis extends this range by applying Appraisal to reader responses generated in an interview context. The majority of Appraisal applications have analysed forms of review texts (wine reviews, professor reviews, evaluations of books or news events), and similarly, my thesis analyses reader responses as review texts, as well as the

texts which were the object of the review, the news texts. As the objects of evaluation of the reader responses central to this thesis are linguistic sources; news texts, I am able to analyse both the source and the review to create a fuller Appraisal analysis.

Recently, Engagement has been garnering more attention (Põldvere, Fuoli & Paradis 2016; Breeze 2016). This focus on Engagement is often realised, both in Appraisal and in stance research, through the investigation into functions of specific textual features and reporting clauses such as the use of evaluative 'what' (Bondi 2017), the use and function of 'I don't know' (Beach & Metzger 1997; Tsui 1991), the function of 'I guess' (Kärkkäinen 2007), and the functioning of 'I think/believe' in corporations' social media (Põldvere, Fuoli & Paradis 2016). As Engagement is considered to be central to the modelling of an ideal reader (Martin 1995; Coffin & O'Halloran 2005; Smith & Adendorff 2014), this development is pushing the field towards reader response research. This current research will contribute to this development by being among the first to apply Appraisal directly to reader response data as well as the evaluated news texts. This application is important as previous research informs reader positioning based on the text only, disregarding responses of 'real' readers.

The impact of evaluation on readers has also been considered with regards to the evaluative prosody of texts (Macken-Horarik 2003: 314). Goźdź-Roszkowski and Hunston (2016) identified a need to further investigate evaluative prosody, specifically using corpus methodologies. Following suggestions to investigate Appraisal categories as topologies instead of typologies (Bednarek 2009; Martin 2017), corpus methodology needs to be re-thought according to Goźdź-Roszkowski & Hunston (2016). As the current research is finding a new application for Appraisal in reader response, manual analysis allows for the best adaptation of the Appraisal categories, the identification of evaluative prosody and the comparison of Appraisal between the evaluated news texts and the evaluations made by readers. As Bednarek (2006: 211) stated, manual analysis is 'indispensable'.

Finally, Appraisal research is expanding the notions of inscribed and invoked evaluations specifically with regard to evaluations which function as tokens for secondary

categories. Thompson (2014) refers to this as the 'Russian doll' syndrome, as inscribed evaluative instances can be unpacked to reveal invoked evaluative instances from different categories. This can cause problems for the categorisation of evaluative instances as multiple categories may be appropriate for one instance. This may lead to problems in overall frequencies of categories. More importantly, these invoked evaluations often cross the boundaries between Affect, Appreciation and Judgement. This could lead to problems of identifying the object of the evaluation, as one evaluative instance may explicitly evaluate an object (Appreciation) but implicitly, or invoked, evaluate the maker of that object (Judgement). This is also applicable to instances of Reaction, the sub-category of Appreciation that contains Quality and Impact and is concerned with the attribution of affective characteristics to evaluated objects. These types of evaluative instances do not qualify as explicit Affect but they carry an implicit Affect evaluation. For example the evaluative instance, 'it is horrifying', expresses an evaluation of an object, 'it', and is therefore explicit Appreciation, specifically negative Quality. It also however carries implicit Affect, as the word 'horrifying' carries an emotional response. The key to categorising these evaluations is to track the evaluation from the inscribed category outwards (Thompson 2014) and, at each stage, to identify the object of the evaluation (Don 2016). If the object is a person, the evaluation must be categorised within Judgement. If the object is a 'semiotic and natural phenomenon' (Martin & White 2005: 43), the evaluation must be categorised within Appreciation. If the evaluation contains expressions of feelings attributed to a person, the evaluation must be categorised within Affect. In order to limit the 'Russian doll' syndrome in my analysis, Chapter Four will discuss the methodological decisions made to create a rigorous and replicable analysis.

3.4 Appraisal for Reader Response Analysis

Appraisal was in part developed through the analysis of reader positioning within texts (Martin 1995). Specifically in the application of Appraisal to news texts, researchers used the analysis to speak to the possible effects of the evaluative language on an imagined reader (Martin 1995; White 2003; Martin & White 2005; White 2006). Although Martin (1995) states that a

specific reader position may be created through use of inscribed and invoked judgement, this does not imply automatic acceptance of this position by the reader. However, he does not, nor has other research (to the best of my knowledge), attempt to investigate the possible acceptance of the created stance and Attitude by the reader. Similarly, Coffin and O'Halloran (2005) used Appraisal as a replacement for traditional CDA methods in the analysis of dynamic reader positioning, focusing on how the text's shifting evaluative prosody altered the reader positioning throughout. They suggested that the use of Appraisal as a systematic framework would remove the 'guessing' found in CDA analyses of reader positioning (Coffin & O'Halloran 2005). Again however, they stressed that a created reader position by the text does not imply an accepted reader position by real readers.

More recently, Smith and Adendorff (2014) applied Appraisal to readers' letters published in South African newspapers, demonstrating that Appraisal is applicable to 'real reader' data. Their focus was not on the evaluation of the text by readers, but instead on the readers' community building within their letters, following a similar focus on naturalistic studies of readers (Peplow 2011). They found that Attitude was used to describe desired behaviour of the community, Graduation to stress the positive effects of this behaviour and Engagement to encourage readers of the letters to replicate this desired behaviour (Smith & Adendorff 2014). This indicates a heavy reliance on Engagement in achieving an active response from the readers, and a need for further analysis of Engagement in news texts as well as in reader response data.

Appraisal allows for this dual analysis as each category is adaptable to the field of the text. It also allows for the research to consider the distinction between news text and news event as each categorisation requires the identification of the evaluated object, and how readers might evaluate each differently (Macken-Horarik 2003). Macken-Horarik (2003: 309) also indicates a need for evaluative language scholars to take account of 'distinctive addressivity in genres', including the specific language expectations and genre specific text types that influence how evaluation is formed in texts. By analysing the news texts and the

readers' responses to those news texts, I am able to identify the specific generic features in LBs and TONAs, though on a small scale, as well as readers' expectations of those text types. As Appraisal allows for the labelling of the evaluator and evaluated topic, it can account for the evaluation of multiple levels of narration, which in my news texts include journalists' reports, embedded Tweets, quotations, both direct and indirect, and videos, while allowing for comparison between the evaluated topics.

3.5 Summary

This chapter outlined how research on evaluation has evolved over time and how different strands of evaluative research relate to each other. I discussed how discourse analysis has been used to analyse different forms of evaluation, proving the need to expand evaluative language beyond reporting verbs to include different linguistic and non-linguistic expressions such as word classes and grammatical constructions. Stance research has shown how speakers align themselves with others through their evaluations of objects. Appraisal combines these approaches of Attitude, Engagement and Graduation, in an extensive framework of analysis.

Appraisal has been applied to a large variety of fields. My thesis will expand this by being the first to apply Appraisal to reader response interviews instead of focusing only on the news texts. By analysing both reader responses as the 'review' text and news texts as the source text, my thesis will be the first to create a double Appraisal analysis. It will compare how news events are evaluated in the news texts and in the reader response interviews.

My thesis will also expand Appraisal's methodological discussions of rigour and replicability by combining methodological annotation and analysis principles from corpus analysis (Fuoli 2018) and discourse analysis (Macken-Horarik & Isaac 2014). The next chapter will outline in detail how these methodological approaches have been combined.

Chapter 4 METHODOLOGY

4.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the methods I used in this research. Section 4.1 outlines the research questions and their underlying theoretical and methodological assumptions. Section 4.2 discusses current methodological approaches to Appraisal. Section 4.3 describes the data used in this research, including the data selection, data collection and transcription. Section 4.4 outlines types of ambiguous coding found in the data. Through the analysis of examples, I show how coding decisions were made in these instances. Section 4.5 presents steps taken to increase the reliability and validity of this research. Section 4.6 summarises the steps I took to create a methodologically sound research project.

4.1 Research Questions

This research is concerned with the relation between the presentation of news and readers' evaluations of news events and news texts. By comparing the Appraisal choices used by readers of LBs and readers of TONAs and the language of evaluation used within LBs and TONAs, this research aims to identify what differences there are, if any, in how readers respond to news stories told in these different formats.

These research goals are operationalised through four research questions. These were presented in the introduction and are repeated here for ease of reference. They are:

RQ1: How do LBs represent news events as compared to TONAs?

RQ2: How did readers evaluate the style and format of TONAs as compared to LBs?

RQ3: How did readers evaluate the reported news events in TONAs as compared to LBs?

RQ4: How far does the Appraisal system for Attitudinal evaluation and Engagement help illuminate reader response data?

4.2 Current methodological discussions in Appraisal

In previous research that has applied the Appraisal framework to data, there have been two main approaches to identifying the examples of evaluative language. One approach, typically used for larger scale data sets, has used corpus-based techniques. A second approach has used manual coding, applied to smaller data sets. In this project, I take a manual approach as the majority of my data is reader response interviews to which Appraisal has not been applied before. By taking a manual approach, I am able to adapt the framework to my coding, making it more suitable for my reader response analysis. A manual approach risks an element of subjectivity. In this section, I justify my manual approach, with reference to the practices of other researchers in the field. Throughout this chapter but most notably in sections 4.3.2 and 4.5, I outline the steps that I have taken to minimise researcher influence.

4.2.1 Corpus Approaches to Appraisal

Corpus approaches have been much discussed for Appraisal analysis (Bednarek 2008; 2009; 2016; Fuoli & Hommerberg 2015; Su Hang 2015; Goźdź-Roszkowski & Hunston 2016; Fuoli 2018). Using a corpus approach allows researchers to analyse large quantities of evaluative language, which can help identify stable patterns across large data sets. While this is a valuable aspect of evaluative language analysis, there are issues with taking a corpus approach. As Fuoli and Hommerberg (2015: 316) state, using a corpus methodology inevitably results in a 'focus on restricted forms [of evaluative language] with stable meaning'. This automatically limits the analysis to a relatively restricted range of evaluative instances which are independent from co-text. Most evaluative language however is highly context-dependent (Martin & White 2005; Goźdź-Roszkowski & Hunston 2016). This means that a large number

of evaluative instances may be overlooked when using a corpus methodology. While there have been calls and attempts to improve this (Goźdź-Roszkowski & Hunston 2016; Fuoli 2018), manual analysis is capable of a higher degree of context-sensitivity, and may be able to bring to light uses of evaluative language that occur with less 'stability' but remain important for understanding how readers interpret texts.

4.2.2 Manual Approaches to Appraisal

In this research I have taken a manual approach to analysing the use of Appraisal. It allows for a full and detailed analysis of the text (Bednarek 2008; Fuoli & Hommerberg 2015). Manual analysis also allows for easier adaptation of the Appraisal framework to the field of the text as each evaluative instance is assessed and coded separately. This is important as Macken-Horarik (2003a: 309) states, 'linguistic analysis needs to account for distinctive addressivity in genres and institutionalised reading practices for different text genres'. By using a manual approach, I was able to code evaluative instances based not only on stable meanings, but also based on the context within news media, their co-text, and the texts' overall evaluative prosody. The application and adaptation of Appraisal to the combination of the original text, which are the news texts, and the response texts, which are the reader interviews, has (to my knowledge) not been done before.

4.3 Data

The data used in this research consists of four news texts: two LBs and two TONAs, and 20 interviews: five interviews corresponding to each news text.

4.3.1 News Texts

The selection of the news texts was determined by the selection of the LBs, as breaking news LBs are published less frequently than TONAs. As this research aimed to compare reader

responses to LBs and TONAs, I collected two sets of news texts. The criteria used to select these pairs were the following:

1. Each pair had to consist of one LB and one TONA.

   This allowed for comparison between the LB and the TONA as well as the reader responses to both.

2. Each pair had to be published and produced by the same news institution.

   By controlling for news institutions, this removed the influence of reputation and trust attributed to these news institutions when comparing the reader responses to the TONAs and the LBs.

3. Each pair had to cover the same news event.

   By controlling for news event, I was able to compare evaluations of news formats rather than news events, as the news events were the same between the news formats.

4. Each pair had to have been published on the same date.

   By controlling the information the news institution had at the time and their publication, this allowed for higher internal validity when comparing reader responses to each text within each pair.

These criteria were established to control as many variables as possible in each pair, and to therefore also allow for maximal comparison between the reader responses to each text.

To increase internal validity, allowing for a comparison between the two news events, and cover the full domain of the research questions, the following criteria were used to select the news events:

1. The news event must have been covered through a LB and a TONA by at least one news institution.

If a news institution published a LB and a TONA on the selected news event, it was classified as a news event. This criterion also excluded news events which were not covered through a LB.

2. The news event must be considered 'breaking hard news'. Hard news was defined as news events that contained 'generally undisputed orthodox news values' (Harcup & O'Neill 2016: 4). These types of news events 'demand immediate reporting due to its importance' and they 'usually involve political, economic or social topics' (Lehman-Wilzig & Seletzky 2010: 38). It also had to be 'breaking' news as the event would develop while the LB was being updated.

3. The two selected news events must be different types of news events, i.e. the two events cannot both be terrorist attacks.

   By selecting two different news events, I was able to control for influence of associations attached to news events such as terrorist attacks which could impact reader evaluations. The inclusion of two different news events allowed me to analyse evaluative language used across different news events, making it more applicable to a wider range of LBs and TONAs.

4. The two news events must be covered by two different news institutions.

   By comparing reader responses to two pairs of news texts from two different news institutions, I may find patterns of evaluation that were not influenced by the style of a single news institution. While this does not guarantee that my texts will be representative of *all* news organisations, it increases external validity as it allows me to base my conclusions on reader responses to different news institutions. As the comparison I am concerned with is between the TONAs and the LBs, I was therefore not making comparisons between news producers but instead between news text types.

5. The two news events were unlikely to have directly impacted the United Kingdom. This was aimed at avoiding, as much as is possible, personal involvement of respondents and to limit prior knowledge about the news events.

In order to limit the number of news texts to select from, I initially selected the news institutions. As the research was conducted using native English speakers studying in the UK, the news publications with the most page-views were selected. In 2015, these were the *BBC.co.uk*, *MSN.com*, *theDailyMail.co.uk* and *TheGuardian.co.uk* (Schwartz 2015; *The Guardian* 2016). Neither *MSN.com* nor *theDailyMail.co.uk* regularly publish LBs on breaking hard news, and were therefore discarded, leaving the *BBC.co.uk* and *TheGuardian.co.uk*. World-wide, these are also the two most visited British news websites (Alexa 2017). It should be noted that news readers have been shown to display 'brand' loyalty to news institutions, showing more trust in news institutions that align with their socio-political values (Oyedeji 2007; Iyengar & Hahn 2009; Arendt, Northup & Camaj 2017). This could therefore have affected the respondents' evaluations of the news texts, with some respondents commenting on the trustworthiness of the text due to the news institution. However, as this research is focused on comparing between the TONAs and the LBs, news readers' tribalism had little effect on my conclusions. To remove researcher influence from the further selection of the news events, I used the Google search engine on the *BBC.co.uk* website and *TheGuardian.co.uk* website for the title used for all LBs by the *BBC.co.uk* and *TheGuardian.co.uk*: 'as it happened'. I compiled a list of all hard news LBs published from 1 July 2014 until 31 October 2015 for *TheGuardian.co.uk* and the *BBC.co.uk*, as the first result of my above stated search presented an LB published on 20 July 2014. The *BBC.co.uk* website published 196 LBs between 1 July 2014 and 31 October 2015. Of these LBs, 38 covered hard news events and seven LBs fulfilled the criteria set in section 4.3. The *Guardian* website published 200 LBs between 1 July 2014 and 31 October 2015. Of these LBs, 23 covered hard news events and eight fulfilled the criteria stated above. These fourteen LBs are shown in table 4.1.

BBC	*The Guardian*
20/7/2014 – Gaza Conflict Intensifies	18/7/2014 – Malaysia Airlines Plane MH17 'Shot Down' in Ukraine

24/7/2014 – Missing Air Algerie Flight AH5017	23/7/2014 – Gaza Crisis: Talks Continue as Palestinian Death Toll Approaches 700
16/12/2014 – Pakistan School Attack	12/4/2015 – Hillary Clinton: "I'm Running for President"
25/4/2015 – Earthquake Rocks Nepal	25/4/2015 – Nepal Earthquake Day One
18/6/2015 – Charleston Church Shooting	15/5/2015 – Dzhokhar Tsarnaev Sentenced to Death for Boston Marathon Bombing
01/10/2015 – Oregon Shooting	10/7/2015 – South Carolina Takes Down Confederate Flag
13/10/2015 – MH17 Ukraine Flight Crash Report Released	27/8/2015 – Virginia Shooting: WDBJ Station Manager Details Relation with Gunman
	2/10/2015 – Oregon College Shooting

Table 4.1 LBs that Met Criteria

The topics of these LBs were (1) airplane disasters such as flight MH17 and flight AH5017, (2) the Nepal earthquake, (3) terrorist attacks such as US shootings, the Pakistan attack, and the sentencing of the Boston Marathon bomber, (4) Hillary Clinton's announcement, and (5) the Gaza conflict. I eliminated the inclusion of the airline disasters because the MH17 flight was a Dutch flight which, as a Dutch citizen myself, could have impacted researcher bias. I also eliminated Hillary Clinton's announcement as the US elections generally receive much attention in the UK. The Gaza conflict was selected for the first round of interviews as this was the only topic matching the requirements published between June 2014 March 2015 that was covered by both news institutions, providing consistency in that both institutions considered the event newsworthy. I also included one of the terrorist attacks, selecting the first result on Google which was the Oregon College shooting, which additionally was not focused on religious extremism as to avoid prejudice. This text was selected for the second round of interviews.

Following this procedure, the news texts selected from the *BBC* were: 'As it happened: Gaza conflict intensifies' (*BBC* 2014a) and 'Gaza shelling by Israel leads to deadliest day of conflict' (*BBC* 2014b). These news texts covered 20 July 2014, a particularly deadly day in the Gaza conflict. This event was part of the larger 2014 Israel – Gaza conflict, which was also known as 'Operation Protective Edge' (Lynfield 2015). This conflict lasted from 8 July 2014 until 27 August 2014 during which time over 2,100 Palestinians were killed, 66 Israeli soldiers and 7 Israeli civilians (*BBC* 2014c). In the week leading up to the first round of interviews, 3 March 2015 until 10 March 2015, there were no LBs on breaking news events.

The news texts selected from *The Guardian* were: 'Oregon college shooting: gunman identified as Chris Harper Mercer – as it happened' (The *Guardian* 2015a) and ''Another mass shooting in America': Oregon killings a grim familiarity for US' (The *Guardian* 2015b). The news texts cover a college shooting as Umpqua College in Roseburg, Oregon in the United States. The shooting happened on 1 October 2015. The *Guardian* published a total of 69 articles on this shooting between 1 October 2015 and 21 October 2015 with most published between the 1st and 5th of October. This number was influenced by the presidential primaries campaigns taking place at the time and 17 articles covered presidential candidates' responses to the shooting.

4.3.1.1 Gaza Texts

The TONA about the Gaza conflict published by the *BBC* consisted of 853 words. It contained a video at top of the page and a further four photographs from the scene and one map showing the location of the conflict. The article as a whole has not been attributed to any journalist. However, it contains a section of 169 words in the middle of the article attributed to Yolande Knell. The full text can be found in Appendix 1.A and a screenshot of the page can be found in Appendix 2.A. A link to the text in its original form and layout can be found in the reference list (*BBC* 2014b). The LB about the Gaza conflict published by the *BBC* consisted of 2902 words and contained 45 updates. It started on 20 July 2014 at 16.12 British Standard Time

and finished on 20 July 2014 at 19.06 British Standard Time. It contained the same video at the top of the page from the TONA. It contained a further 18 photographs from the scene. The LB was written by three reporters: Patrick Jackson, Susanna Cooper and Matthew Davis. The full text can be found in Appendix 1.B. A link to the text on the original page can be found in the reference list (*BBC* 2014a). It should be noted that when I visited the page last on 26 May 2017, the live updates had been removed and only the initial video and the key points remained. A screenshot of the original text has been added in Appendix 2.B.

4.3.1.2 Oregon Texts

The TONA about the Oregon shooting published by *The Guardian* consisted of 1705 words. It featured a video of Barack Obama's response to the shooting at the top of the page and contained a further three videos: one of the shooter's father, responding to the news, one of images from the scene, and one of Hillary Clinton's response. It also contained one map showing the location of the shooting. The article was written by four reporters: Chris McGreal, Amanda Holpuch, Erin McCann and Jason Wilson. The full text can be found in Appendix 1.C and a screenshot of the page can be found in Appendix 2.C. A link to the text in its original state can be found in the reference list (The *Guardian* 2015b). The LB about the Oregon shooting published by *The Guardian* consisted of 6799 words and 61 updates. It started on 1 October 2015 at 2.06am British Standard Time and finished on 2 October 2015 at 6.15am British Standard Time. It featured the same video as the TONA at the top of the page. The LB contained a further 13 photographs, one map locating the college, and four videos. The full text can be found in Appendix 1.D and a screenshot of the page can be found in Appendix 2.D. A link to the text in its original form and layout can be found in the reference list (The *Guardian* 2015a).

<u>4.3.2 Interviews</u>

Earlier research has observed that LBs are generally consumed as a news event is developing. Readers will return to LBs throughout the day, often while at work, to find new information added about the news event (Thurman & Walters 2013). Due to financial and time constraints, it was impossible to collect interviews with readers while a LB was being published. As LBs present breaking news stories, respondents would have had to be available to read LBs and be interviewed on very short notice.

The interview data for this research was collected through two rounds of data collection between March 2015 and October 2015. The interviews were semi-structured and lasted between 30 and 60 minutes, following typical interview length (Dörnyei 2007; Richards 2009). Interviews were chosen for data collection as respondents would be familiar with the concept, and it allowed for 'further probing of unanswered questions' to allow respondents to fully explain any evaluations or descriptions made (Dörnyei 2007: 143-4). By semi-structuring the interview, I was able to be flexible in the interviews to allow respondents to speak as freely as possible, while still having the structured questions that allowed for 'systematic coverage' of the research questions (Dörnyei 2007: 143-4).

In total 20 interviews were collected. Table 4.2 shows the word count for the complete data set and each set within the total.

	Gaza Conflict	Oregon Shooting	Events Combined
Interviews with TONA Respondents	Total: 11,828 Mean: 2,365 Range: 1,536 – 3,778	Total: 6,722 Mean: 1,344 Range: 795 – 1,843	Total: 18,550 Mean: 1,855
Interviews with LB Respondents	Total: 15,543 Mean: 3,108 Range: 2,096 – 5,659	Total: 8,868 Mean: 1,773 Range: 1,232 – 2,415	Total: 24,411 Mean: 2,441
News Texts Combined	Total: 27,371 Mean: 2737	Total: 15,590 Mean: 1,559	Total: 42,961 Mean: 2,148

Table 4.2: Interview Data Set Word Counts

4.3.2.1 Pilot Interviews

Richards (2009) suggests conducting at least two pilot interviews before commencing data collection. Following this, I conducted two pilot interviews in November 2014. In these pilot interviews, one respondent was asked to read a LB while the other respondent was asked to read a TONA. They were given a laptop to read the news texts and were given 20 minutes to read the news texts. The respondents were asked to indicate when they had finished reading, after which the interview would begin. Based on results from the pilot interviews, I included a question about how respondents felt the news texts represented the news events (question 5 in table 4.3). I also adapted the wording of some of the questions to reduce influence of the question on the respondents' answers. In the pilot interviews for example, I asked respondents 'how do you feel about the journalist?' which was replaced in the final interviews with 'can you describe the journalist'. The time limit for reading the reports and LBs in the final interviews was reduced to 15 minutes, as the respondents of the pilot interviews indicated that it was a long time to read the BBC news texts. The LB respondent also stated that they would have read less of the LB if they were to read it at home but felt they had to keep reading to fill the 20 minutes. By limiting the time to 15 minutes, I aimed to reduce this 'extra' reading. I also stated to each respondent before the start of the interview that they did not have to read every update and could finish earlier than the 15 minute time cap.

4.3.2.2 Respondents

To select respondents, I used convenience sampling (Dörnyei 2007). As a PhD researcher, I had limited access to participants as well as limited financial means to attract participants. Therefore, my respondents' pool consisted of University of Birmingham students. I controlled for age, education, location and level of English. Respondents had to be between 18 and 30 years old, students at the University of Birmingham, and native English speakers. To attract participants, each respondent was entered into a lottery to win 75 pound voucher for Amazon

or a restaurant of their choice. The first round of advertising for respondents was done via posters around the campus of the University of Birmingham and through advertisements in email newsletters in the College of Arts and Law of the University of Birmingham. This led to 10 respondents. The second round of advertising was done during seminars by Dr Joe Bennett. This led to responses from a further 13 students, creating a total of 23 respondents. This group included students whom I had taught in university seminars, which may have led to shorter interviews as students may have been more hesitant to talk freely. Additionally, the second group of students were first year linguistics students. None of them however had taken any courses specifically in news media language or evaluative language. Apart from the lower word count, there were no other observable differences between the first and the second group of respondents. One respondent was excluded from the research after their responses showed a strong personal connection to the Gaza conflict. Two other respondents were excluded after problems with the recordings. The excluded respondents were: A11, A23 and LB11.This left 20 respondents in total. As this number provided four same-sized groups yet could achievably be qualitatively analysed by one person, I stopped collecting. Five respondents read the LB on the Gaza conflict, five respondents read the LB on the Oregon shooting, five respondents read the TONA on the Gaza conflict, and five respondents read the TONA on the Oregon shooting.

To increase validity (Gass 2010), respondents were randomly assigned to either a LB or a news article. Randomisation was achieved with a random number generator (Random.org 2017). An odd number would result in the respondent reading a TONA, an even number would result in the respondent reading a LB. Once five respondents had read either the LB or the TONA, all remaining respondents were automatically assigned to the remaining news text. Responses collected during the first round of interviews were responses to the Gaza news event, responses collected during the second round of interviews were responses to the Oregon news event.

4.3.2.3 Interview Guide

As these interviews represent qualitative data, the interview process was designed with the priority of collecting the richest data possible, not with the first priority of minimising the influence of the researcher (Holliday 2010). In order to collect the richest interview data, I followed grounded theory guidelines for conducting interviews (Charmaz 2006) as well as guidelines provided by qualitative linguistic researchers (Dörnyei 2007; Richards 2009; Gass 2010). The requirements for the interview questions were: (1) description and evaluation of news events and news texts must be covered, (2) influence of question wordings should be kept to a minimum, (3) respondents should be able to answer as freely as possible, (4) the interview guide should contain 'useful probe questions' (Dörnyei 2007). The interview should start with an open question, to 'set up participants for longer answers', and it should include both 'event questions' and 'perspective questions' to provide a full range of description and evaluation (Richards 2009: 188).

Event questions were defined as questions which asked the respondents to describe the news event and the news text without explicitly asking for an evaluation. These event questions were question numbers 1, 3, 6, 7, 9 and 10 (see table 4.3). Perspective questions were defined as questions which explicitly asked the respondents to evaluate the news text or the news event, and were question numbers 2, 4, 5 and 8 (see table 4.3). The questions were ordered by domain, moving from the news event to the news text to the journalist. The 'event questions' were asked first to not influence respondents' description with explicit questions for evaluation. This meant that evaluative language used in response to event questions was unprovoked and the 'perspective questions' functioned as follow-up questions instead of clear inquiry into respondents' evaluations.

Table 4.3 outlines the interview questions used, the part of the research domain each question was designed to cover and a rationale for the wording of each question.

	Question	Domain coverage	Rationale for wording
1	Can you tell me about the news you just read?	News event description, possible news event evaluation	A request for the interviewee to speak freely. No evaluative language within the question which could influence responses.
2	What do you think of this event?	News event evaluation	Open-ended to allow respondents to evaluate news without priming.
3	Tell me about the people involved in this news.	News event description, possible news event evaluation	Open-ended to allow respondents to speak freely. Specific about the people involved in the news event to create more detailed discussion of the news event and to possibly evoke evaluations of quotes and social media.
4	How do you think this news is affecting people?	News event evaluation	Open-ended to allow respondents to speak freely. Encouraging respondents to evaluate more explicitly – in pilot interviews this evaluation was lacking.
5	Does this article represent the event that is being described well?	News text evaluation	Not open-ended to allow respondents to say yes or no. Probing question used after answer: why (not)? Trying to evoke evaluation of news text which are valued for representing news events accurately.
6	Whose voices can you hear in this article?	News text description, possible news text evaluation	Open-ended to allow respondents to speak freely. Encouraging respondents to describe the news text in more detail. Investigating previous research outcomes that LBs are perceived as more balanced (Thurman & Walters 2013).
7	Can you describe the journalist?	Journalist description, possible journalist evaluation	A request for the interviewee to speak freely. Trying to evoke evaluation of reporter(s).
8	What do you think about the style of the news?	Evaluation of news text	Open-ended to allow respondents to speak freely. Responses were not included in data analysis but used to provide an overview of opinions of LBs and TONAs.
9	Do you ever read LBs?	Check of prior knowledge of / experience with style of news.	Closed as used to check respondents' use of LBs.

10	Is there anything else you would like to add?	Opportunity for respondents to talk about anything.	Open-ended and non-topic specific to allow respondents to mention anything that stood out to them, or anything that they wanted to talk about but felt they could not earlier.

Table 4.3 Interview Questions

4.3.2.4 Interview Procedure

To increase standardisation across all interviews, and thereby improve internal validity, the following procedure was conducted before each interview:

1. The respondent was asked to read the participant information sheet (Appendix 3.A) and sign the ethical consent form (Appendix 3.B).

2. The respondent was then presented with either a LB or a TONA on a PC or laptop. I randomly assigned respondents to either news texts prior to their arrival to the interview.

3. The respondent was informed that they had 15 minutes to read the text in front of them. I told them they could engage with the text however they wanted to, including reading only parts of it and clicking on hyperlinks. During the pilot study interviews, the LB respondent stated they were interested in some of the hyperlinks but did not click on any. They stated that because they were taking part in a research on news texts, they felt they had to remain on the news text page initially provided by the researcher. As hyperlinks are an essential part of LBs and during realistic consumption of LBs readers would be able to follow hyperlinks if they chose to, I explicitly informed respondents they were allowed to follow hyperlinks should they choose to do so.

4. The respondent was told that they could indicate they had finished reading the text at any point before the 15 minutes was over.

5. During the 15 minutes, I sat away from the respondent, not facing the screen. I would read during this time so the respondent would be able to feel comfortable reading the news texts in any way they chose without my interference.

6. After 15 minutes, or less if the respondent indicated they had finished reading, the respondent would be informed that the following interview was not a memory test and they could look back at the news texts if they wanted to.

7. The interview would then start.

To negate the lack of comparison to realistic consumption of LBs, several measures were taken:

1. Respondents were given 15 minutes to read the news texts.

   The pilot study showed that the TONA respondent took about 15 minutes to read the news text. The LB respondent found 20 minutes to be too long, and stated that they read more updates than they would have at home. By limiting the time to 15 minutes, this allowed TONA respondents to read the full text, as it would be read naturally, and forced LB respondents to self-select updates to read. This aimed to mimic real consumption of LBs as readers will enter LBs at different times during the day, self-selecting updates to read. By limiting the time to 15 minutes, this ensured that even fast readers were unable to read every update on the LB. By setting the same 15 minute restriction on both TONA respondents and LB respondents, the reader responses were comparable.

2. The selected news events were not covered extensively in British news in the week leading up to the interviews.

   As shown in the discussion of the news text selection in section 3.3.1, the news events could not be extensively familiar to the respondents, where they had already read news texts about the news events in the week leading up to the interviews. By selecting news events which were not extensively covered in recent British news cycles, this allowed respondents to read the news texts without interference from other news texts

that respondents may had read. Most respondents were in fact not aware of the Gaza conflict as demonstrated by the quotes in text box 4.1:

'I had not heard this news before' (A13)

'it's about the number of eh (.) Palestinian civilian casualties eh (.) during some (.) bombing eh of Gaza city eh and it came just after a ceasefire' (A14)

'it's something that I (.) necessarily wasn't aware of before reading that (.) that's not because I don't watch the news and try engage with the affairs but it's not something I was entirely aware of so I'm not actually quite sure why this is happening' (A15)

'I haven't actually been following it myself but obviously this (.) this article here has quite a lot of detail so and the fact that there's so much destruction in the space of three hours is quite disturbing' (LB14)

'if it came up on the news I probably wouldn't think anything like (.) obviously it would be horrible to see but I wouldn't think much of it compared to (.) other worldwide (.) eh like wars going on (1) it's to me it's just kind of another conflict that's happening in the world but I don't know (.) that area that well so and the history of it so it's harder to understand' (LB16)

Text Box 4.1 Existing Knowledge of News Events by Respondents

4.3.2.5 Interview Procedure Validity

The interview procedure and interview guide were followed for each interview conducted. The questions and question order remained the same throughout both rounds of data collection. By conducting each interview using the same procedure and questions, all responses were consistently collected. This allowed for comparison between all four groups, increasing the internal validity of the research (Gass 2010; Spooren & Degand 2010). All data was also combined to decrease chances of an influence of outliers and interviewer bias on the data.

4.3.2.6 Ethics

This research has been approved by the University of Birmingham Ethical Review Board. It also used BAAL's ethical guidelines (BAAL 2017). Responses were anonymised and any

information within the transcriptions that could identify respondents has been removed. The full information sheet and consent form can be found in Appendix Three.

Respondents were able to withdraw within two weeks following their interview. No respondents withdrew.

4.3.2.7 Transcription

In transcribing interviews, I followed the principle that the transcription procedure should focus on transcribing 'the essential elements' based on the research questions (Richards 2009). These choices should be made explicit (Fuoli & Hommerberg 2015). As this research is concerned with evaluative language used by readers and in news texts, its main focus is on lexis and semantics (Bednarek 2006). Therefore the transcriptions contained all lexis, including re-starts. Text Box 4.2 shows an extract of a transcription.

> [i] so can you tell me a bit about what happened
> [A13] eh okay this conflict there was a truce between Israel and Palestinians and the Palestines and then (.) there's been conflict and it's mainly affecting the civilians and (.) the UN are trying to help but they're running out of resu-resources (.) so eh that's mainly what I got from it (2) other than me [inaudible] this what I remember (2) it's horrible
> [i] why do you think it's horrible
> [A13] because I used to be a pacifist so [laughter] there's all that (.) but I've never agreed with war and I think that the fact is (.) affecting people who don't really have any say they can't do anything about it and the U - obviously the UN is doing what they can but (.) like it says in the article the UN have something about 50,000 yeah the UN now supplies help to more than 50,000 Palestinians who sought shelter in schools in Palestine (.) so that's it's really upsetting to think that that's happening (.) so far away and there's nothing we can really - well they're obvious things we can but (.) we're not there directly giving help (.) to them (.) it's just seems like another world (.) to me (.) and it's obvious that it's happening

Text Box 4.2 Transcription Extract

Evaluation can also be manifested through tone and pauses (Culpeper 2011). However, to limit the scope of my research, only pauses were included in the transcript. These were timed using the transcription software Express Scribe (NCH Software 2017). Brackets containing a

full stop: (.), indicate a pause of less than one second. Brackets containing a number: (1), indicate a pause of that number of seconds.

The interviews were labelled by the news text read and the number of the respondent. If the respondent read a TONA, the label starts with 'A'. If the respondent read a LB, the label starts with 'LB'. The first number indicates the news event. The Gaza conflict is indicated by '1' and the Oregon shooting is indicated by '2'. The final number indicates the individual respondent. For example, respondent A13 read the TONA ('A') about the Gaza conflict ('1') and was the third ('3') respondent.

4.4 Application of Appraisal categories

The Appraisal framework was developed through application to news texts and TEFL texts (White 1997; Martin 2000; Martin & White 2005; Bednarek 2006). As it has not been applied to reader response interviews before, specifically reader response interviews about news texts and news events, I faced challenges in its application to the data. The following section contains the 'annotation scheme design' for this research (Fuoli & Hommerberg 2015). It summarises the types of evaluative instances which could not be categorised following Martin and White's (2005) Appraisal outline. These were evaluative instances which were (1) lexically ambiguous, (2) specific to the field of the data, and (3) evaluative instances which could be doubly coded. Each of the following sections uses an example from the data to show how these instances were analysed.

4.4.1 Lexical ambiguity

Evaluative instances which were lexically ambiguous were analysed based on their co-text and the evaluative prosody of the complete text (Thompson 2014; Fuoli 2018). Following Fuoli (2018), if any instances were unclear to the researcher, they were not coded. An example of

an ambiguous lexical item follows. A respondent who read the TONA about the Gaza conflict evaluated the news text as following:

> 'knowing that you're writing for a news website you couldn't be painting colourful images of these you can't really paint a colourful image but (2) there's no raw detail about it (2) eh (3) yeah (2) it's a lot- it's **just very factual**' (A13)

The evaluative instance that I will discuss here is the use of the adjective 'factual' to describe the news text. Respondents used the term 'factual' for a variety of meanings, each of which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Six. Factuality is generally considered a positive evaluation of news texts, as news media is expected to be truthful and informative. In this instance however, the respondent used the term as a negative description of the news text. This can be established through the analysis of the co-text, specifically the use of the term 'just' and the preceding clauses which provide comparisons to expectations through the use of negation (Labov 1972). The use of 'just' functions to limit the evaluation 'factual', evaluating the text as focusing only on facts rather than 'painting a colourful image'. This instance was therefore categorised as negative Impact, as the term 'factual' functioned to evaluate the text as lacking story-telling.

Further lexically ambiguous instances were coded following the same steps: (1) identifying the evaluative instance, (2) identifying its possible evaluative meanings, (3) identifying evaluation carried by its co-text, and if necessary, (4) identifying evaluative prosody of the whole text. Based on these analyses, each evaluative instance was then coded individually.

4.4.2 Evaluative instances specific to news evaluation

I operationalised Martin and White's (2005) categories in the light of field-specific values related to news media. This included evaluative instances of news texts' Balance, Complexity, Impact, Valuation and Quality. The following example shows how media research was applied

to evaluative instances to categorise them into the Appraisal categories. A LB respondent stated the following about the news text:

> 'I'd say this article **represents it [the Gaza conflict] pretty well** eh (.) especially by including tweets of civilians involved and like you know hearing about the imagery' (LB12)

The words in bold: 'represents it pretty well' have been coded as positive Quality. Martin and White (2005) define Quality as part of the evaluator's reaction to the evaluated topic: whether the evaluator likes it. News media quality however is commonly separated into reliability and complexity. Complexity is concerned with the depth provided in the news texts (Pew 2004; Gulati, Just & Crigler 2004). Reliability is concerned with accuracy of reporting and is most commonly associated with news media quality (Meijer 2003; Zaller 2003; Van der Wurff & Schönbach 2011). It includes factuality, accuracy and independence of reporting, each of which work together to define quality news reporting (Sundar 1999; Project for Excellence in Journalism 2004). As the evaluated topic in the example is the news text, positive Quality was interpreted as reliability of the news report, including any lexis signalling perceived accuracy, factuality and independence. Lexical items concerning the depth of the news texts were coded as Complexity.

The evaluative instance can be further categorised through the analysis of its co-text. The LB respondent stated that the news text 'represented' the Gaza conflict 'pretty well'. The use of the adverbial phrase 'pretty well' indicated a positive evaluation. Combined with the verb 'represented', this showed a perceived accuracy in the representation of the news event by the news text. As argued above, perceived accuracy is a positive evaluation of a news text and was therefore coded as positive Quality. This coding might appear closer to Judgement categories, such as Veracity concerned with how truthful a person is. However, I followed Martin and White's (2005: 56) assumption that Appreciation contains all 'evaluations of 'things'', while Judgement contains all evaluations of 'people and the way they behave' (52). Following Thompson (2014: 58), I took each evaluative instance 'at face-value'. In the example

above the evaluated topic was 'this article' which, when taken at face-value, is an inanimate object. Therefore, any evaluation of 'this article' should be coded as Appreciation.

In the following chapters, each analysis of an Appraisal category will begin with a discussion of its application to the evaluated topic at hand: news texts or news events. I analyse the evaluative instances by deriving pre-existing evaluations of news media from research in the media, linguistics and journalism fields. By focusing specifically on the evaluation of news media through news values, I establish how news values, through which news media is evaluated, can be combined with the Appraisal framework (Martin & White 2005).

4.4.3 Double coding

Some evaluative instances could be coded into two categories following Martin and White's (2005) categorisations. Most commonly these instances could be coded as inscribed evaluation in one category and evoked categories in a second category. This methodological problem has also been discussed in Chapter Three, section 3.3. As one of the key news values is negativity (Galtung & Ruge 1965; Harcup & O'Neill 2016; Bednarek & Caple 2017), there are many negatively loaded evaluations throughout both the news texts and the reader response interviews. These evaluations ascribed negatively loaded characteristics to the news events and news texts using affective lexis such as 'sad'. These instances could therefore be coded as Appreciation, as they describe the news event, and Affect, as they express the feelings of the speaker. As readers evaluated the events, many evaluative instances could be coded as inscribed negative Quality as well as evoked Affect. A respondent who read the Gaza article stated for example:

> 'I think it's **horrible** because (3) it's involve- like it's involving people who are just (.) you know citizens innocent people who (.) don't expect like this conflict to be on their door really' (A12)

The evaluative instance here is 'horrible', which is evaluating the news event as it comes in direct response to the interview question: what do you think of this event? The adjective 'horrible' here is coded as Appreciation as it is evaluating a 'natural phenomenon' (Martin & White 2005: 56). It is then coded as inscribed negative Quality as it evaluated the news event negatively. The respondent is clear that they do not like the news event.

This evaluative instance can also be coded as evoked negative Affect as the term 'horrible' alludes to a 'horrified' speaker and ascribes an affective characteristic to the news event. While 'horrible' functions as an adjective here, the word also carries the meaning of its verb: 'to be horrified'. It was coded as inscribed negative Quality as its evaluation of a natural phenomenon, but also carries the idea that the respondent was 'horrified' by the event and was affected by it. However, I chose to follow Thompson (2014) to categorise evaluative instances based on the text alone. This means that I coded each instance following the object of the evaluation as presented in the text. This instance was therefore only coded as negative Quality. While there is a case to be made for the secondary coding of negative Affect, this secondary coding relies on my interpretation of the respondent's meaning intention. As this would result in non-replicable coding, I did not include secondary coding. However, I do consider these affective evaluations, as Martin and White (2005: 57) describe Reaction, the sub-category of Appreciation that contains Quality and Impact, as one that includes affective and emotive responses. By considering this in my analysis, I account for the affective Appreciation evaluations of respondents that may indicate negative Affect.

4.5 Reliability and Validity

4.5.1 Intra-rater Reliability & Internal Validity

As this research has been conducted by one researcher, the data has been coded by one coder. As all data was coded by the same coder, this allowed for comparison between the coded texts as each text was exposed to the same subjectivity (Spooren & Degand 2010). To increase intra-rater reliability, all texts were coded and re-coded (Gass 2010). The first round

of coding took place from October 2015 until December 2015. After the first round of coding, the interview data was partly written up and read by my supervisors. Following feedback and discussions, the data was then re-coded during a second round. The second round of coding took place from February 2016 to March 2016.

The largest change in coding was made in the Impact categories of Appreciation and Affect. During the first round of coding, instances such as the example below were coded as Affect:

'one of the **saddest** aspects is tactically this was not only disaster for those involved (.) like the civilians who lost their lives at the hand of the Israeli military' (LB12)

Following supervisory input, these instances were re-coded as Appreciation. This more closely aligned with Martin and White's (2005) distinctions between Affect and Appreciation. Where Affect concerns feelings attributed to either the speaker or other people, Appreciation is concerned with attributes of objects. In this case, the adjective 'saddest' is used to describe the 'aspects' of the conflict. It is therefore evaluating an object. While it uses an adjective derived from an emotional state, it does not explicitly express the feelings of a person. It was instead coded as negative Quality.

I also followed part of an annotation manual for all rounds of coding, following the general annotation instructions only (Fuoli & Hommerberg 2015: 1-2), not the unitization tasks, which were focused on inter-rater reliability. To increase reliability, the coding decisions were made explicit in section 4.4 (Fuoli & Hommerberg 2015; Fuoli 2018).

4.5.2 External Validity

While steps have been taken to limit interviewer bias (see section 3.3.2), there was most likely still an influence of the research setting on the results. An example of this influence could have been the lack of Affect used by the respondents. Since this was conducted in an official experimental setting with the interviewer as an official researcher, it is possible that

respondents would not have been comfortable expressing Affect. While this has limited influence on the internal validity of the research as all respondents were exposed to the same setting, it has been taken into consideration in any external generalisation made in this research.

4.6 Summary

Several steps were taken to increase the validity and reliability of this research. To increase reliability the following steps were taken:

(1) Coding has been made explicit (see section 4.4)

(2) A coding manual has been followed (see section 4.5.1)

(3) The data was coded and re-coded on two separate occasions (see section 4.5.1)

To increase validity the following steps were taken:

(1) Two different news events were used (see section 4.3)

(2) Respondents were controlled for age (18-30), education (university level), and country (UK) (see section 4.3)

(3) Interviews were conducted following the interview guide (see section 4.3.2)

(4) Generalisations made from the data were limited (see section 4.5.2)

By following the procedures for data selection, data collection and data analysis outlined in this chapter, I created a research project as rigorous as was possible within my financial and time limitations.

Chapter 5 APPRAISAL IN NEWS TEXTS

5.0 Introduction

This thesis investigates how readers respond to different online news texts with a specific focus on hard news LBs. I use Appraisal theory to analyse both the readers' responses and the texts to which they responded. In this chapter I present an analysis of the news texts, with a focus on the LBs as the newer format, and their linguistic features as well as an analysis of Appraisal as it occurred in the news texts. This analysis is important for two reasons. First, it provides the context for the reader response analysis in the later chapters, as the readers' responses may reflect the language that was present in the texts they were asked to read. Second, Appraisal analysis of the news texts allows me to compare the news texts' evaluative language with the responses of the readers who took up positions relative to both the news events and the news texts. This builds on a tradition within Appraisal of analysing reader positioning within texts (Martin 1995; White 2003; Martin & White 2005; Macken-Horarik 2003a; Coffin & O'Halloran 2005) as well as a tradition within reader response of analysing 'real' readers' responses to texts.

5.1 Characteristics and Structure of the Online News Texts

This section analyses the structures and characteristics of TONAs and LBs. Following Bell's (1991) and White's (1997) analysis of news structure, I analyse each of the news texts used in this research. I also discuss and analyse the types of features found in each news text along with their frequencies, and specific stylistic distinctions found between the TONAs and the LBs, such as verb tenses. As the overall goal of this research is to investigate similarities and differences in reader response between TONAs and LBs, this chapter will primarily focus on the distinctions between the news texts selected for this research. However, as research has been done about LBs in the news more generally and their characteristics (Thurman & Walters

2013; Tereszkiewicz 2014), I will begin my analysis with a comparison between the LBs selected for my research and the aforementioned research.

<u>5.1.1 LB Features</u>

The lay-out of the LB pages of the *BBC* and *The Guardian* are similar. Figures 5.1 shows a screenshot of a *Guardian* hard news LB and figure 5.2 shows a screenshot of a *BBC* hard news LB. For both publishers, these lay-outs are used as standard for all hard news LBs. While the topics in these illustrative examples are not the same as the topics used for this

research, the lay-out is the same across all LBs. The characteristics of LBs have been highlighted and numbered with labels following figure 5.2.

Figure 5.1 The Guardian LB lay-out

Figure 5.2: BBC LB lay-out

1. Headline	6. Example of embedded Tweet
2. Lead	7. *Links to related stories (specific to BBC)*
3. Leading photograph or video	8. *Option to contact BBC (specific to BBC)*
4. Summary of sub-events	9. Example of embedded video
5. Time stamps on updates	10. Examples of options to share update

LBs contain a headline (1), a lead (2), a leading photograph or video (3), a summary of the reported event (4) and time stamps on each update (5). Each of these elements can be found in the same place on both LBs. The lead photograph, which in the case of both LBs used for this research was a video, is found in different places. In *The Guardian*'s LB, the lead photograph is situated below the headline and the lead, appearing almost as part of the live updates. In the *BBC*'s LB, the lead photograph appears behind the headline and the lead, appearing more prominent as it is higher up the page than in *The Guardian*'s lay-out. While not all updates and features can be captured in the images above, both LBs also contain embedded Tweets (6), embedded videos or photographs (9), and options to share updates via social media or email (10). The updates are presented in reverse-chronological order during the publication of the LBs with the most recent update at the top of the page and the first update of the LB at the end.

When compared to average hard news LBs as reported in earlier research (Thurman & Walters 2013; Tereszkiewicz 2014; Thurman & Schapals 2016), the LBs used for this research contain more updates and more examples of multi-media. Table 5.1 provides an overview of frequencies of these LB characteristics in the *BBC* LB about the Gaza conflict, *The Guardian* LB about the Oregon shooting and average hard news LB (Thurman & Walters 2013; Tereszkiewicz 2014).

	BBC LB 20/7/2014	The *Guardian* LB 02/10/2015	Standard LB (Thurman & Walters 2013; Tereszkiewicz 2014; Thurman & Schapals 2016)
Updates	45	61	31
Sources	51	64	96
Photographs	19	18	10.6
Infographics	0	1	1.3
Videos	1	4	2.2
Tweets	34	25	22
Emails	5	0	Not available

Table 5.1 Characteristics of LBs

As can be seen from table 5.1, both LBs used for the current research are longer than the average hard news LB as found in 2011 (Thurman & Walters 2013). They contain more photographs than average as well, which is likely due to their increased length. The *BBC* and *The Guardian* LBs selected for this research show a similar amount of tweets, slightly more than the average hard news LB, and a similar amount of sources, though less than the average hard news LB. The inclusion of emails, which all came from readers of the *BBC*, was specific to the *BBC*'s LB and was not found in *The Guardian*'s LB. There were no statistics available the number of emails included in hard news LBs in earlier research.

The narrative structures of hard news LBs are similar as they are reverse-chronologically ordered. Following Bird and Dardenne (1988), this structure can be perceived as more 'objective' as there is less intervention by the journalist in the ordering of the text. However, this also results in a less 'tellable' story according to their research (Bird & Dardenne 1988). This is reflected in Thurman and Walters' (2013) and Thurman and Newman's (2014) work which showed that readers perceived LBs to be more objective while also more confusing. The following section will explore LB structure further by comparing it to the structure of TONAs.

5.1.2 News Structure

The most striking distinction between the TONAs and the LBs is found in their structure. The TONAs, both from the *BBC* and *The Guardian*, follow the inverted pyramid structure (Van Dijk 1988a; Bell 1991; Zhang & Liu 2016). They each consist of a headline and a lead, together forming the abstract, which provide the key information about each event (Bell 1991: 169-70). The *BBC*'s TONA, which reported on the 2014 Gaza conflict, starts with the following abstract:

[1] 'Gaza shelling by Israel leads to deadliest day of conflict

[2] [video report from Gaza + attributions]

[3] Gaza has suffered the highest death toll since Israel's offensive began, with at least 87

[4] people reported killed on Sunday – 67 of them in one area.'

Text Box 5.1 Lead from the TONA of the BBC

The *BBC*'s abstract contains a headline (line 1), a lead (lines 3 and 4) and is interrupted by a video report from Gaza and the attributions (line 2). The abstract, or nucleus following White (1997), includes information about the actors, 'Gaza and Israel', the action, 'Israel's offensive', and consequences of that action, 'the highest death toll'. It also justifies the news value of the story by using two superlatives: 'highest' and 'deadliest'. These help identify this specific day from the larger conflict as newsworthy as it had the largest impact on the most amount of people (Galtung & Ruge 1965; Bell 1991).

The *BBC*'s LB, which reported on the same day of the 2014 Gaza conflict as the TONA, starts with the following abstract:

[1] 'As it happened: Gaza conflict intensifies

[2] [video report from Gaza]

- *[3] Gaza suffers highest death toll and most intense shelling since the launch of Israel's offensive'*

- *[4] At least 87 Palestinians are said to have been killed on Sunday, 60 in one neighbourhood alone*

- *[5] Israel's military confirms the deaths of 13 soldiers overnight after Hamas claims a major attack*

- *[6] Gaza militants are continuing to fire rockets into Israel, with one landing in the city of Ashkelon*

- *[7] Israel earlier said it had Expanded its operation – launched 13 days ago – against Hamas militants*

[8] All times BST (GMT + 1) + attributions

[9] 16.12 Hello and welcome to our live coverage of the conflict in Gaza. Sunday has seen

[10] the heaviest bombardment of Gaza since the Israeli offensive began. The Palestinian

[11] leadership has condemned as a massacre the killing of at least 60 people in one

[12] neighbourhood of Gaza, Shejaiya. Thousands of Palestinian civilians are fleeing the

[13] area. Meanwhile rocket fire from the strip, into Israel, has continued. Hamas also

[14] claims it carried out a major attack on Israeli forces in Gaza, causing multiple

[15] casualties – although Israel has not commented on this.

Text Box 5.2: Lead from the LB of the BBC

The *BBC* LB's abstract consists of a headline (line 1), a lead (lines 9 to 15), the same video that was used in the *BBC*'s TONA (line 2), attributions (line 8) and a list of bullet points containing key events within this larger news event (lines 3 to 7). While the headline and lead could function as a full abstract without these bullet points, I treat lines 3 to 7 as part of the

abstract as they contain key information about the news event in a shortened form. They are similar to 'newsbites' (Knox 2007) in their summarising function but differ in their ideational and textual functions. Each individual sentence only captures part of the news event, functioning as lead-ins to the news text and not functioning to attract the reader to follow the hyperlink to get to the news text. The abstract of the LB contains the same information as the abstract of the TONA: the number of casualties, the use of superlatives to express newsworthiness of this specific day of the conflict, and the video report from Gaza. The LB also contains additional, more detailed, information: locations of bombing (line 6), Appraisal of the news event (line 9-10), consequences of the news event (line 11), and claims about possible attacks (lines 12-15). These resources heighten the evaluative aspects of the abstract in the LB as compared with the abstract of the TONA. Specifically, the use of Engagement shows a distinction between the first and the second abstract. The TONA uses only Monoglossic Engagement in its abstract, while the LB contains primarily Attributions (lines 4, 5, 7, 9-10, 12-15). This difference in the presentation of the abstract can also be found in the news texts from *The Guardian*.

The *Guardian*'s TONA, which reported on the Oregon shooting, started with the following abstract:

---

[1] ''Another mass shooting in America': Oregon killings a grim familiarity for US

- *[2] 10 people killed and 7 more injured at Umpqua college in Roseburg*

- *[3] Angry Barack Obama says shootings 'have become routine'*

- *[4] Gunman identified as Chris Harper Mercer, a 26-year-old local man*

- *[5] Suspect said to have been born in England before moving to the US*

- *[6] Reports say he asked students to state religion before opening fire*

[7] [video of Barack Obama's response + attributions]

[8] The US is reeling from another school shooting, the 45th this year, after a 26-year-old

[9] gunman murdered as many as nine people and wounded seven more at a community

[10] college in Oregon before he was killed.'

Text Box 5.3: Lead from the TONA of The Guardian

This abstract contains the headline (line 1), the lead as defined by Bell (1991) (line 8 – 10). It also included a video and attributions between the headline and the lead (line 7) similar to the *BBC*'s TONA. The *Guardian*'s abstract also included five bullet points (lines 2 – 6), containing additional information about the news event. The information provided in them is elaborated further on in the text.

The *Guardian*'s LB, which reported on the same shooting, starts with the following abstract:

---

[1] 'Oregon college shooting: gunman identified as Chris Harper Mercer – as it happened

[2] 10 dead and seven injured after mass shooting

[3] 'Somehow this has become routine' president says in spirited remarks

[4] 26-year-old shooter at Roseburg's Umpqua Community College is dead

[5] [link to traditional online news article]

*[6] **2 Oct 2015** Gunman among 10 dead*

*[7] **2 Oct 2015** Shooter's identity confirmed as Chris Harper Mercer*

*[8] **2 Oct 2015** 10 dead, seven injured, says sheriff*

*[9] **1 Oct 2015** Sheriff's office: 'threat over'*

*[10] **1 Oct 2015** Obama: 'Somehow this has become routine'*

*[11] **1 Oct 2015** Roseburg sherrif: shooter is dead*

*[12] **1 Oct 2015** Attorney general: 13 dead, 20 wounded*

*[13] **<u>1 Oct 2015</u>** 19:54*

[14] A gunman has shot multiple people at a college campus in western <u>Oregon</u>,
[15] emergency officials have said.

[16] Umpqua Community College was locked down on Thursday and civilians have been
[17] advised to stay away from the area, about 180 miles south of Portland.'

Text Box 5.4: Lead from the LB of The Guardian

The abstract contains a headline (line 1), a lead (lines 13-17), and key moments of the news event (lines 2-12). These key moments are presented in reverse-chronological order, signalling not only the content of the LB but also the structure of the rest of the news text. The *Guardian*'s LB does not contain a video within its abstract as opposed to the other three news texts. Similar to the *BBC*'s LB, *The Guardian*'s LB abstract contains more Appraisal than *The Guardian*'s TONA. The TONA contains three instances of Attribution (lines 2, 5, 6) while the remainder of the abstract contains Monoglossia. It also contains one instance of Attitudinal

Appraisal, as line 3 evaluates Obama as 'angry'. The *Guardian*'s LB abstract contains 7 instances of Attribution (lines 3, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14-15) and two instances of Attitudinal Appraisal in lines 3 and 11. In line 3, Obama's remarks are evaluated as 'spirited', while in line 11 the Appraisal is attributed to Obama as he stated that the shootings had become 'routine'. In the TONAs, the key information is relayed in Monoglossic statements, while in the LBs, the key information is relayed through Attributions. This instantly foregrounds the polyvocality of the LBs, which readers have positively evaluated in previous research (Thurman & Walters 2013; Thurman & Newman 2014).

These abstracts or nuclei are a key part of news structures as they function as the top of the inverted pyramid structure (Bell 1991). The information provided is general, yet contains all the key points of the news event and explains the events' newsworthiness according to news values. The remainder of each news text is more specific, including more details about the generalities found in the abstract. For the analysis of the rest of the texts, which Bell (1991: 169) refers to as 'the story', consisting of 'one or more episodes', I follow White's (1997) nucleus-satellites framework as it explicitly includes Appraisal, a key concern of this research.

White (1997; 2000) starts from the idea that news structure functions as a rhetorical device. The structure of news stories is designed to persuade the reader of its newsworthiness. By ordering the information according to news values, news texts have created 'a distinctive narrative structure' (Bell 1991; Toolan 2001: 208). White (1997) found that the headline and lead make up the nucleus of the news story, containing all key information, and the remaining text contains multiple 'satellites' each providing more detail about the information provided in the nucleus. As each satellite refers back to information in the nucleus, news structure is not chronological, but instead 'orbital' (White 1997). The satellites each fulfil one out of six possible functions (White 1997: 12-3):

- elaboration – 'provides more detailed description or exemplification of information presented in the nucleus, or acts to restate it'

- cause-and-effect – 'describes the causes, the reasons for, the consequences or the purpose of the 'crisis point' presented in the nucleus'

- Justification – 'provides the evidence which supports the newsworthy claim presented in the nucleus'

- contextualisation – 'places the events of the nucleus in a temporal, spatial or social context'

- Appraisal – 'elements of the nucleus are appraised, typically by some expert external source, in terms of their significance, their emotional impact, or by reference to some system of value judgement'

- Concession (White 2000: 6) – 'presents material which is represented as contrary to or frustrating expectations raised by elements of the nucleus'

It should be noted that while White's (1997; 2000) framework names appraisal satellites as a category in its own right, the other satellites may still contain instances of Appraisal. The narrative function of the satellite relative to the headline is determined by its main function within the text. While Attitudinal Appraisal is primarily found in appraisal satellites, Engagement, which is part of Appraisal following Martin and White's (2005) work, is often found in all satellites. The presence of Engagement is exemplified in the extract from *The Guardian*'s TONA:

> *'It was not clear whether Mercer had been a student at Umpqua college although a listing from a Noel Coward play that had been staged there had his name posted as an assistant with the production'.*

This satellite appears midway through the TONA and functions as contextualisation, by providing the biographical details of the shooter, Mercer. While it does not contain Attitudinal Appraisal, it does contain Denial, a form of Heteroglossic Engagement: 'it was **not** clear'.

5.1.2.1 Satellites in the TONAs

As each satellite fulfils one function in White's (1997; 2000) model, the number of satellites in a news text allow for a comparison between the types of content provided in each text. The *BBC*'s TONA contains 32 satellites and *The Guardian*'s TONA contains 33 satellites. Figure 5.3 shows an overview of the frequencies of each satellite function in each TONA.

Percentages of Satellite Functions
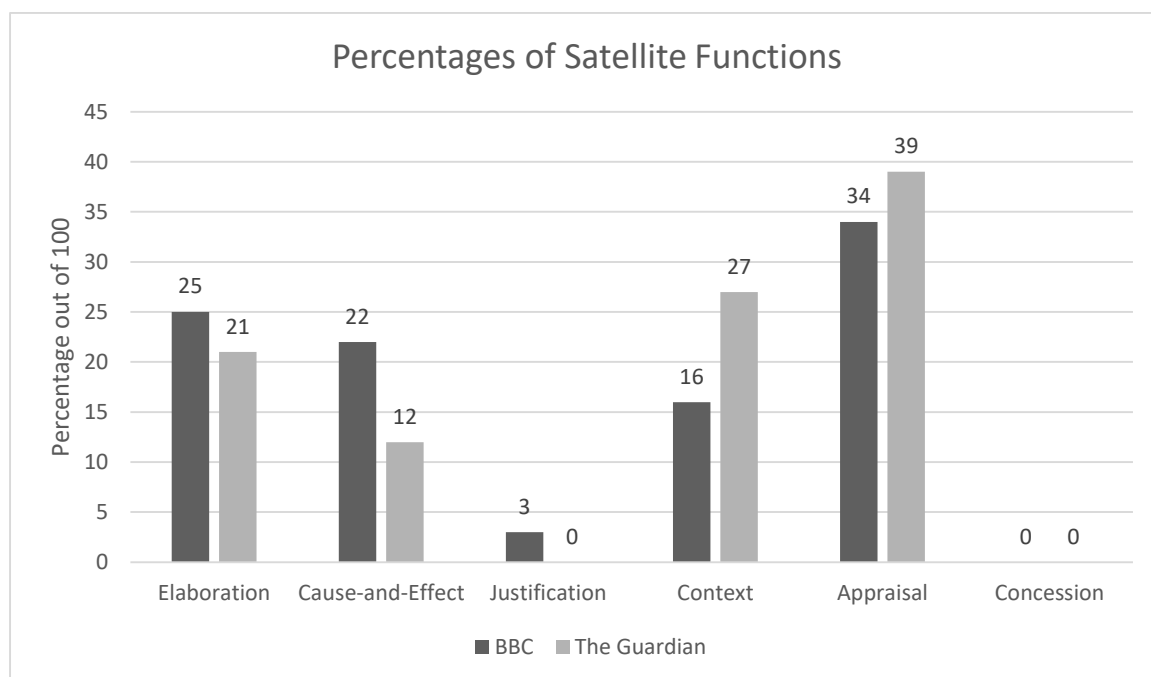
Figure 5.3: Percentages of Satellites Functions in TONAs

As can be seen in figure 5.3, appraisal is the most common function in both texts. In the *BBC* TONA, 34 per cent of all satellites function as appraisal, and in *The Guardian*'s TONA, 39 per cent function as appraisal. These appraisal satellites all contain an external source commenting on the news event. Text box 5.5 shows four examples, two from each text, of the appraisal satellites.

[5.1] 'Heather Alvers, a UCC student, was waiting to give survivors free trips home. She was on her way to campus when police stopped her. Most of her friends were confirmed safe but, she said, "the community is devastated".' (The Guardian)

[5.2] 'Obama blamed the failure to pass gun control measures after earlier mass killings for having to make yet another address to the nation after yet another tragedy. He expressed frustration that countries such as Britain and Australia have been able to pass legislation that largely prevents such tragedies.' (The Guardian)

[5.3] 'The BBC's Yolande Knell, in Gaza City, says there have been scenes of panic with thousands of residents fleeing the Shejaiya area.' (BBC)

[5.4] '"The hospital was totally overloaded. For many of us, these were the worst scenes we've ever had, not only for the density of patients and total overwhelming of our capacity but because of all this pain and agony," says Norwegian doctor, Mads Gilbert, who has been working in the emergency ward since last night and has been in Gaza during previous conflicts.' (BBC)

Text Box 5.5: Appraisal satellites in TONAs

The appraisal in these satellites was presented either through direct speech (examples 5.1 and 5.4) or indirect speech (examples 5.2 and 5.3). Both TONAs also employed different types of experts. They included government officials (example 5.2), reporters at the scene (example 5.3), medical personnel (example 5.4), and locals who were involved in the news event (example 5.1). Their expertise was affirmed through the use of a subordinate clause after their name to support their inclusion in the news text. In example 5.1, Heather Alvers is introduced as 'a UCC student', linking her directly to the location of the shooting. This could then support her inclusion as an expert to contribute to the 'emotional impact' of the news event (White 1997: 13).

The satellite functions of elaboration, context and cause-and-effect, each made up between 12 and 27 per cent of the text. Each of these satellites provided more details about the news events:

---

elaboration

[5.5] 'The Israel Defense Forces (IDF) sent ground troops into Gaza on Thursday after days of heavy air and naval barrages failed to stop rocket fire from Gaza.' (BBC)

[5.6] 'Mercer was cornered in a hall by a police officer who reported exchanging shots with the man. "Suspect is down," he told the 911 dispatcher. "He's not breathing, is in Snyder hall."' (The Guardian)

context

[5.7] 'The soldiers were all from the Golani Brigade, the Israel Defense Forces said.' (BBC)

[5.8] 'Mercer had been living at an apartment complex in nearby Winchester. Yellow police tape surrounded the building on Thursday night.' (The Guardian)

cause-and-effect

[5.9] 'Hamas rejected an Egypt-brokered ceasefire last week, saying any deal with Israel must include an end to a blockade of Gaza.' (BBC)

[5.10] 'There were immediate calls for strengthened gun control, including from the Democratic presidential candidate, Hillary Clinton.' (The Guardian)

Text Box 5.6: Satellites in TONAs

The satellites of these functions were similar across the two TONAs. Both news texts primarily contained Monoglossic statements in each of the three categories (examples 5.5, 5.8, 5.9, 5.10), with Attribution being used in some instances (example 5.6 and 5.7). There were no instances of explicit Attitudinal Appraisal in any of the non-Appraisal satellites. As both TONAs consist of these satellites, it is important to include an Engagement analysis, as this type of Appraisal was most common and most spread throughout the texts, whereas Attitudinal Appraisal was confined to appraisal satellites only.

5.1.2.2 Satellites in LBs

The LBs showed more quantitative similarities in the percentage of satellite functions across the two news institutions than the two TONAs. The *BBC*'s LB consisted of 82 satellites and *The Guardian*'s LB consisted of 97 satellites. The satellites of both LBs primarily functioned as elaborations or appraisals. The *BBC*'s LB contained 46 per cent elaboration satellites and

37 per cent appraisal and *The Guardian*'s LB contained 40 percent elaboration and 40 percent appraisal satellites. Both LBs employed fewer instances of context, cause-and-effect, justification and concession than the TONAs.
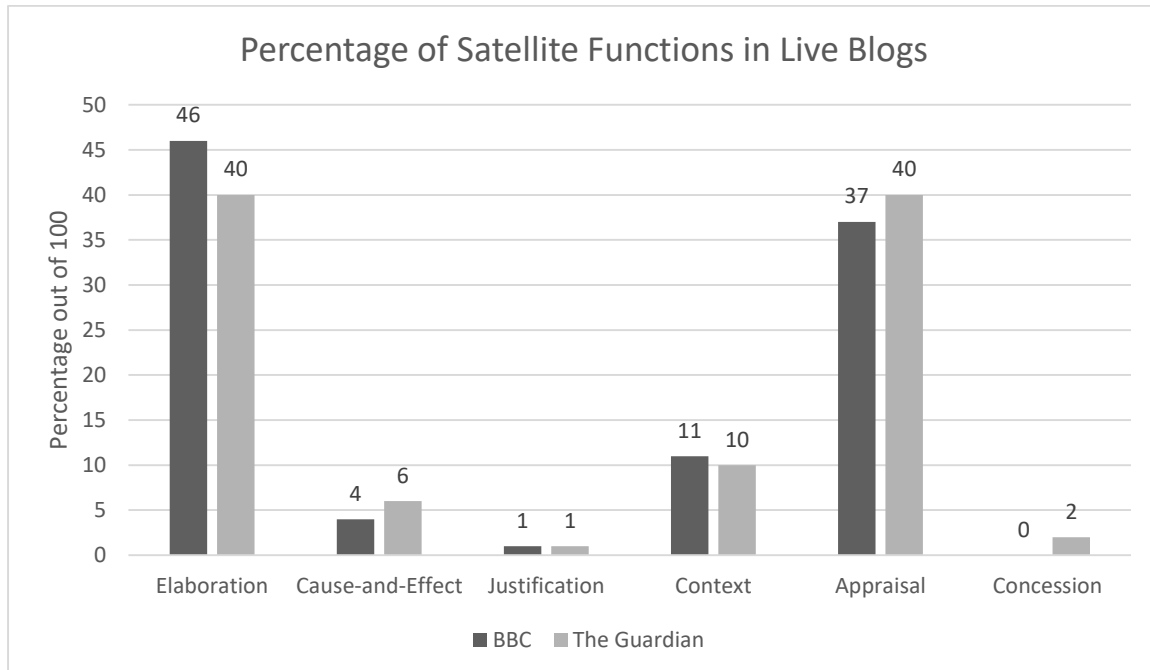
Figure 5.4: *Percentage of Satellite Functions across LBs*

As LBs are written while the event is developing, the elaboration satellites are common throughout the LBs. They provided new information that has become available as the news event was developing:

[5.11] 'Sheriff Hanlin has just given another press conference with the latest information on the shooting.' (The Guardian)

[5.12] 'TWEET Ben White, freelance journalist and writer tweets: Norwegian MP calls for boycott of Israel over its Gaza offensive http://shar.es?NRo2E' (BBC)

[5.13] 'Ten people were taken to the Mercy medical centre in Roseburg, a spokesman has said. One person died in the ER, four remain in hospital including one in surgery. Three were transferred to other hospitals and two people have been released.' (The Guardian)

[5.14] 'AFP now estimates that 97 Palestinians were killed today alone.' (BBC)

Text Box 5.7: *Elaboration satellites in LBs*

The elaboration satellites provided more detail about the main news event, or updates on smaller news events related to the main news event. Example 5.12 shows a satellite from the *BBC*'s LB wherein Ben White, a journalist, provides an update on the Norwegian response to the Gaza conflict; a smaller news event. The tweet was embedded directly into the LB, copying the exact lay-out from Twitter. An example of an embedded tweet can be seen in figure 5.5.

Figure 5.5 Embedded Tweet Lay-out

Whereas the TONAs' elaboration satellites mainly used Monoglossic statements, the LBs' elaboration satellites primarily used Attribution. Example 5.11 shows an instance of Monoglossia in the LBs' elaboration satellites. Monoglossia was used primarily in the reporting of responses to the news events, such as press conferences, meetings between officials involved in the news event and in explanations of photographs included in the LBs. Monoglossia was also found in quotations attributed to sources, such as in example 5.13. The information is delivered in a Monoglossic voice: 'ten people were taken' but then attributed to 'a spokesperson' of the medical centre. While the elaboration satellites did not contain any explicit Attitudinal Appraisal, they did, like the TONAs' satellites, contain different forms of Engagement.

The appraisal satellites however, did contain inscribed Attitudinal Appraisal. These evaluations were attributed to sources:

[5.15] 'TWEET Dan Shapiro, US Ambassador to Israel tweets: Deepest condolences to the families of IDF soldiers who fell in Gaza, & to the families of Palestinian civilians killed in Gaza.' (BBC)

[5.16] 'Jared Norman, a nursing student at UCC, said he heard shots and then everyone was running. He is locked down in the cafeteria with 50 other students right now. They've heard there is a shooting, but don't know what's going on. And they're scared.' (The Guardian)

[5.17] 'EMAIL Myra from Montreal, Canada emails: just returned from Israel and if the Palestinians loved life as much as they worshipped death, they would see that peace and not war is what Israel wants.' (BBC)

[5.18] 'Obama pre-empts his critics: "we need more guns, they'll argue, fewer gun safety laws". But, Obama continues: "Does anybody really believe that?"' (The Guardian)

Text Box 5.8: Appraisal satellites in LBs

The appraisal satellites all contain explicit Attitudinal Appraisal. The evaluative language was found in the direct speech, specifically within the reported clauses. The evaluation was therefore always ascribed to an outside source instead of the reporter in charge of the news text. The direct speech was presented in different ways: through embedded tweets (example 5.15), quotations (examples 5.16 and 5.18), and emails (example 5.17). The emails are specific to the *BBC*'s LB as they do not appear in *The Guardian*'s LB nor either of the TONAs. While the tweets and the quotations included an inferable motivation for the inclusion of the source, such as in example 5.16 the evaluator is introduced as 'a nursing student at UCC', the email contributions did not include a motivation for the expertise of the source. While the evaluator is never announced as an expert to the impact of the news event, the emails often include evaluations of the news event. In example 5.17 above, 'Myra' states that the Palestinians 'worshipped death' but does not appear to be related to the conflict apart from a recent visit to Israel.

5.1.2.3 Stylistic Distinctions between TONAs and LBs

As discussed before, the TONAs follow the inverted pyramid structure specific to news texts (Bell 1991). The LBs on the other hand follow a reverse-chronological structure. While the

initial update functions as a lead in summarising the news event, more information is added via updates to the LBs as the news events develop. The different satellite functions are also more spread across the LBs, whereas the TONAs start with context and elaboration, and include more appraisal toward the end of the texts. Table 5.2 shows the inclusion of multimedia elements in the LBs compared to the TONAs.

	BBC TONA	The *Guardian* TONA	*BBC* LB	The *Guardian* LB
Satellites	32	33	82	97
Sources	16	21	51	64
Photographs	4	0	19	18
Infographics	1	1	0	1
Videos	1	4	1	4
Tweets	0	0	34	25
Emails	0	0	5	0
Direct Quotes	5	14	11	36

Table 5.2: Characteristics of News Texts

The LBs contained more multimedia elements in every category than the TONAs. They also contained more sources. As can be seen in figure 5.6 on the next page, both news formats contained a similar percentage of appraisal satellites. The LBs' satellites contained a higher percentage of elaboration satellites and less satellites providing background information such as cause-and-effect, context and justification. As the LBs were written during the news event, reporters were working on elaborating on the news event, whereas the TONAs were written after the news event, giving reporters more time to find additional information on context.
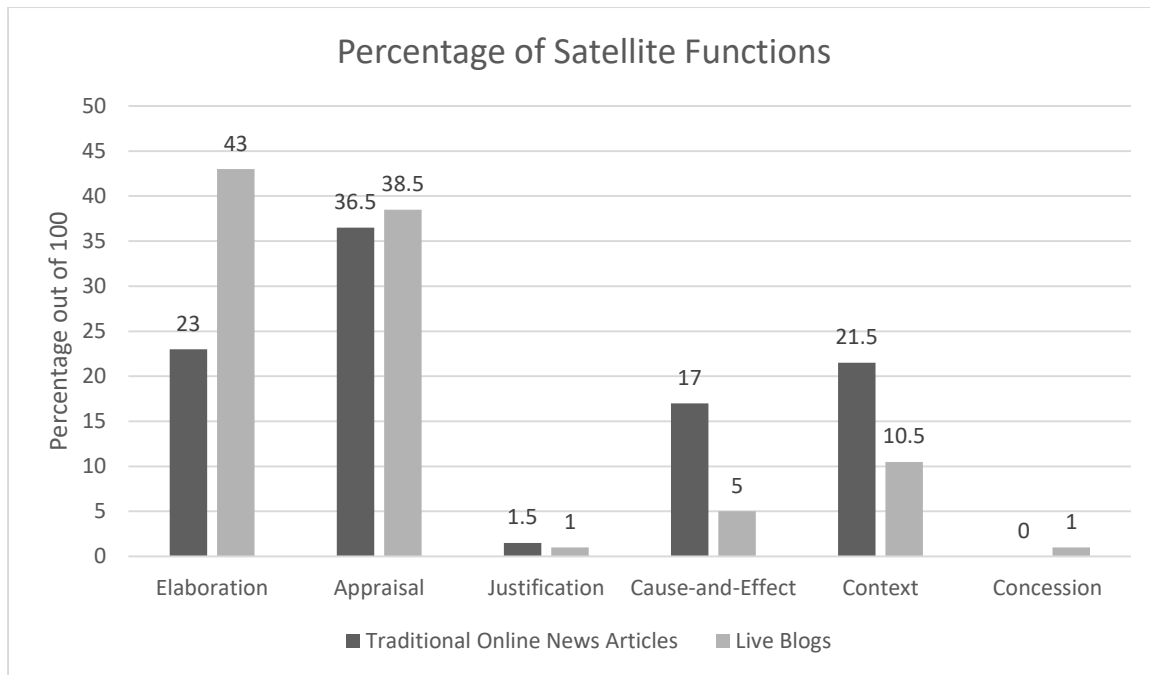
Figure 5.6: Satellite Function Percentages for TONAs combined and LBs combined

5.1.2.4 Constructing Time in News Texts

In addition to the structure, the frequency differences in sources, and the use of elaboration satellites, the LBs differ from the TONAs in their construction of time. This is in part related to the temporal relation between each news text and each news event. For purposes of clarity, I follow Chatman (1978) and refer to the news texts as the discourse and the news events as the event. LBs are written as an event is developing. The *Guardian*'s LB on the Oregon shooting starts at 19.54 British Standard Time (GMT+1) on 1 October 2015. The first 911 call reporting the shooting was made at 10.38 Pacific Time, which is 18.35 British Standard Time (GMT+1). The first tweets included in the LB were posted at 18.41[3], 18.42 and 19.53. The update which includes these tweets was posted at 20.16, showing a 23 minute time difference between the last tweet and the published update. The last update on *The Guardian*'s LB was posted at 06.15 on 2 October 2015, while the TONA was posted at 09.02 on 2 October 2015. These time stamps indicate that the LB was written as the event developed while the TONA

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[3] All times are in British Standard Time (GMT+1) unless stated otherwise.

was published, and could therefore have been edited, after the event concluded. This means that the LB authors were temporally closer to the news event than the TONA's authors. This temporal distinction can be identified in the discourse through the analysis of the verb phrases, as Bednarek and Caple (2017: 98) argue that present tense 'may establish timeliness even when their temporal reference is unclear'. By using present tenses, simple, progressive and perfect, the news event can be constructed as more newsworthy as it is presented as more recent than it would be perceived were past tenses used.
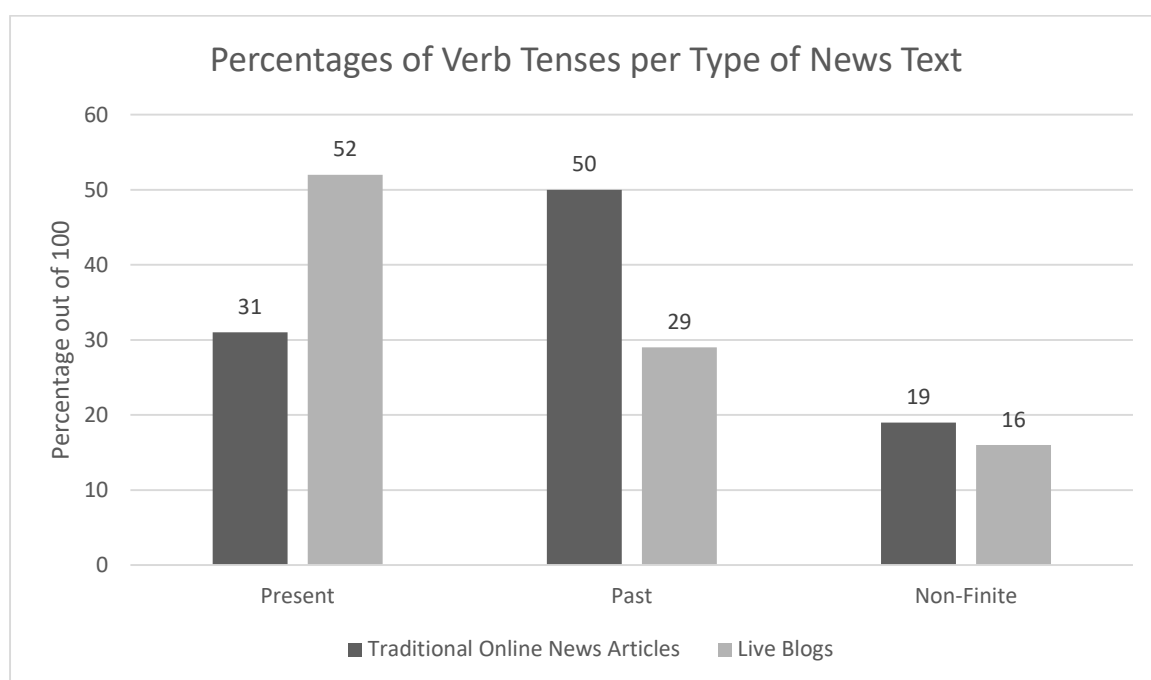
Figure 5.7: Percentages of Verb Tenses per News Text Format

Figure 5.7 shows the use of verb tenses in percentages out of the total verb phrases used in the TONAs compared to the LBs. The percentages of non-finite verb phrases, which sat alongside finite main clauses, was also similar: verb phrases in the LBs were non-finite in 16 per cent of all cases, while verb phrases in the TONAs were non-finite in 19 per cent of all cases. The largest distinction can be found in the use of present and past tense. The present tense includes present simple, present progressive, present perfect and present perfect progressive, and the past tense includes past simple, past progressive, past perfect and past perfect progressive. Differences in aspect will be discussed with figure 5.8. The TONAs

primarily used past tenses in their reporting: 50 per cent of all verb phrases were constructed in a past tense. This is consistent with how news texts tend to be written (Bell 1991: 201), as TONAs tend to cover events which occurred in the (recent) past, or events of which sub-events occurred in the past. Verb phrases in the LBs were in a past tense in 29 per cent of all cases. The LBs contained primarily verb phrases in present tenses: 52 per cent of all verb phrases used present tense. Verb phrases in the TONAs were in a present tense in 31 per cent of all verb phrases. The use of present tense increases the 'timeliness' or 'recency' of the event, increasing its newsworthiness (Galtung & Ruge 1965; Montgomery 2005; Bednarek & Caple 2012; 2017). Bell (1991: 156) explains: 'the best news is something which has only just happened'. The present tense constructions in both news texts are used similarly:

[5.19] 'Federal officers **are examining** the crime scene.' (LB2)

[5.20] 'The US **is reeling** from another school shooting' (A2)

[5.21] 'Israel's ambassador to the UK, Daniel Taub, tells BBC News Israeli forces were targeting an area where Hamas militants **make** rockets to fire into Israel.' (LB1)

[5.22] 'whether organisations such as the National Rifle Association, which pour large amounts of money into lobbying against restrictions, **are really serving** the interests of those who use weapons for sport and hunting' (A2)

[5.23] 'They **say** the number of wounded from the operation **is** now more than 3,000.' (A1)

[5.24] 'The Israel Defense Forces twitter account in Hebrew (@idfonline) **says** the dead soldiers are from the Golani Brigade, an Israeli infantry unit.' (A1)

Text Box 5.9 Present Tense Use in News Texts

Montgomery (2005: 242) outlines three uses of present tense in television news broadcasts: (1) the action is 'contemporaneous and projecting beyond the moment of the utterance (examples 5.19 and 5.20), (2) the action is 'routinely repeated or a state of affairs that endures' (examples 5.21 and 5.22), and (3) the action 'could still apply even though it is completed' (examples 5.23 and 5.24). While Montgomery's analysis focused on television news, the different uses of present tense are applicable to online news texts. Each of the three

uses of the present tense contributes to the construction of the recency of the event and 'creates a sense of referring to a present reality' (Montgomery 2005: 243). While both the TONAs and the LBs incorporated all three uses of the present tense, the LBs used more present tense overall. The news events as constructed in the LBs could therefore be perceived as more recent, thereby decreasing the distance between the reader and the event (Cohen, Adoni & Bantz 1990; Montgomery 2005).

The aspects of verb phrases showed less distinction between the TONAs and the LBs:
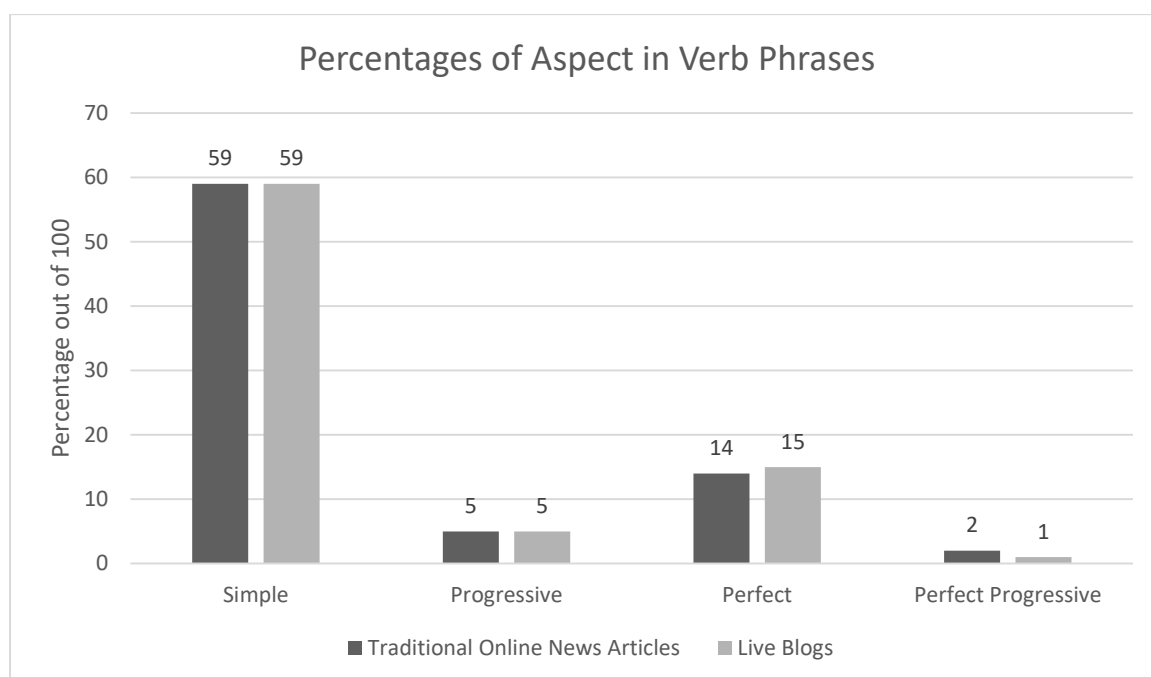
Figure 5.8: Percentages of Types of Aspect in Verb Phrases per News Text Format

Both the TONAs and the LBs primarily use simple aspect in their verb phrases (both 59 per cent), presenting the news events as shorter events than perfect aspects would which are used less, TONAs use 14 per cent, LBs use 15 per cent. Progressive aspects were used less by all news texts (both 5 per cent) as were perfect progressive aspects (TONAs use 2 per cent, LBs use 1 per cent). This suggests that both types of news texts presented the action similarly, avoiding tenses that could suggest the news event was still on-going or was on-going for a longer period of time (progressive and perfect).

5.2 Appraisal in News Texts

This section examines the use of Appraisal in the news texts given to the respondents to read and comment on. Each news text has been analysed using Martin and White's (2005) Appraisal framework, with a specific focus on Attitudinal Appraisal and Engagement. I use some parts of the Engagement framework throughout to help to explore this issue, before focusing more directly on Engagement in Section 5.2.2.

5.2.1 Attitudinal Appraisal in News Texts

The following section compares and contrasts the use of Affect within the TONAs and within the LBs.

5.2.1.1 Affect in TONAs

In the TONAs, there were five instances of affect. Three of these were Unhappiness, and two of them were Disinclination. In the LBs, there were 28 instances of affect. While these differences were quite large in raw frequencies, in normalised frequency these differences were smaller because the LBs were much longer than the TONAs. The LBs consisted in total of 9,701 words while the TONAs only consisted of 2,558 words. The length of the LBs therefore seems to allow for more expressions of Affect. The raw frequencies of each sub-category of Affect were counted using NVivo. These were then converted to normalised frequencies using the following formula:

$$\frac{Number\ of\ instances\ per\ sub-category}{Total\ number\ of\ lexical\ items} \times 100$$

Each instance of Appraisal was counted once, even if the Appraisal consisted of multiple lexical items. This was done to maintain consistency between longer and shorter evaluative instances. The number of lexical items varied depending on the compared groups. For example to calculate the normalised frequency of positive Impact used by Gaza LB respondents, the formula was:

$$\frac{Number\ of\ instances\ of\ positive\ IMPACT\ by\ all\ Gaza\ live\ blog\ respondents}{Number\ of\ lexical\ items\ used\ by\ all\ Gaza\ live\ blog\ respondents} \times 100$$

Figure 5.9 shows the normalised frequencies of Affect in the news texts. There was a normalised difference of .094 instances of Affect per 100 words in the news texts.
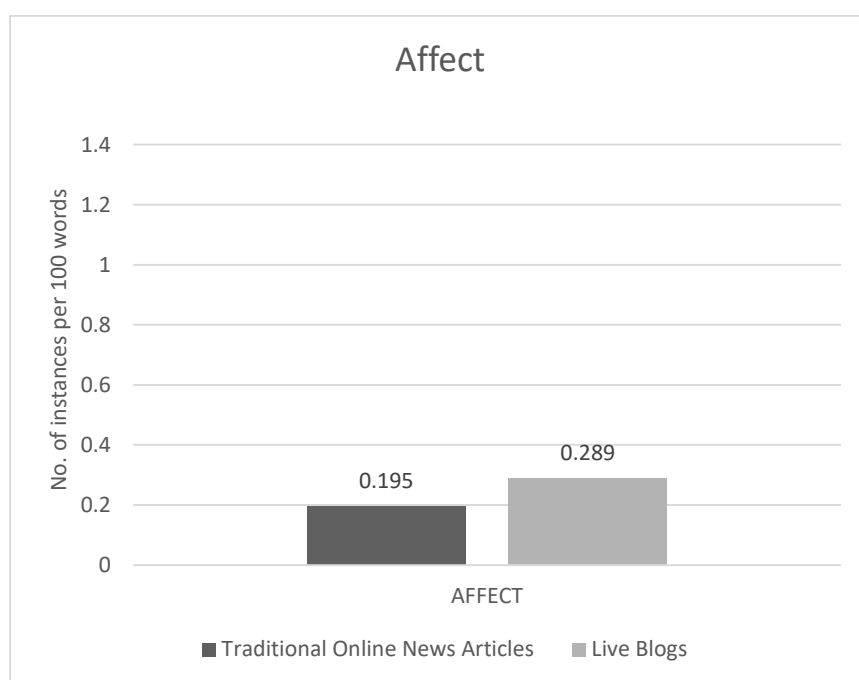
Figure 5.9: Use of Affect in News Texts

This difference can be explained by investigating the ways in which Affect was used in the news texts and the places where it was located. Both in the TONAs and in the LBs, Affect was only found in appraisal satellites (White 1997) such as interviews, emails or tweets as can be

seen in examples 5.25 and 5.26 below. As the use of sources in LBs is higher than in TONAs (Tereszkiewicz 2014), this would explain why the frequency of Affect is also higher in LBs. In the TONAs, the instances of Affect were all found in the Oregon article:

> [5.25] '"I ran down the hall called the sheriff on his cellphone. He was en route to the incident," said Boice. "We're a tight-knit community and everybody knows everybody. We're going to be heavily impacted by this and **I can't imagine** what those families must be feeling right now."' (A2)
>
>
> [5.26] 'Oregon's governor, Kate Brown, spoke of her "**profound dismay and heartbreak**" at the killings. Douglas County commissioner Chris Boice learned of the shooting when one of his staffers "got a phone call from her daughter who was on campus, and the shooting was happening at that point".' (A2)

Text Box 5.10 Instances of Affect in TONAs

In both examples, Affect was expressed in a direct quote indicated through quotation marks and reporting clauses. In example 5.25, the speaker expressed their disbelief of the situation by stating that they 'can't imagine' what the families of the victims were feeling. In example 5.26, the speaker expressed her disbelief and 'heartbreak', which again was quoted directly from the speaker. There were no instances of Affect found in the TONAs where it was unclear who the evaluator was.

This was the same in the LBs:

> [5.27] 'emails: I am British born. Mother of 6 sons and a daughter, all of whom serve in the army. **My heart breaks** for those Gaza hostages who are being killed, but there is no other way, we cannot permit a daily barrage of rockets being fired into us.' (LB1)
>
> [5.28] '"While I was fortunate enough to be in the right place at the right time in August aboard a train bound for Paris, **I only wish** that the same could be said for today," he said in a statement. "**I wish** that I could have been there today to assist."'
>
> [5.29] 'Hi guys. **I'm ok**. Physically. We're being bused off campus.' (LB2)

Text Box 5.11 Instances of Affect in LBs

Each example shows Affect expressed in some form of direct speech. Example 5.27 is an email the *BBC* received from a woman living in Gaza. She is identified by name in the LB. Example 5.28 is a direct quote from a statement released by a student of the college who was not at the college at the time of the shooting. He was asked about the shooting as he had earlier in the year stopped a shooting on a train bound for Paris. He was also identified by full name in the LB. Example 5.29 is a Tweet. This person was present at the college during the shooting. Multiple tweets from her were included in the LB and she was identified by her Twitter handle. In example 5.27, the author expressed Unhappiness by using the phrase 'my heart breaks'. She expresses her unhappiness through the use of a common saying. In example 5.28, the speaker expresses Inclination through a wish. This speaker used explicit Affect using the sentence construction of 'I wish' as reporting clause followed by the content of the expressed wish. Again, similar to the TONA quotations, the LB reporters used both direct quotes and a reporting clause to clearly indicate the evaluator of Affect. In example 5.29, the speaker expresses Security as they state that they are 'ok', though this is immediately mediated by the statement 'physically', indicating some mental problems that are not yet solved. The use of 'hi guys' also allows the audience to relate more directly to the speaker as they have been tweeting for longer and the audience is familiar with them. It should be noted

though that the speaker's intended audience were their own followers, not the readers of a LB and that this informality was therefore not meant for the LB readers.

Overall, the use of Affect in the TONAs and LBs is similar as both present Affect only in direct quotations, almost never as an evaluation made by the reporters or journalists. Due to the nature of the LBs and its reliance on third-party sources (O'Mahoney 2014; Thurman & Schapals 2016), this means that the LBs contained more Affect than the TONAs. The LB readers therefore had more direct access to affective evaluations made by people outside themselves about the reported news events.

5.2.1.2 Appreciation

In raw frequencies, the LBs used Appreciation 74 times while the TONAs only used Appreciation 28 times. However, due to the large difference in length between the news texts, in normalised frequency, the use of Appreciation was higher in the TONAs than in the LBs. Figure 5.10 shows the difference, which was 0.332 instances per 100 words.
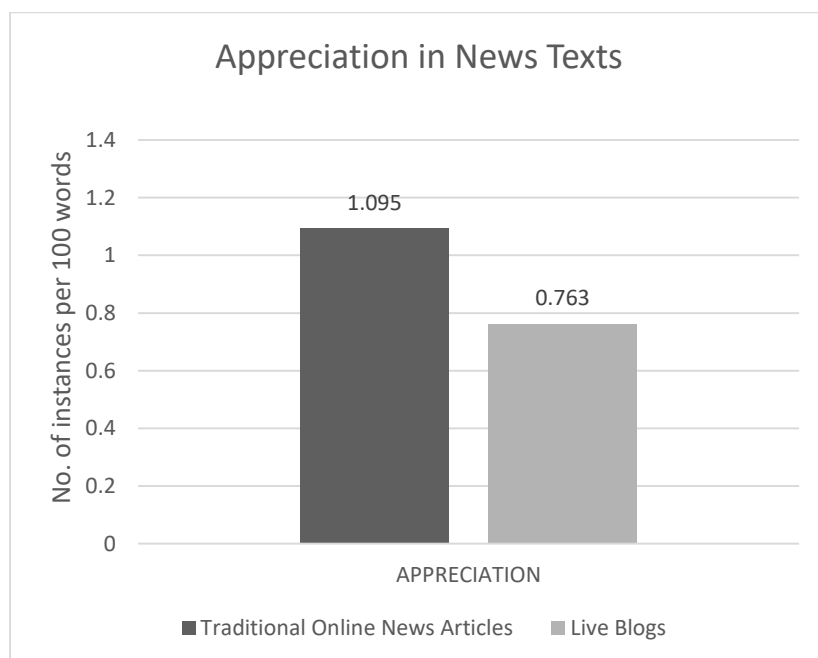
Figure 5.10: Use of Appreciation in news texts

Both news texts used the subcategories of Appreciation similarly. As can be seen in figure 5.11, both news texts primarily used negative Quality.
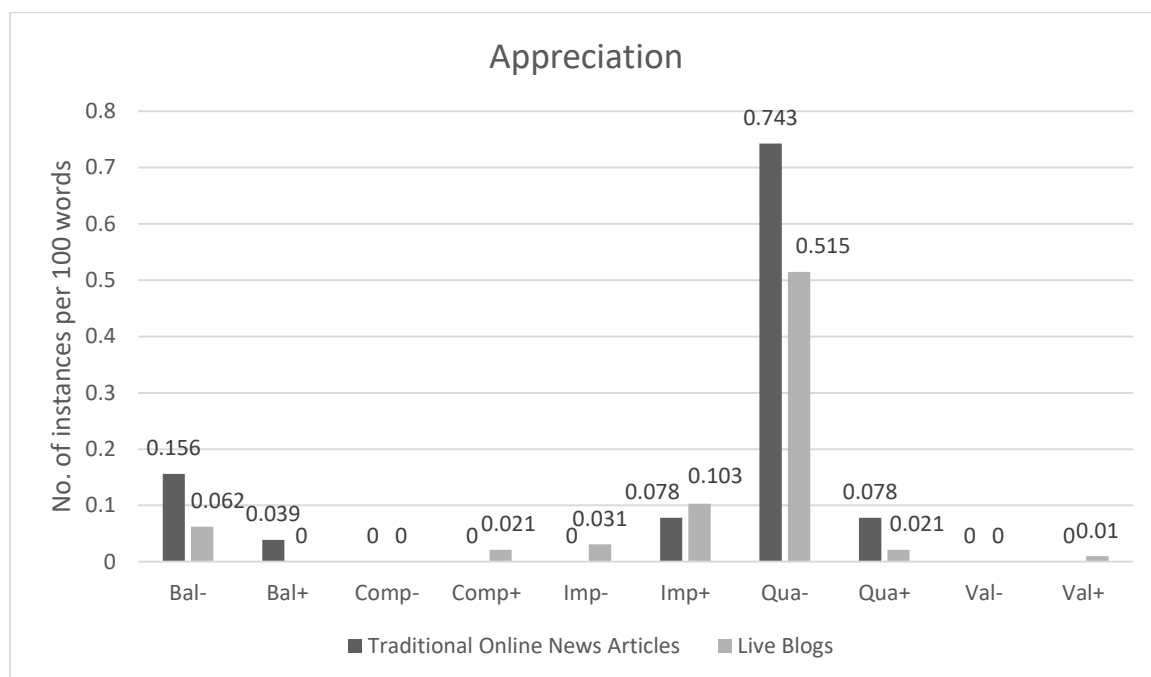
Figure 5.11: Normalised frequencies of subcategories of Appreciation in news texts

There was a difference in the evaluators of the Appreciation expressed in the news texts. In the LBs, 76 per cent of Appreciation was attributed either through direct or indirect speech to an evaluator outside of the news reporters (example 5.32). The remaining 24 per cent was expressed using either Monoglossic statements or without a clear evaluator (example 5.31). In the TONAs on the other hand, only half of the Appreciation was attributed to an outside evaluator and the other half was expressed using Monoglossic statements or without a clear attribution to an outside evaluator. This will be discussed in more detail in the Engagement section of this chapter, but it should be noted that the examples discussed below are evaluations with distinct evaluators and evaluations made without an evaluator. This second type of evaluation was presented Monoglossically, as a 'bare assertion' rather than an opinion-based evaluation (Martin & White 2005).

Both the TONAs and the LBs used similar types of Appreciation in their evaluations of the news event:

[5.30] 'The thick, black column of smoke is still rising from Shejaiya, north-east of Gaza City. Earlier in the day there was constant, **intense** Israeli shelling but a shaky, brief, humanitarian ceasefire produced a period of relative quiet' (A1)

[5.31] ''Another mass shooting in America': Oregon killings a **grim** familiarity for US' (A2)

[5.32] 'The **New Zealand prime minister, John Key,** [bold text in LB] is in New York and told media: "The **tragedy** for the United States in recent times is that this isn't the first and sadly it doesn't look like it's going to be the last.' (LB2)

[5.33] 'For now, in a **curious** way, it may be Hamas that feels the more confident. According to its narrative it has withstood the "iron fist" albeit at a cost of hundreds of "martyrs".' (LB1)

Text Box 5.12 Instances of Appreciation in News Texts

Example 5.30 shows the use of an adjective to convey positive Impact. The term 'intense' was used to describe the shelling happening in Gaza. It evaluated the Impact of the shelling positively as it is strong and constant. The article did not clearly indicate an evaluator of this Appreciation evaluation, though this is a part of the article which is written in a more informal tone and separately attributed to a reporter. Example 5.31 is the headline of the second article by *The Guardian*. An adjective has again been used to evaluate the familiarity of mass shootings in the United States. The use of 'grim' conveys a negative Quality evaluation which is not attributed to any evaluator. It was instead presented in a Monoglossic manner, making it appear as a bare assertion. In example 5.32, the evaluation was attributed to John Key, the prime minister of New Zealand. His name and occupation were boldfaced in the LB which foregrounds the fact that this quote belonged to someone other than the reporter. The speaker used a noun to convey a negative Quality evaluation of the news event. The noun 'tragedy' holds negative connotations and therefore evaluates the news event negatively. In example 5.33, the evaluation is not attributed to anyone. The use of 'curious' is a positive Impact evaluation as the term suggests something that is interesting and engaging in some manner.

These examples were reflective of the types of Appreciation evaluations made throughout both the articles and the LBs. Both text formats used Appreciation similarly in their

evaluations of the news events. When normalised, the frequencies of these evaluations also showed little difference between the two formats. This might indicate that while LBs are often considered to be different from TONAs, in their evaluations of the news events there is little difference between the two. The only difference lies in the Engagement of these evaluations as LBs attributed 76 per cent of all Appreciation evaluations to an outside voice, while TONAs only attributed 50 per cent to an outside voice. This will be discussed further in the Engagement section of this chapter.

5.2.1.3 Judgement

There were few instances of Judgement evaluations in the news texts. The LBs contained a raw frequency of 23 instances of Judgement and the TONAs contained a raw frequency of 5 instances of Judgement. When normalised, this was the smallest difference found of only .042 instances per 100 words, as can be seen in figure 5.12.
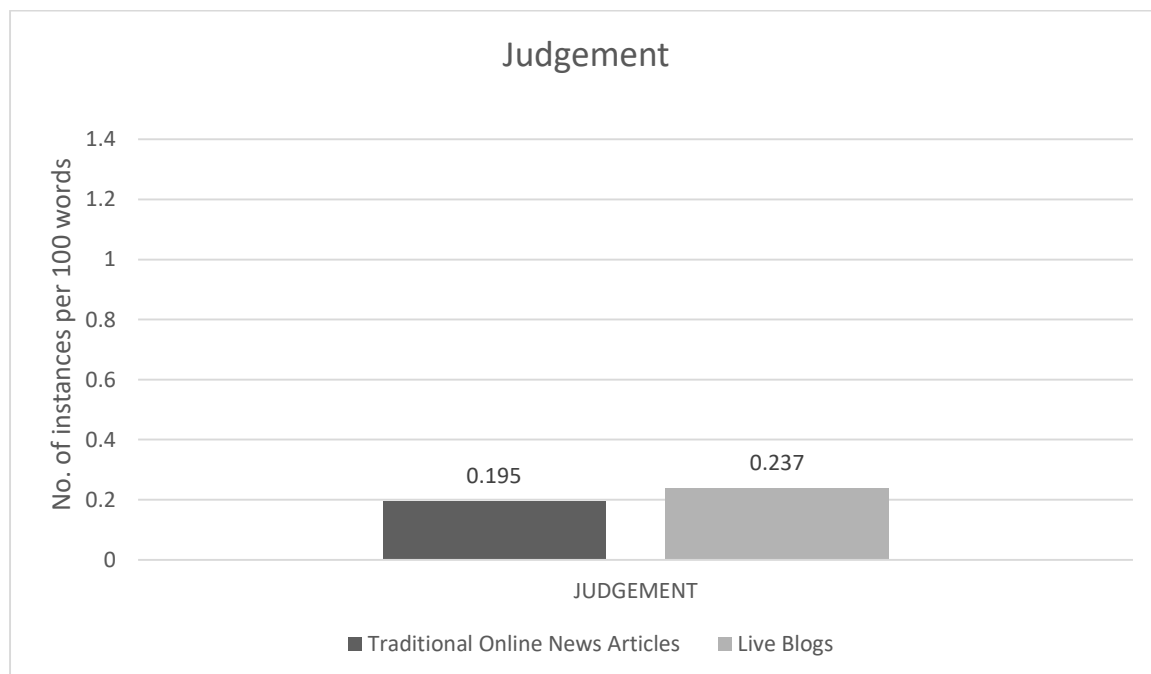
Figure 5.12: Use of Judgement in news texts

Both the TONAs and the LBs used mainly negative Propriety. The TONAs used negative Propriety in 4 instances and negative Normality in 1 instance. The LBs used negative Propriety in 14 instances, positive Propriety in 6 instances, and negative Normality, negative Capacity and positive Tenacity each in one instance. The evaluations were mainly aimed at the evaluation of the shooter in the case of the Oregon TONA and LB and both the Israeli soldiers and the Palestinian soldiers in the Gaza TONA and LB.

In the TONAs, two out of five instances of Judgement were made Monoglossically (see example 5.34 below), while three were presented Heteroglossically. In the LBs, only one instances was presented Monoglossically, while 22 instances of Judgement were presented Heteroglossically (see examples 5.35 and 5.36 below). This then followed a similar pattern as was present in the Appreciation evaluations above, with the TONAs presenting evaluations more commonly in a Monoglossic manner and the LBs presenting evaluations more often Heteroglossically. The content of the evaluations made were similar between the TONAs and the LBs:

[5.34] '"We have an obligation to protect Oregonians from gun violence," Brown said before signing the legislation. "If we want to keep our kids, schools and communities safe, we must make it harder for **dangerous** people to get guns."' (A2)

[5.35] '[name], who lived below the man believed to have killed nine people, said Harper-Mercer "seemed really **unfriendly**".' (LB2)

[5.36] '[name] emailed from Cape Town to say: "What Israel is doing is **wrong**. What Hamas has done is **wrong**. What the media is doing is **wrong**. Israel strikes because Hamas struck because Israel struck because Hamas struck and so on and so on.' (LB1)

Text Box 5.13 Instances of Judgement in News Texts

Each example shows an evaluation of a person or group of people, in line with the function of Judgement as described my Martin and White (2005). In example 5.34, the evaluation was attributed to the governor of Oregon, Kate Brown. She evaluated people with ill intentions for gun ownership as 'dangerous'. In example 5.35, the evaluation is attributed to a witness who

lived below the killer. They evaluated the killer using negative Propriety to state that he was 'unfriendly'. Example 5.36 shows the evaluations of larger groups: Israel, Hamas and the media. They were evaluated with Judgement as the evaluation was focused on their human behaviour each time. This is indicated by the use of the verb 'to do'. The evaluation is presented Heteroglossically as it is attributed to a person who emailed the *BBC* with their opinion.

Similar to the use of Appreciation, there was no difference in the normalised frequency of Judgement nor in the content of the Judgement evaluations made in both the TONAs and the LBs. The only difference was in the Engagement of the evaluations, as the TONAs presented the evaluations more often as Monoglossic than the LBs.

5.2.1.4 Overview of Attitudinal Appraisal in News Texts

In the content of Attitudinal Appraisal present in the news texts, there was little difference between the LBs and the TONAs. Both news formats contained similar percentages of sub-categories of Affect, Appreciation and Judgement. Both the TONAs and the LBs contained 60 per cent of Unhappiness out of all Affect instances. Seventy-eight per cent of Appreciation instances in the TONAs and 82 per cent of Appreciation instances in the LBs were positive Impact and negative Quality. In Judgement, 80 per cent of all instances were negative Propriety in the TONAs while 61 per cent of all instances were negative Propriety in the LBs. There was also little difference in the normalised frequencies of the Attitudinal Appraisal used in the TONAs and the LBs. As can be seen in figure 5.13, the LBs used slightly more Affect, the TONAs used slightly more Appreciation and both news formats used a similar amount of Judgement.
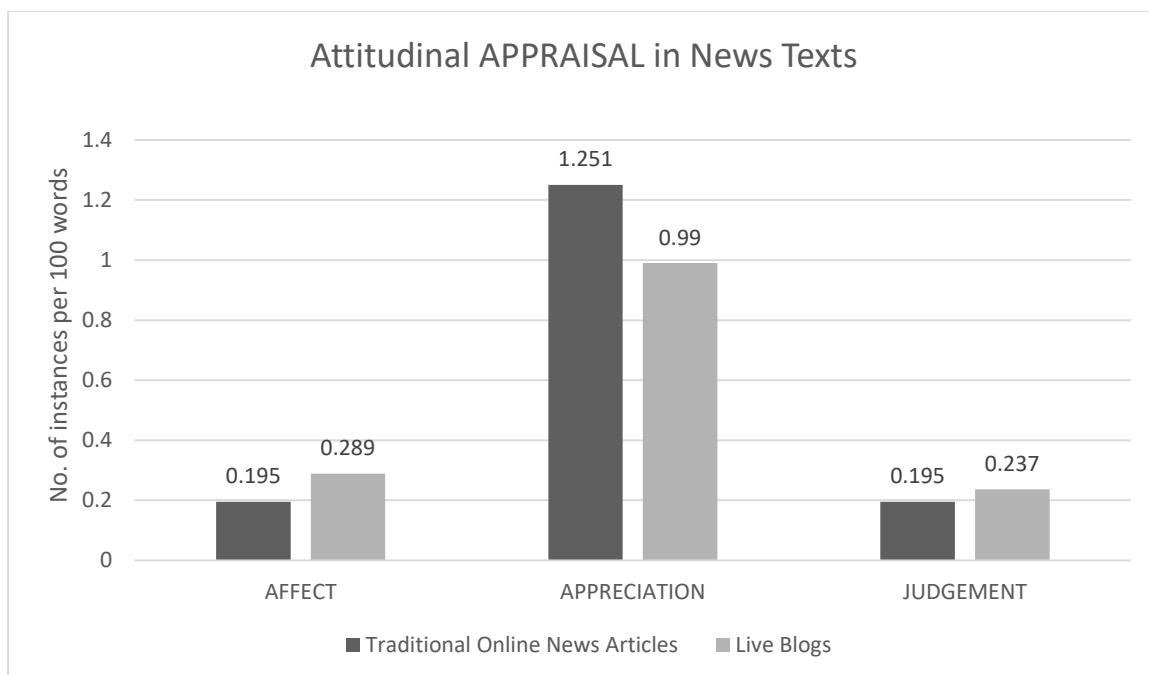
Figure 5.13: Attitudinal Appraisal in News Texts

Since my dataset has limited content, it is difficult to extrapolate these frequencies. One main difference was found in the use of Attitudinal Appraisal between the TONAs and the LBs. The TONAs more often presented the evaluations Monoglossically, while the LBs more often presented the evaluations Heteroglossically. The following section will provide an analysis of these differences in Engagement between the two news formats and discuss possible implications for reader response as well as news media analysis in general.

5.2.2 Engagement in News Texts

This section follows Martin and White's (2005) outline of Engagement, starting with an analysis of Monoglossia in both the TONAs and the LBs, followed by an analysis of the use of Heteroglossia in both news formats. Figure 5.14 provides an overview of the normalised frequencies of all types of Engagement.
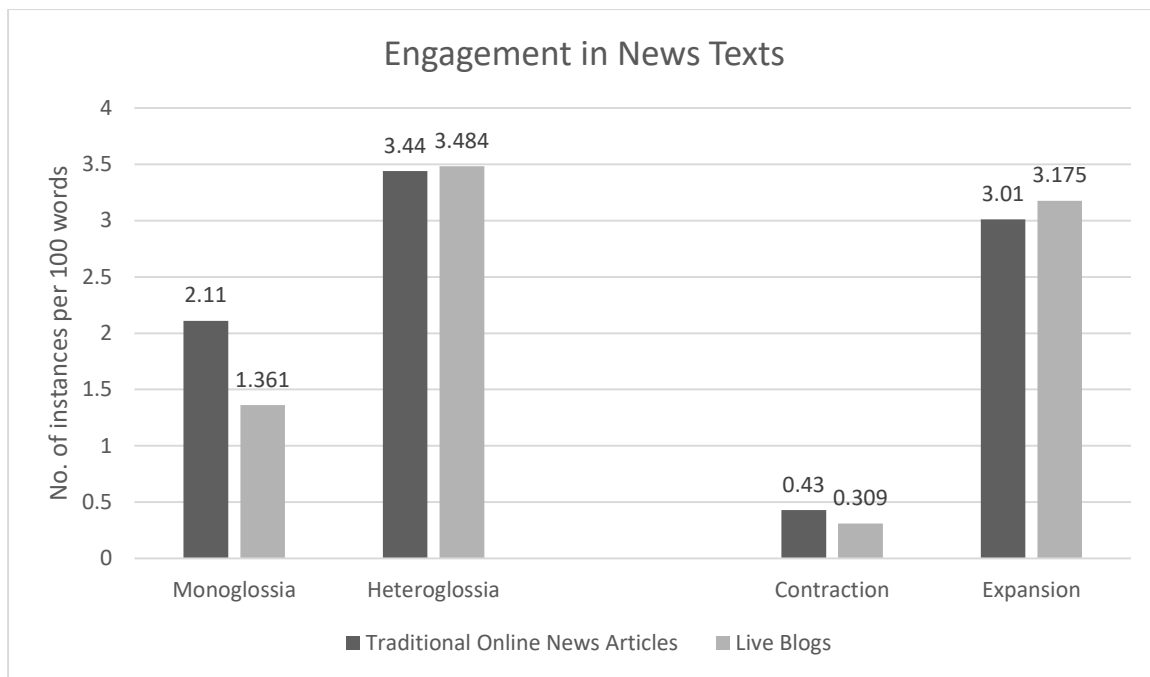
Figure 5.14: Engagement in News Texts

As can be seen in figure 5.14, the TONAs used more Monoglossia than the LBs, while the use of Heteroglossia was similar between the two. Within Heteroglossia, both the TONAs and the LBs used much more Expansion than Contraction. In raw frequencies, the TONAs contained only 11 instances of Contraction and the LBs contained only 15 instances of Contraction. For Expansion, the TONAs used a raw frequency of 77 instances and the LBs used a raw frequency of 308 instances, showing a much larger difference between the two news formats. This larger difference was most likely due to the increased length of LBs as the normalised frequencies showed little difference.

5.2.2.1 Monoglossia

In the TONAs, there were a total of 54 instances of Monoglossia. In the LBs, there were a total of 132 instances of Monoglossic utterances. While this is quite a large raw difference, when normalised, the TONAs had a higher frequency of Monoglossia than the LBs. As discussed in both the Appreciation and the Judgement sections of this chapter, the TONAs not only used

more Monoglossia overall, they also used Monoglossia more in evaluations of the news events and the news actors.

The Monoglossic utterances differed in the use of present and past tenses. From the 54 Monoglossic utterances in the TONAs, 33 per cent were presented using a present tense (first verb phrases in examples 5.37 and 5.38), 61 per cent were presented in a past tense (see remaining verb phrases in examples 5.37 and 5.38), and 6 per cent of Monoglossic utterances were tenseless. In the LBs, 45 per cent of Monoglossic utterances were presented in a present tense, 50 per cent were presented in a past tense and 5 per cent were non-finite. As the LBs reported on news events as they were happening, this explains why they used more present tenses. The news event was still taking place, as I discussed earlier (see section 5.1.2.4).

The TONAs and the LBs contained similar content in their Monoglossic utterances. Both news formats used Monoglossia to relay information about what happened in the news events as well as the presentation of evaluations of the news events:

[5.37] 'The US **is reeling** from another school shooting, <u>the 45th this year</u>, after a 26-year-old <u>gunman murdered as many as nine people</u> and **wounded** seven more at a community college in Oregon before he **was killed**.' (A2) [underlined phrases were hyperlinks]

[5.38] 'The thick, black column of smoke **is still rising** from Shejaiya, north-east of Gaza City. Earlier in the day there **was** constant, intense Israeli shelling but a shaky, brief, humanitarian ceasefire **produced** a period of relative quiet.' (A1)

[5.39] 'Gaza **suffers** highest death toll and most intense shelling since the launch of Israel's offensive' (LB1)

[5.40] 'There **are** conflicting reports of the number of casualties, but "this number is the best, most accurate information we have at this time," Hanlin said.' (LB2)

Text Box 5.14 Instances of Monoglossia in News Texts

Examples 5.37 and 5.39 are both headings of the news texts. In example 5.37, the news article summarises what has happened in the news event. They used Monoglossic statements both in the present tense, 'is reeling', to express the current feeling in the United States, and in the past tense, 'wounded' and 'was killed', to describe what happened in the news event. In example 5.39, the heading used a simple present tense 'suffers' in their heading of the LB. This type of sentence structure and verb tense is common in headlines of news texts both online and in newspapers (Bell 1991). This reflects the tradition of news reporting that is still present in LB reporting as well. Example 5.38 is an excerpt of a part of the article which is introduced by the reporter who is 'on the ground' in Gaza and is reporting from what she sees. The sentence structure is similar to that used in example 5.37, where the initial verb phrase was presented in present progressive 'is rising' to present the current situation in Gaza after the news event took place. The second part of the example includes verb phrases using past tenses, 'was' and 'produced', to describe the news event as it happened.

Example 5.40 is an instance of the transparency of the journalistic process which was present in the LBs. The reporter indicates a lack of clarity in the information they are receiving by stating that 'there are conflicting reports'. This provides a window into the information collection of the reporters and their uncertainty about the truthfulness of information. The Monoglossic statement is then followed by a quote from Hanlin, the sheriff in charge of the investigation, who stated that the number he gave was the 'most accurate'. By placing an Attribution directly following a Monoglossic statement, the reporter moved some of the responsibility of the accuracy of reporting from themselves onto their sources. This is not new to LB reporting (Tuchman 1972) but the transparency of the Monoglossic statement does seem more characteristic of LB reporting than more traditional news reporting. As LB reporters are adding updates while readers can already read previous updates, they work under a stricter time constraint than journalists writing TONAs (Thurman & Walters 2013). This can result in LB reporters adding unverified information, while they inform the audience it is unverified. It should be noted that this is an issue that LB reporters have different opinions on,

as some believe unverified information should never be reported in a news article. Others believe it can be included in LBs as long as the reporter cautions the reader that the information is unverified (Thurman & Walters 2013).

As stated before, Monoglossic statements in the LBs contained present tenses in 45 per cent of instances while the TONAs only contained present tenses in 33 per cent of Monoglossic instances. This higher use of present tense in the LBs compared to the TONAs is characteristic of LB reporting (Tereszkiewicz 2014) and creates a temporal shift into the news event rather than a perspective from after the news event took place.

[5.41] 'Israel said that 13 of its soldiers had been killed since Saturday night. The soldiers were all from the Golani Brigade, the Israel Defense Forces said. It **brings** to 18 the number of Israeli soldiers who have been killed in the offensive.' (A1)

[5.42] 'Tactical teams and bomb squads have cleared all buildings and **are currently working** to clear all vehicles on site. Federal officers **are examining** the crime scene.' (LB2)

Text Box 5.15 Instances of Present Tense in News Texts

Both examples show the use of present tenses in the reporting of the news event. In example 5.41, the news article used a simple present tense to summarise the number of fatalities after more reports emerged that Israeli soldiers had died. The use of simple present as in this example was most common in the TONAs. It was mainly used to summarise events or in headings or subheadings of the TONAs. In opposition to that, the LBs employed present tenses throughout the reports. Example 5.42 shows the reports on the arrival of federal officers and the work they were doing: 'federal officers are examining'. The use of the present progressive indicates the ongoing investigation on the crime scene and places the reader into the same temporal space as the news event (Bednarek & Caple 2012).

The TONAs used more past tenses, 61 per cent of all Monoglossic statements, than the LBs, 50 per cent of all Monoglossic statements. The past tenses that were used varied between different tenses such as simple past, present perfect and past perfect. Each indicated

the action represented by the verb took place in the past from when the reader would read the news text.

[5.43] 'Heather Alvers, a UCC student, **was waiting** to give survivors free trips home. She **was** on her way to campus when police **stopped** her. Most of her friends were confirmed safe but, she said, "the community is devastated".' (A2)

[5.44] 'The number of people who **have fled** their homes in Gaza **has more than tripled** since the start of Israel's ground operation and the UN refugee agency says it plans to open more schools as shelters - AP.' (LB1)

Text Box 5.16 Instances of Past Tenses in News Texts

In example 5.43, the news article used both past progressive, 'was waiting' and past simple 'was' and 'stopped' to report on part of the news event. The use of the simple past indicated an event that happened in the past which has already concluded at the time of the report. This type of past tense use was most common through the TONAs. In the LBs, the most common past tense was the present perfect. As example 5.44 shows the verb phrases 'have fled' and 'has tripled'. While the use of present perfect might be classified as present tense, it does indicate part of the action taking place before the writing of the report. This means that the reader reads about an event taking place at a different time than when they are reading the information. However, the use of present perfect as opposed to simple past, indicates that the event was still ongoing at the time of the report. This again reaffirms that the LB was publishing information as it was coming in rather than collecting all information and publishing it after the news event concluded.

Overall, the use of Monoglossia showed a few differences between the TONAs and the LBs. Firstly, the TONAs used more Monoglossia than the LBs did. There were more Monoglossic statements that presented evaluations as bare assertions within the TONAs than in the LBs. This resulted in evaluations that were not explicitly presented as evaluative, which could create an impression with readers that the evaluations are shared by everyone rather than subjective to the journalists. Finally, the content of the Monoglossic statements was

similar between the TONAs and the LBs. Both news formats used Monoglossia to relay information about the news event and present evaluations about the news event.

5.2.2.2 Heteroglossia

As could be seen in figure 5.14, both the TONAs and the LBs use more Heteroglossia than Monoglossia. Journalists can employ Heteroglossia for a variety of reasons such as supporting the journalist's statements, personalising the event, providing a variety of perspectives (Van Dijk 1988a; Caldas-Coulthard 1994; Jullian 2011). The inclusion of sources also has been shown to improve readers' perception of the quality and credibility of the news text (Sundar 1998). Heteroglossia can also be used to include Appraisal (White 1997; 2000; Jullian 2011). As journalists aim to be 'objective' and 'factual' in their reporting, they cannot provide their own evaluation of the news event (Tuchman 1972). The inclusion of external sources however allows for the inclusion of evaluative language without diminishing the perceived objectivity of the reporter (Tuchman 1972; White 1997). As can be seen in figure 5.15, both the TONAs and the LBs primarily used Attribution when including sources.
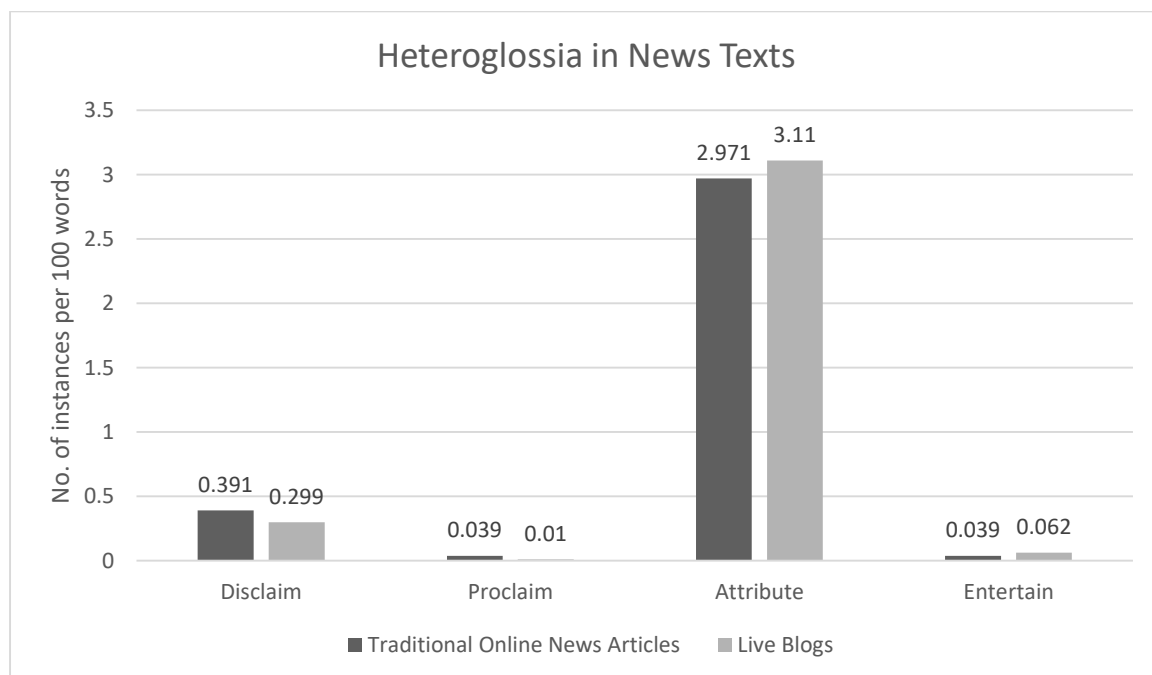
Figure 5.15: Heteroglossia in News Texts

Attribution is sub-divided into two categories: Acknowledgement and Distancing (Martin & White 2005). Acknowledgements are neutral references to sources, which include reporting verbs such as 'say' or 'state'. Distancing is negatively shaded, as the reporter will use reporting verbs such as 'claims' to shift the statement onto the source and away from the reporter's own beliefs (Martin & White 2005). Figure 5.16 shows the normalised frequencies of both Acknowledgements and Distancing in the TONAs and the LBs:
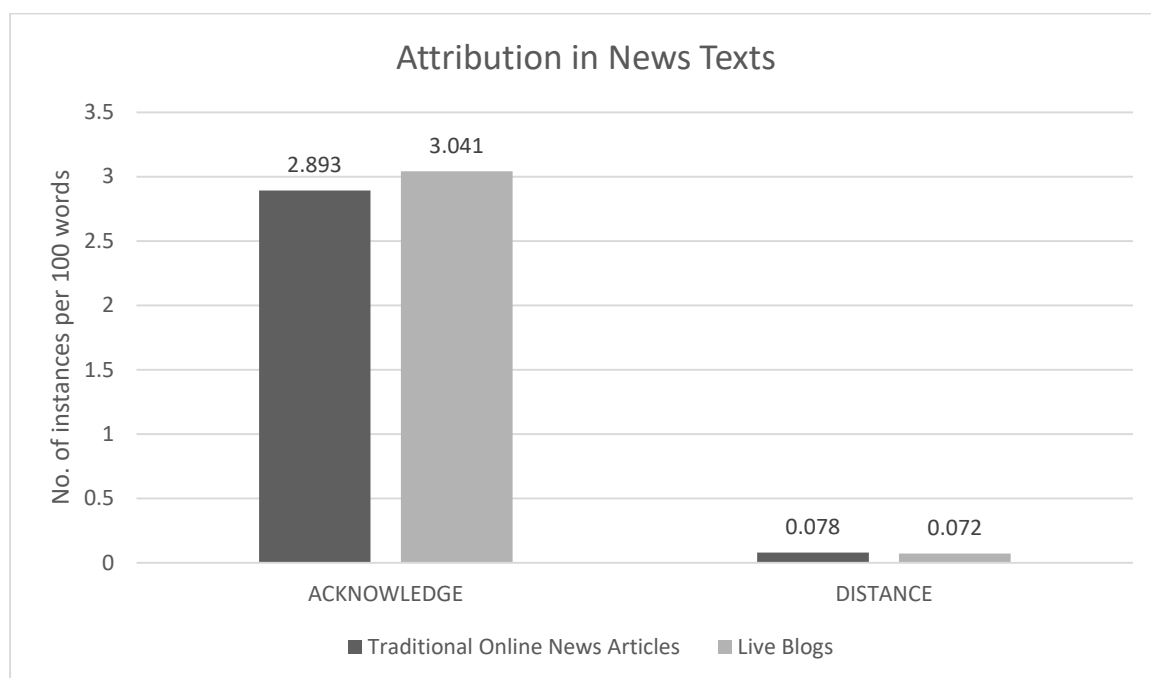
Figure 5.16: Types of Attribution used in News Texts

Both the TONAs and the LBs primarily use Acknowledgements and rarely use Distancing. The TONAs included 74 instances of Acknowledgement and 2 instances of Distancing. The LBs included 295 instances of Acknowledgement and 7 instances of Distancing. This coincides with reporters' aims of objectivity as Acknowledgements are the most neutral form of Heteroglossia (Martin & White 2005), as it neither explicitly questions the source nor explicitly supports the source. The following section analyses how Acknowledgement was used in the TONAs and the LBs, for which purposes, and what content.

5.2.2.2.1 Acknowledgement

To maintain consistency in the analyses of the news texts, the following section applies White's (1997; 2000) satellites functions to the Acknowledgements used in the news texts. The following functions were identified in the Acknowledgement instances: (1) elaboration, (2) appraisal, (3) context and (4) cause-and-effect. As sources can also be used to personalise news events, this section will conclude with a discussion of the personalisation through Acknowledgements. Both the TONAs and the LBs use White's (1997; 2000) satellite functions in similar frequencies. Figure 5.17 shows the percentages of each function out of the total number of Acknowledgements in each type of news text:
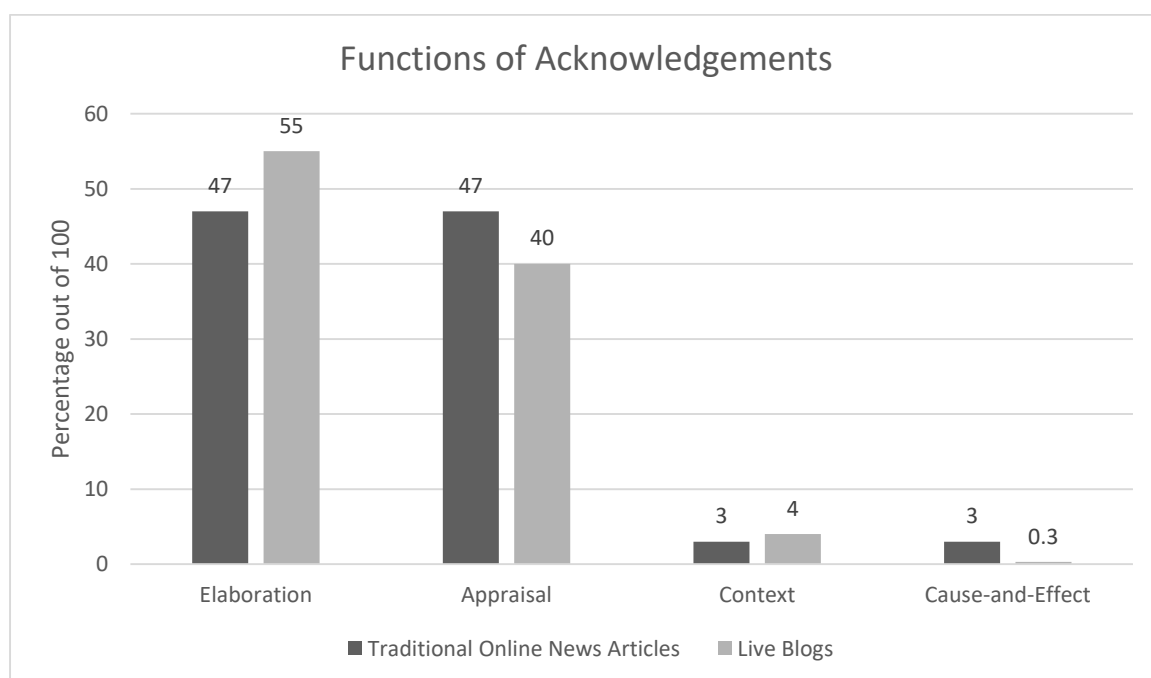
Figure 5.17: Functions of Acknowledgements

As there were few instances of Acknowledgement used for context and cause-and-effect satellites, the following section will analyse the use of Acknowledgement for elaboration and appraisal satellites.

The TONAs used 47 per cent of Acknowledgements for elaboration satellites and 47 per cent of Acknowledgements for appraisal satellites. They relied on a variety of sources such as the Israeli Defence Forces, *BBC* journalists, news agencies such AP and Reuters and

official governmental agencies such as the White House. Acknowledgements used for elaboration used official sources representing larger groups:

[5.45] 'Israel **said** that 13 of its soldiers had been killed since Saturday night.' (A1)

[5.46] 'The majority of those killed are civilians, the UN **says**.' (A1)

[5.47] 'CNN **reported** that four guns were recovered at the scene of the killings.' (A2)

[5.48] 'Other accounts **report** that Nesnick **specified** that Mercer was born in England.' (A2)

Text Box 5.17: Elaboration Acknowledgements in TONAs

Examples 5.45 and 5.46 were taken from the *BBC* article and examples 5.47 and 5.48 were taken from *The Guardian*'s article. Each example shows the use of a neutral reporting verb: 'said' (5.45), 'says' (5.46), 'reported' (5.47) and 'report' and 'specified' (5.48). The agent to which the statements were attributed, were all presented as groups: 'Israel' (5.45), 'the UN' (5.46), 'CNN' (5.47), 'other accounts' (5.48). The purpose of elaboration is to provide more information or more detail about the key events named in the headline and lead (White 1997). By attributing elaborations to established authorities, such as CNN and the UN, whole countries which were part of the news event such as 'Israel', and groups rather than individuals such as 'other accounts', the reporter was able increase the perceived legitimisation of the information provided (Van Leeuwen 2008). By relying on this level of 'eliteness' of the sources included in the texts, the social proximity of the news event can be decreased as the audiences cannot relate to any individual providing the information (Cohen, Adoni & Bantz 1990).

Personalisation of the news events, which both decreases social proximity between audiences and news actors and increases the events' newsworthiness, is primarily located in the appraisal satellites. The TONAs use Acknowledgements to include evaluations of the news events from individual news actors:

[5.49] 'Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas **said** the deaths in the Shejaiya district east of Gaza City were a "massacre".' (A1)

[5.50] '"For many of us these were the worst scenes we've ever had, not only for the density of patients and total overwhelming of our capacity but because of all this pain and agony," **says** Norwegian doctor, Mads Gilbert'. (A1)

[5.51] 'The gunman's father, Ian Mercer, **said** he was "just as shocked as everybody" at his son's actions.' (A2)

[5.52] 'Oregon's governor, Kate Brown, **spoke** of her "profound dismay and heartbreak" at the killings.' (A2)

Text Box 5.18: Appraisal in Acknowledgements in TONAs

Examples 5.49 to 5.52 all include neutral reporting verbs. The reported clauses include different forms of Appraisal. The reported clause in example 5.49 includes one word: 'massacre'. This can be construed as negative Quality as it evaluated the Gaza conflict. Examples 5.50, 5.51, and 5.52 each include negative Affect as the reported clauses relayed negative emotions felt by the speakers.

Each instance of Appraisal is attributed to an individual: Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas (5.49), Mads Gilbert (5.50), Ian Mercer (5.51) and Kate Brown (5.52). While they refer to individuals, therefore increasing the personalisation of the news event, both examples 5.49 and 5.52 refer to an 'elite' person (Bednarek & Caple 2017). Both individuals are quoted with reference to their governmental function: 'Palestinian President' and 'Oregon's governor'. Throughout both TONAs, these elite actors are quoted most often in Appraisal satellites. The TONAs include 35 instances of Appraisal through Acknowledgement, from which 27 instances were attributed to 'elites'. The remaining seven instances of Appraisal through Acknowledgement were attributed to three news actors: Mads Gilbert (5.50), Ian Mercer (5.51) and Heather Alvers (see example 5.1).

The LBs on the other hand included more non-elite individual sources in both the elaboration and Appraisal instances of Acknowledgement. In elaboration Acknowledgements,

none of the traditional TONAs' sources were individual and non-elite. In the LBs, the individual, non-elite sources comprised 17 per cent of elaboration Acknowledgements:

[5.53] 'Ben White, writer tweets: Israel has lost more soldiers in a 3 day old ground offensive than it did during Cast Lead & Pillar of Defense combined (12). #Gaza' (LB1)

[5.54] 'Avi Mayer, Israeli blogger tweets: The IDF is currently working on identifying all 13 of the fallen soldiers. Their names will be released following the families' consent.' (LB1)

[5.55] '@[Twitter handle] A few hundred already gathered at the #UCCShooting vigil.' (LB2)

[5.56] 'Stacey Boylan, father of 18-year-old Anastasia Boylan who was injured in the attack, has told CNN his daughter survived by "playing dead".' (LB2)

Text Box 5.19 elaboration Acknowledgements from individual, non-elite sources

Most individual sources included a reference to some form of expertise justifying their inclusion in the LBs as can be seen in examples 5.53, 5.54 and 5.56. The exceptions were embedded tweets which did not include an introduction as seen in examples 5.53 and 5.54. Example 5.55 shows a tweet which was embedded into *The Guardian* LB, which did not include an introduction to the author. Each embedded tweet in both the *BBC* and *The Guardian* LBs were hyperlinked, meaning the reader could follow this hyperlink and read more about the Tweeter.

The individual sources that did include a post-modifier explaining their expertise, included the profession of the source: 'writer' (5.53), 'Israeli blogger' (5.54) or their relation to the news event: 'father of 18-year-old Anastasia Boylan who was injured in the attack' (5.56). While the post-modifiers provided justification for the speakers' inclusion in the LBs and their ability to inform the audience accurately of details of the news event, the sources were treated as individuals rather than part of a larger collective. In the TONAs, individuals that were named were often associated with an organisation and named as a spokesperson: 'Lt Col Peter Lerner, an IDF spokesman'. The individuals in examples 5.53 to 5.56 were nominated and functionalised: presented with 'unique identities' and their occupation (Van Leeuwen 2008: 40-42) rather than presented with a group identity. This individualisation increases the

personalisation of the news event and news text, thereby increasing its newsworthiness (Bednarek & Caple 2012).

In the Appraisal Acknowledgements, there was difference of 15 instances of individual non-elite sources between the TONAs (7 instances) and the LBs (22 instances). However, in percentages, the TONAs contained 20 per cent of individual non-elite sources for the Appraisal Acknowledgements, while the LBs' Appraisal Acknowledgements contained 18 per cent. The Appraisal sources in the LBs were foregrounded through the layout of the LBs, while the Appraisal sources in the TONAs were presented as part of the narrative, similarly to every other part of the news texts. Figures 5.18 and 5.19 show the two instances of Acknowledgement presentations found in the LBs which were not present in the TONAs:

2 Oct 2015 05:14	Jason Wilson has filed a report from the neighbourhood of Chris Harper-Mercer.
	Steven Fisher, who lives in a neighbouring block, positively identified the man in the picture as his neighbour.
	"Yeah I'd see him in the back yard, sometimes with a couple of kids," said Fisher.
	Fisher was referring to a large, open space shared by three blocks, each containing six apartments. He didn't know what the relationship between the man and the children was, and didn't know the man by name.
	"I stay to myself when I come home from work," he said.
	Other residents of the block said they did not recognize the man.

Figure 5.18: Embedded Quotation of Individual, Non-Elite Source in The Guardian LB
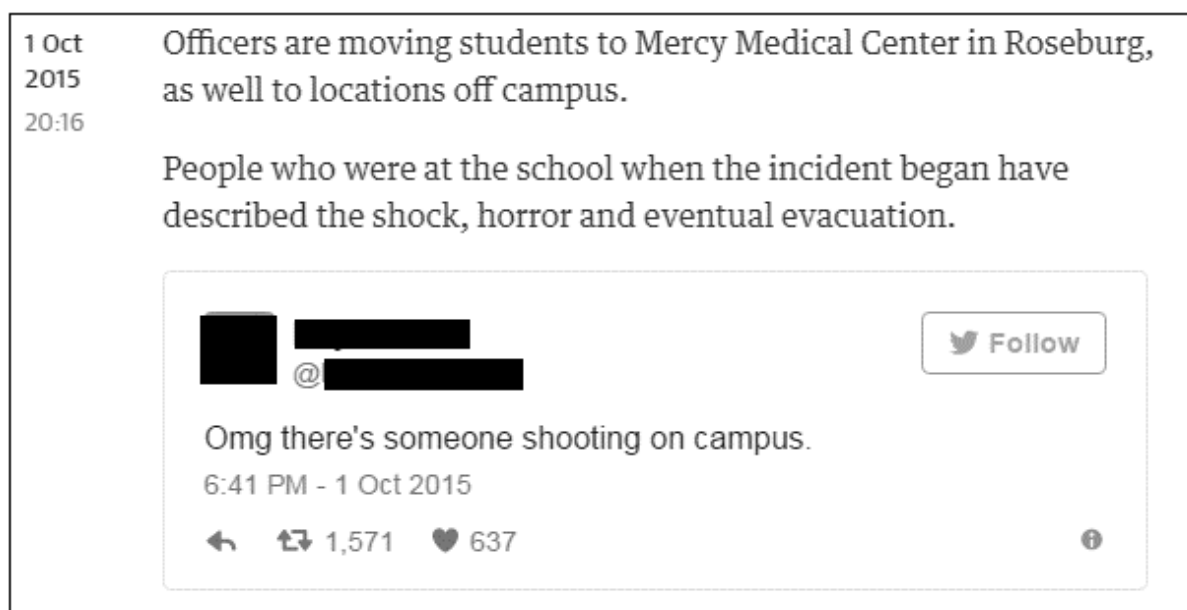
Figure 5.19 Embedded Tweets of Individual, Non-Elite Source in The Guardian LB

Figure 5.18 shows the presentation style of emails and quotations. The reported speech is italicised, at times indented and presented in grey instead of black. Figure 5.19 shows the presentation style of tweets. Tweets are directly embedded into the LBs, presented in the same style as they would be presented on Twitter, the original platform of presentation. The author's Twitter name is present as well as their twitter handle, which I have removed for privacy reasons. The reader is able to like, retweet and follow without leaving the LB webpage.

While quotations presented as part of the narrative were direct speech, tweets were presented more directly. Even in direct speech presentation, there is still interference from the reporter (Caldas-Coulthard 1994; Blackledge 2002; Pounds 2010). In the embedded tweets, there is no interference in the reported speech and LB reporters consider themselves to be 'mediators rather than first hand reporters' (Thurman & Walters 2013: 12). Readers are able to follow the hyperlink to Twitter and view the original post. There is more direct communication between authors of Tweets and the reader than between quoted news actors and the reader as the reporter is removed from the exchange. This increases the news events' personalisation as 'the event is discursively constructed as having a personal or 'human' face (involving non-elite actors, including eyewitnesses)' (Bednarek & Caple 2017: 55). As readers

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are provided with direct communication from eyewitnesses and have the option of responding directly to these news actors, readers might feel in closer social proximity to the news event (Cohen, Adoni & Bantz 1990; Kwon & Hemsley 2017).

5.3 Summary

This thesis investigates and compares reader responses to TONAs and hard news LBs. This chapter's aims were to compare the news texts used in this study. It aimed to outline key features of the newer online news format of LBs and to compare and contrast this new format with TONAs. It also analysed any consistency in representation in both news texts across the two news events. This section will summarise this chapter's findings along three key areas: Attitudinal evaluation, Engagement and social and temporal proximity created in both news formats.

5.3.1 Appraisal evaluations

There were some distinctions in the normalised frequencies of the different types of Attitudinal Appraisal used in both news formats. The TONAs contained more Appreciation than the LBs, while the LBs contained both more Affect and more Judgement than the TONAs. However, all news texts contained similar Attitudinal categories in their descriptions of the news events.

The news events were presented using primarily negative evaluative categories: Unhappiness, negative Quality and negative Balance. Throughout each news text, the news events were negatively presented. While this can be attributed to the nature of both news events, both news events revolved around the deaths of news actors, negativity has also been found as one of the key news values in creating newsworthiness (Galtung & Ruge 1965; Bell 1991; Bednarek & Caple 2012; 2017). The primary use of negative Appraisal is therefore characteristic of hard news reporting.

The TONAs used more Appreciation (in normalised frequency) through negative Quality, positive Impact and negative Balance than the LBs. The TONAs therefore portrayed the news events as more newsworthy, presenting them as more negative and having a larger impact than the LBs. This could be due to the fact that the TONAs were constructed after the LB and after the news event had 'concluded', giving the reporters more space to 'construct' these news values (Bednarek & Caple 2017). As the LB reporters were reporting on the news event as it developed and considering the speed with which LBs are expected to be updated, the reporters main role is to 'curate' the news rather than 'report' it (Thurman & Walters 2013: 12).

This role as a 'curator' or 'mediator' instead of a 'reporter' can also be identified in the forms of Engagement used in the LBs compared to the TONAs. Both the TONAs and the LBs presented Affect primarily as Heteroglossic using Acknowledgements. This follows White's (1997; 2000) nucleus-satellite news structure where Appraisal satellites are attributed to outside 'expert' sources. The Appreciation and Judgement evaluations however, were presented differently. The LBs presented these evaluations as Heteroglossic in 85 per cent of all instances, and as Monoglossic in 15 per cent. The TONAs presented these evaluations as Heteroglossic in only 42 per cent of all instances, and as Monoglossic in 58 per cent. The Heteroglossia used by both news formats was similar, and both TONAs and the LBs used Acknowledgements more than any other form of Heteroglossia. This resulted in the presentation of the majority of evaluations in the TONAs, 58 per cent, being presented as 'bare assertions' (Martin & White 2005: 94). The LBs on the other hand only presented 15 per cent of evaluations as 'bare assertions'. This results in the evaluation in the TONAs being more closely positioned to being 'factual' as opposed to opinion-based (White 2003).

The Heteroglossic instances on the other hand, while used less in TONAs, are used similarly between the two news formats. The LBs and the TONAs use Acknowledgements to include both Appraisal satellites and elaboration satellites. The sources were presented through quotations as part of the narrative in the TONAs, while the sources in the LBs are

foregrounded through their presentation. This could therefore draw the readers focus to the sources, causing them to re-read the outside source as the presentation is unusual (Miall & Kuiken 1994).

5.3.2 Proximity between reader and news event

The inclusion of these different sourcing and quotation methods also influences the social proximity between the reader and the news actors. Through the hyperlink inclusions in the LBs, which are considered a fundamental part of LBs (Thurman & Schapals 2016), the reader is provided with the possibility to directly communicate with the news actors. As social media has been shown to create 'a sense of cyber-neighbourliness' (Kwon & Hemsley 2017: 2148), through the embedded tweet this 'neighbourliness' can now be extended to the LB reader, should they choose to engage. Besides the social proximity, LBs are also in closer temporal proximity to the news events. The LBs were written as the news events were developing, while the TONAs were written once the news events had concluded. Both the closer temporal and closer social proximity between the LB readers and the news events increases the proximity news value, which dictates that the closer in geographical or social proximity a news event takes place, the higher its newsworthiness (Galtung & Ruge 1965; Bell 1991; Bednarek & Caple 2012).

This chapter has shown that the differences in the presentation of the news between the TONAs and LBs selected for this research. Both news formats contain similar style nuclei (White 1997). While the LBs contained more satellites than the TONAs, the satellite functions used were similar across both news formats as both primarily contained elaboration and Appraisal satellites.

This chapter has also shown that both news formats evaluated the news events similarly when considering Attitudinal Appraisal only. Though there were differences in frequencies of Affect, Appreciation and Judgement, the positioning created through these

evaluative instances was consistent across news formats. There was a distinction found in the use of Engagement in the presentation of these Attitudinal evaluations. LBs presented these evaluations primarily using Heteroglossia, while the TONAs primarily used Monoglossia.

Chapter 6 ATTITUDINAL READER RESPONSE TO NEWS TEXTS

6.0 Introduction

This chapter analyses respondents' evaluations of the news texts: TONAs and LBs. It aims to answer research question three: how did readers evaluate the style and format of TONAs as compared to LBs? In this chapter, I analyse the respondents' use of Attitudinal Appraisal in instances where the news texts were the object of evaluation. I make a distinction between text and discourse: I use 'text' to mean the specific news texts that the respondents read and evaluated and 'discourse' as the overall characteristics of both the TONAs and the LBs. The use of Engagement in evaluations of the news texts will be discussed in Chapter Seven.

It is important to analyse how respondents used Attitudinal Appraisal to evaluate the news texts for two main reasons. Firstly, this chapter examines how respondents value the discourse of TONAs and LBs (Valuation) and how they evaluate the structure of the discourse (Composition). Earlier media studies research has found that readers generally have more positive attitudes towards LBs than TONAs as researchers reported that readers perceived LBs as more 'balanced' and 'factual' than TONAs (Thurman & Walters 2013: 96; Thurman & Newman 2014: 660). This perceived accuracy in LBs compared to TONAs is important as news media are valued for their credibility and trustworthiness (Hovland & Weiss 1951; Berlo, Lemert & Mertz 1969; Newhagen & Nass 1989; Kohring & Matthes 2007). These studies relied on quantitative methods, whereas I analyse how respondents evaluated the LBs and the TONAs in qualitative linguistic detail. As I will show in the following sections, my analysis revealed that Valuation is used consistently across LBs and TONAs. Composition was used differently, with TONA respondents using more Balance to evaluate structure and LB respondents using more Complexity to evaluate the LBs' structure.

Secondly, by separating the evaluations of the news texts from evaluations of the news events, I am able to compare and contrast respondents' evaluations of these two targets. Research has shown that changing the discourse structure of short stories and narratives including forms of characterization and access to characters' thoughts and feelings, influences

affective responses of readers (Brewer & Lichtenstein 1980; Brewer & Ohtsuka 1988). Chapter Five analysed the differences in the news texts, this chapter investigates how respondents evaluated the news texts, and Chapter Eight analyses how respondents evaluated the news events. Combined, these results allow me to investigate how the format of the news texts related to reader evaluations of the news events.

It is important to treat these evaluations separately, even though some respondents mixed the evaluation of the news texts and the evaluation of the reported event when asked to talk about what they had read:

"[i] can you tell me a bit about the news that you've read

[p] eh (.) yeah it was **like a live feed** so it was **constantly being updated** with small bits of information (.) it was (.) about a school shooting in America (.) in (.) Oregon (1) and (.) I I guess it was sort of (.) being reported **as it happened** so the (.) new information kept being (.) updated and **they'd have sort of (.) Facebook and Twitter (.) Twitter pages** of people involved and they'd have (.) **short interviews** with people who were involved" (LB24)

Text Box 6.1 Mix of News Text Evaluations and News Event Evaluations

Respondent LB24 did not separate the news text from the news event but instead interspersed evaluation of the news text with evaluation of the news event. In this example, I have used bold text to indicate where the respondent evaluated the news text, while the underlined text shows where the respondent evaluated the news event. This demonstrates that, while often co-occurring, these two targets of evaluation can be separated.

Following Martin & White (2005), evaluations of the LBs and TONAs as texts were categorised as Appreciation as these were evaluations of entities. Evaluations of the reporters were categorised as Judgement. Evaluations that included expressions of the respondents' feelings and emotions were categorised as Affect. The normalised frequencies of these three categories are depicted in figure 6.1.
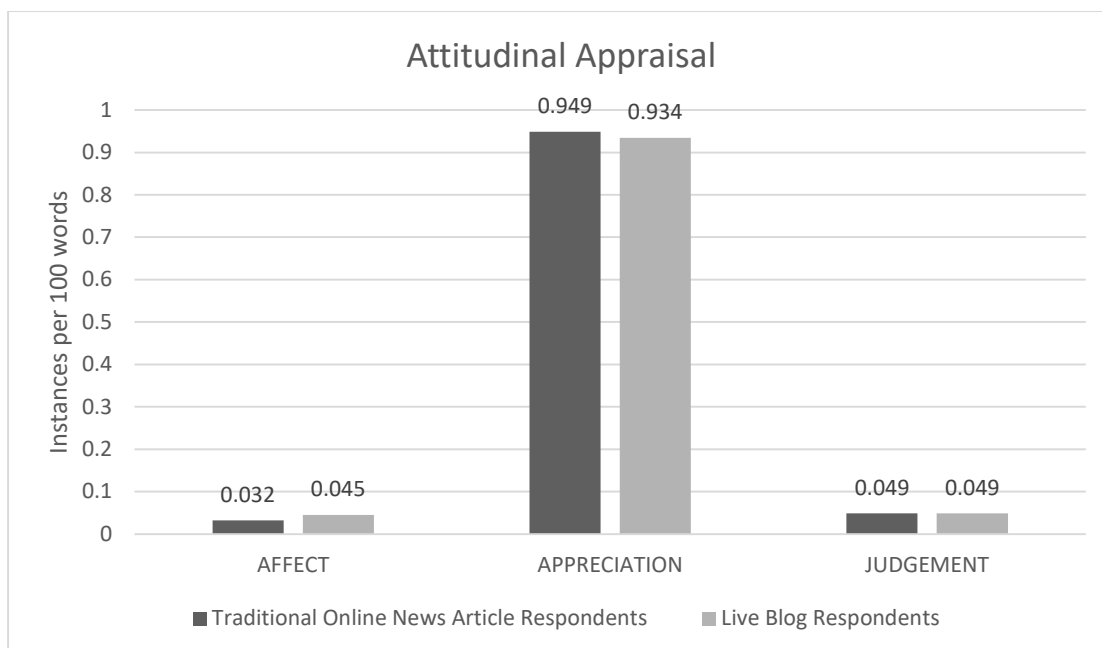
Figure 6.1 Instances per 100 words of Attitudinal Appraisal in evaluations of the news texts

The respondents primarily used Appreciation in their evaluations of the news texts and did not often evaluate the reporters directly (Judgement) or express emotive responses (Affect). Table 6.1 shows the raw frequencies of these categories, illustrating that the large difference shown in figure 6.1 is not a result of normalisation.

	Affect	Appreciation	Judgement
TONA Respondents	6	176	9
LB Respondents	11	228	12

Table 6.1 Raw frequencies of Attitudinal Appraisal in evaluations of news texts

There were limited evaluations featuring the respondents' feelings (Affect) and limited evaluations of the journalists and editors responsible for the news texts (Judgement). This pattern of Attitudinal Appraisal was true regardless of which type of news text was read. Therefore, I focus my analysis on the use of Appreciation.

6.1 Frequencies of Appreciation

The category of Appreciation contains a number of subcategories, each of which evaluate a different aspect of the entity in question. As with all types of Attitudinal Appraisal, positive and negative polarities exist for each category. Figure 6.2 shows the normalised frequencies of each Appreciation subcategory.
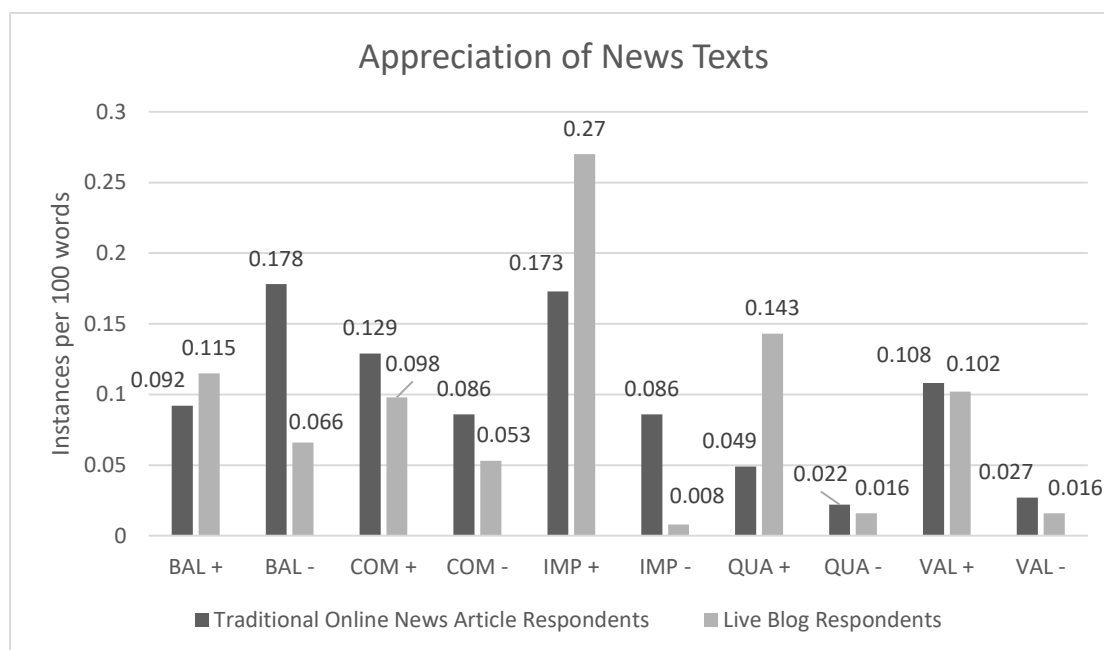
Figure 6.2 Instances per 100 words of Appreciation subcategories

The majority of the evaluations made by both groups of respondents were positive. The TONA respondents made .551 positive evaluations per 100 words and .399 negative evaluations per 100 words. The evaluations made by the LB respondents showed a larger difference, as the LB respondents made .728 positive evaluations per 100 words and .159 negative evaluations per 100 words. Additionally, when the subcategories are examined in detail, a more varied picture of the use of Appraisal occurs. Positive Impact was the most frequently used category by the LB respondents in their evaluations, while the TONA respondents used negative Balance most. The raw frequencies in table 6.2 also show these distinctions:

	TONA Respondents	LB Respondents
BAL+	17	28
BAL-	33	16
COM+	24	24
COM-	16	13
IMP+	32	66
IMP-	16	2
QUA+	9	35
QUA-	4	4
VAL+	20	25
VAL-	5	4
Total Positive	102	178
Total Negative	74	39

Table 6.2 Raw Frequencies of Appreciation subcategories

While both groups of respondents were more positive than negative, the TONA respondents more often used negative evaluations (74) than the LB respondents (39). The LB respondents more often used positive evaluation (178) than the TONA respondents (102). The TONA respondents, while still evaluating the news texts positively, evaluated the TONAs more often negatively than the LB respondents did the LBs. The evaluations of the news texts will be further explored in the following sections as I analyse the content of the respondents' evaluations.

6.2 Impact

This section analyses the respondents' use of Impact in their evaluations of the news texts. Impact, together with Quality, form Reaction. This subcategory of Appreciation is concerned with evaluators ascribing affective characteristics to the object of evaluation (Martin & White

2005: 56). Impact is used to evaluate whether an object 'grabbed' the evaluator (Martin & White 2005: 56). This can be expressed with adjectives such as 'captivating', 'dramatic' or 'intense' for positive evaluations and 'boring', 'flat' and 'uninviting' for negative evaluations (Martin & White 2005: 56). Significantly, Martin and White (2005: 56) suggest Impact may be linked to readers' emotional responses to the evaluated object. This relates to this project's concern with affective news which, as discussed in Chapter Two, is created by including personal stories of news actors in news texts (Allan 2016). LBs contain more of these stories through their inclusion of Tweets (Chouliaraki 2010; see also Chapter Five), which outsources the emotional labour from the journalist to the news actors (Wahl-Jorgenson 2012). Nabi (2002) showed that in an experimental setting, artificially constructed news stories containing expressions of anger, can induce those emotions in their readers. Following on from that, these emotions may then function as a 'frame' through which readers will evaluate similar, future events (Nabi 2003). As LBs are often the first news stories available about breaking news events (as was the case with the LBs in question in my thesis), these reports may frame their readers' future responses to similar events. In order to analyse the affective characteristics that the respondents ascribed to the news texts in their evaluations, I investigate what aspects of the news texts were evaluated as more engaging (positive Impact) and which aspects of the news texts were evaluated as less engaging (negative Impact).

6.2.1 Frequencies of Impact

Figure 6.3 shows the number of instances of Impact per 100 words in the respondents' evaluations of the news texts.
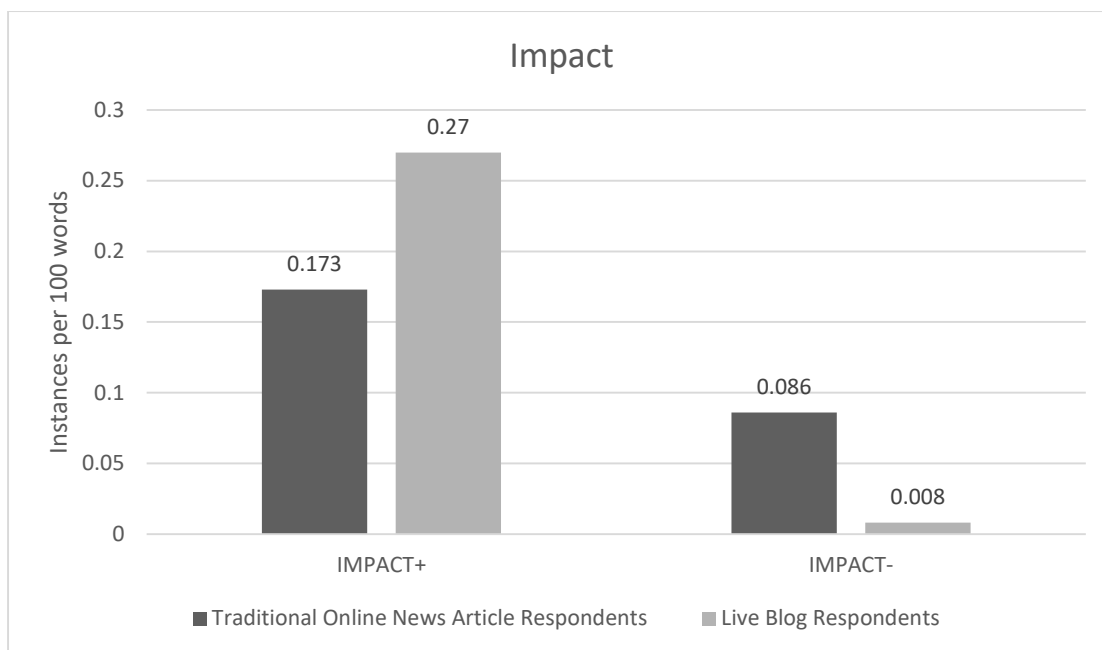
Figure 6.3 Normalised Frequencies of Impact in Evaluations of News Texts

Both groups of respondents evaluated the news texts' engagement positively. However, the LB respondents showed a much larger difference between their positive and negative Impact frequencies than the TONA respondents. This can also be seen in the raw frequencies in table 6.3:

	Positive Impact	Negative Impact
TONA Respondents	32	16
LB Respondents	66	2

Table 6.3 Raw Frequencies of Impact in Evaluations of News Texts

The TONA respondents had a difference of 16 instances between the positive and negative Impact evaluations while the evaluations of the LB respondents had a difference of 64 instances. This suggests that the LBs were evaluated positively more often than the TONAs in terms of their engaging characteristics.

Both groups of respondents used positive Impact to evaluate the use of personalisation in the news texts. However, the LB respondents primarily used positive Impact to evaluate the inclusion of different media such as Tweets, pictures, and videos while the TONA respondents

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used positive Impact to evaluate the personal stories about news actors described in the news texts. This relative trend in the target/object of positive Impact evaluations are therefore discussed in section 6.2.2, focused on differences in positive Impact evaluations. Secondly, the TONA respondents also used positive Impact to evaluate the descriptions used in the news texts while the LB respondents did not evaluate this aspect of the news texts. These differences are also discussed in section 6.2.2. Negative Impact, on the other hand, was used by both groups of respondents similarly – to evaluate the style of the news texts. The respondents specifically focused on the use of statistics and facts in both kinds of news text, evaluating the news texts as 'detached' and therefore unengaging. This similarity will be discussed in section 6.2.3.

6.2.2 Positive Impact Differences

The TONA respondents used positive Impact to evaluate the personalised stories embedded in the news texts:

[6.1] 'I think also (.) the doc- tor eh I think his (2) I can't find where it is now I think it might be below [reading article] yeah I think it's towards the end but yeah I think the doctor's experience is quite eh (.) **strong** as well cause I think he just says about civilian casualties and how horrific can't find it now but I think he uses quite **strong** language about the eh (.) about the scenes so I think they're the main voices' (A14)

[6.2] 'scenes of panic (.) fleeing (.) killed (.) these are all words that they're quite eh (2) they all fit that idea of death so and they're quite visual aren't they eh (.) **they invoke like images** for you I think that's (1) especially for yeah for that bit where they're talking about who exactly is being affected (A15)

Text Box 6.2 Instances of positive Impact by TONA respondents

Examples 6.1 and 6.2 show two instances of how the TONA respondents evaluated the use of personalisation in the news texts. In example 6.1, respondent A14 evaluated a quotation from one news actor: a doctor working in Gaza. The respondent stated that the doctor's

language was 'strong', specifically referring to the news text through the use of the word 'language'. The evaluation 'strong' suggests that the doctor's quotes were engaging to the respondent. In example 6.2, respondent A15 does not refer to a specific news actor, but instead suggests that the words used by the reporter 'invoke images'. This was categorised as positive Impact as it suggests that the words were so engaging and 'dramatic' that the respondents was able to picture the scene (Martin & White 2005: 56). The respondent went on to specify that this evaluation was especially true for the parts of the news text that described 'who exactly' was affected. This suggests that personalised aspects of the news texts were more impactful to this respondent than general descriptions.

While the TONA respondents focused on the language used for personalisation, the LB respondents used positive Impact to evaluate the use of different media to construct personalised news perspectives:

[6.3] 'I think the tweets overall are just (.) they're so **powerful** like you know especially from the civilians perspective they're so **powerful** for giving you like you know a real a much more real time sense of (.) at the right time (.) a much more like **brutally real** sense of what's going on' (LB12)

[6.4] 'one of his like neighbours speaks about him a bit (.) which is (.) eh (.) interesting cause it (.) makes him more like a real people instead of kind of a (.) just a a shooter he's actually someone's neighbour and someone's parent perhaps you know (.) eh (1) and that picture of him is **very chilling**' (LB22)

[6.5] 'this would give you a bit more detail than perhaps you would look for (3) but the way it's sort of integrated all the social media stuff is quite **interesting** (.) you can kind of see lots of different people's opinions all within one news article which you normally can't do' (LB23)

Text Box 6.3 Instances of positive Impact by LB respondents

In example 6.3, respondent LB12 referred to the Tweets embedded in the LB as 'powerful', specifying that the Tweets from 'civilians' were the especially engaging. Similar to the evaluations made by TONA respondents, this again suggests that stories about specific

individuals and civilians are more engaging than other parts of the news texts. Respondent LB12 also evaluated the Tweets as 'real', which was found in half of the LB respondents' evaluations of Tweets. The respondent intensified this statement using the adverb 'brutally'. This suggests that the Tweets were perceived as realistic even though the respondents, nor myself, were unable to confirm the authenticity of these Tweets. Example 6.4 shows respondent LB22's evaluation of the picture of the shooter included in the LB. They evaluated the picture as 'very chilling', invoking an affective evaluation of fear in response to the inclusion of a different medium: photography. Respondent LB23 in example 6.5 evaluated the use of social media more generally, stating that it was 'interesting'. While this does invoke Affect: 'I am interested in this', it conveys a less emotional response than evaluations such as 'chilling'. The use of the term 'interesting' suggests a detachment of the respondent from the news event who instead focused on the evaluation of the text and how the Tweets were 'integrated'. Each of the respondents used positive Impact to evaluate the use of different voices within the news texts, specifically referring to individuals whose quotes were presented in the news texts. This suggests that personalisation of news stories can increase the use of positive Impact in respondents' evaluations of the news texts. Respondents seemed to use consistently positive evaluations of what were perceived to be ordinary voices in news texts, regardless of the presentation of these voices.

Bednarek and Caple (2014) state that 'quotes from 'ordinary' people' can increase the news value personalisation. This is consistent with my results that show that the higher frequencies of positive Impact in the evaluations of LB respondents may relate to the construction of personalisation (Bednarek & Caple 2014). With the inclusion of Tweets, pictures and videos, the LBs constructed more personalisation than the TONAs (see Chapter Five). The Tweets in the LBs are fulfilling this goal, giving readers quotes from ordinary people, seemingly without editing or interference from the journalists. The construction of personalisation in news texts has been found to increase audience numbers for news texts

suggesting that readers positively respond to news texts that include personalisation (Schaudt & Carpenter 2009).

In addition to evaluations of personalisation, TONA respondents used positive Impact to evaluate the style and descriptions in the news texts:

[6.6] 'I think that it like (.) it is-is really emotive when it talks about - it is like what I said it's **graphic** about the dead bodies and it says about schools and it mentions number of who were k- of how many people were killed' (A13)

[6.7] 'there's this bit where it says at the scene and it's trying to paint a picture like it's **almost storytelling** that means things are quite **dramatic** so when he's like the thick black column of smoke and it's **descriptive** but again it is painting eh (.) a certain scene' (A14)

[6.8] 'I think when it says (.) when the shooter was standing in the classroom when he asked (.) what religion they were and he was shooting some people and then it's just like bodies on the floor (.) and that was just so **I could visualise it** so that was a **big impact** there' (A21)

Text Box 6.4 Instances of positive Impact evaluating the style of the TONAs

In examples 6.6 and 6.7, the respondents used evaluative adjectives to describe the word choice and descriptions used in the news texts. Respondent A13 evaluated the information about the numbers of victims as 'graphic' and respondent A14 evaluated one section of the news text as 'almost storytelling', 'dramatic' and 'descriptive'. Both respondents specifically referred to the news text as opposed to the news event, they stated 'it said' and 'it's trying to paint a picture'. Word choice and style was not evaluated using Impact by the LB respondents who instead focused their Impact evaluations on the use of different media. In example 6.8, respondent A21 made a similar, more invoked evaluation as they said they could 'visualise' the situation which created a 'big impact'. While these respondents did not explicitly use Affect, affective Impact evaluations such as 'graphic', 'dramatic' and 'big impact', invoked Affect. This suggests that the numbers of victims and descriptions used in the TONAs were

engaging to the respondents, causing them to ascribe affective characteristics to these news texts.

6.2.3 Negative Impact Similarities

Both the LB respondents and the TONA respondents used negative Impact to evaluate the use of facts and figures in the news texts and the lack of personal style from the reporter. They evaluated these aspects of the news texts as 'factual' and 'distant':

[6.9] 'knowing that you're writing for a news website you couldn't be painting colourful images of these you can't really paint a colourful image but (2) there's no raw detail about it (2) eh (3) yeah (2) it's a lot- it's **just very factual**' (A13)

[6.10] 'it's not really clear who the journalist is (2) eh (2) but they clearly like (5) I was gonna say sympathetic (.) obviously that's like implied it's really factual (.) and I think they're more focused on (1) the (.) political side of it it's **less (.) emotive** in terms of (.) there aren't (.) it doesn't go into detail about what actually happened' (A22)

[6.11] 'the actual writer who kind of did the (.) the summary of it (.) I wouldn't say (.) I heard their voice particularly because it's all very (.) eh (.) **distant** it's **very just factual** and (.) they don't say I think this at any point in this' (LB22)

Text Box 6.5 Instances of negative Impact by TONA respondents and LB respondents

In examples 6.9 and 6.11, both respondents evaluated the news texts as 'factual', with both respondents modifying the adjective with the adverbs 'just' and 'very'. The term 'factual' without context may be interpreted as neutral or even positive. However, both respondents contrasted this evaluation with an evaluation of what the news text did not do. Respondent A13 stated that the news text did not have 'raw detail' nor 'painted a colourful image', both of which are categorised as negative Impact as they decreased the engagement of the news text. Respondent LB22 stated that the news text was 'very distant' and they could not 'hear the voice' of the reporter. This suggested a lack of personal style and was therefore categorised as negative Impact. In example 6.10, respondent A22 evaluated the news text as

'less emotive' as it did not 'go into detail'. This echoes the evaluation made by respondent A13, suggesting that without details the news text was less engaging than it could have been.

These evaluations suggest that 'factual' was used as a negative evaluation of the news texts' style in these instances. The adverb 'just' was used as a 'not enough limiter', meaning that the news text being factual was 'simply not enough' for it to be engaging without it 'painting a colourful image'. (Lindemann & Mauranen 2001: 467-8).

6.2.4 Summary of Impact findings

All news texts were evaluated more often with positive Impact than negative Impact, creating an overall positive evaluation of how engaging the news texts were. The news texts were also positively evaluated for the construction of personalisation and negatively evaluated for the lack of a distinct reporter voice and overly factual content. In addition, the TONAs were positively evaluated for the descriptions of the news events. The LB respondents used more positive Impact than the TONA respondents. The use of Tweets and different media in the LBs seemed to have caused this, as 44 per cent of positive Impact evaluations referred to Tweets and an additional 18 per cent of evaluations referred to the inclusion of pictures and videos. The LB respondents evaluated the use of Tweets are 'real'. Contrarily, TONA respondents did not use this word in their evaluations of the news texts.

These results suggest that LB respondents did not question the authenticity of the Tweets but instead used them as evidence to support the information provided in other updates. Tuchman (1972) found that journalists employ quotes in news texts in the same manner as facts: to support their reports. This assumes that quotes may be treated as equivalent to factual evidence of participants' emotional states, an assumption which seems to have been present in the respondents' reading of the LBs. However, Tweets are often specifically selected by editors and journalists and mostly come from people either familiar to the editors or employed by the editors (Loke & Grimm 2015). Therefore the trust from the

respondents in Tweets used in the LBs is interesting as these Tweets may not be as authentic as evaluated by the respondents.

6.3 Quality

Quality is concerned with whether the evaluator 'likes' the evaluated object (Martin & White 2005: 56). This sub-category of Reaction can be presented through adjectives such as 'good', 'bad', 'plain' or 'appealing' (Martin & White 2005: 56). All categories of Appreciation, and in fact all types of evaluation, contain an underlying positive to negative scale (Thompson & Hunston 2000). However, Quality is the category within the Appraisal framework that deals with this positive to negative scale most directly. As Quality is part of Appreciation, the specification of this category is relative to the field of the evaluated object. In the case of TONAs and LBs, what is positive and what is negative Quality is determined by how news texts are evaluated. While there is a wide range of research on news media 'quality' (Sundar 1999; Meijer 2003; Zaller 2003; Pew 2004; Zelizer 2004; Stenvall 2008; Van Der Wurff & Schönbach 2011; Hermida 2012), this research in media studies focuses on perceptions of quality from a journalistic perspective including evaluations of reliability, factuality and independence.

A direct adoption of these definitions of news media quality as the parameters to assess the Appreciation of the LBs and TONAs causes problems for this analysis in two ways. Firstly, the media studies approach to 'quality' focuses not only on the news texts but also on the production of the text, for example how information is acquired or which sources are selected. These issues cannot be analysed through the evaluation of the respondents. Secondly, some of these areas were used by respondents in other categories of Appreciation. For instance as shown in section 6.2, some respondents used the term 'factual' as a negative Impact evaluation. If the news media definition of 'quality' would be adopted directly, this would have been categorised as positive Quality as factual news texts are seen as positive (Abdulla et al. 2002).

As there is no existing research into the evaluation of news texts by readers using the Appraisal framework, I adopted a different approach. Evaluative instances that conveyed a positive or negative Appraisal of the news text were checked against all other Appreciation categories. This was done based on the individual evaluative instance and its co-text and context. The instances that could not be classified as any of the other categories were then categorised as Quality. This approach resulted in the Quality categorisation of phrases and words such as 'good', 'well', 'effective', 'unconfirmed', and 'bad' among others. Each of these instances carries a positive or negative value but no further meanings that would require it to be categorised in a different Appreciation category.

6.3.1 Frequencies of Quality

Figure 6.4 shows the number of instances per 100 words of positive and negative Quality used to evaluate the news texts.
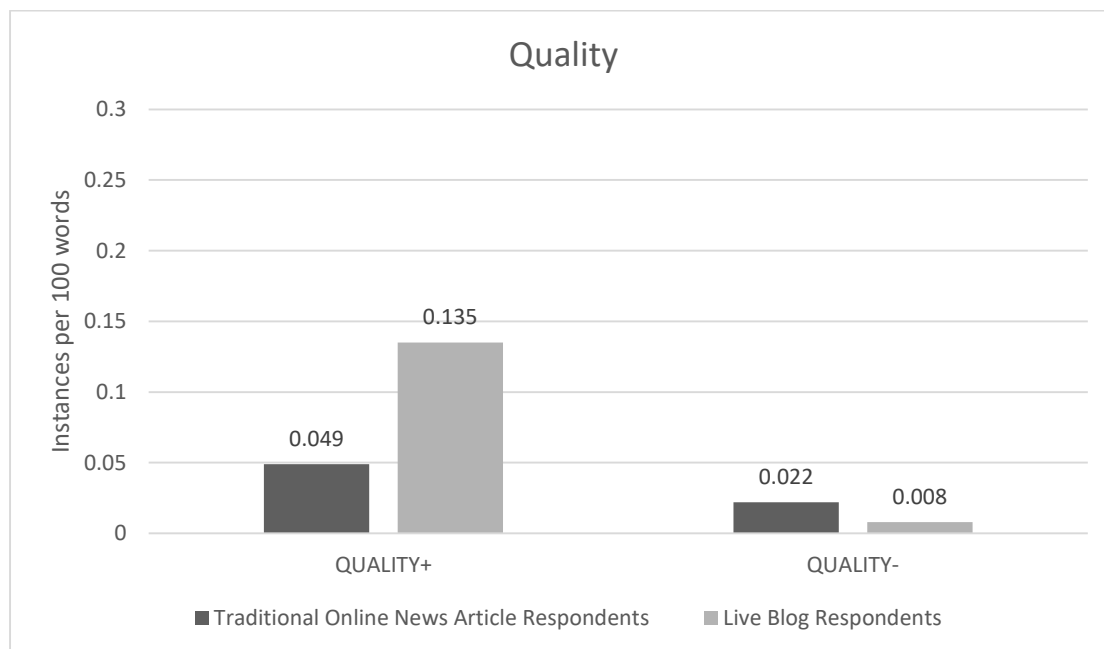
Figure 6.4 Number of instances per 100 words of Quality evaluations of news texts

Both groups of respondents used more expressions of positive Quality than negative Quality in their evaluations of the news texts. However, the LB respondents used positive

Quality more often and negative Quality less often than the TONA respondents. This suggests that LBs were evaluated positively more often than the TONAs. This difference can also be seen in table 6.4 showing the raw frequencies of Quality.

	Positive Quality	Negative Quality
TONA Respondents	9	4
LB Respondents	33	2

Table 6.4 Raw frequencies of Quality in evaluations of news texts

Both groups of respondents used minimal negative Quality. The TONA respondents used four instances of negative Quality and the LB respondents used only two instances. The TONA respondents used nine instances of positive Quality, while the LB respondents' interviews contained 33 instances of positive Quality that evaluated the news texts. This more positive evaluation of LBs compared to TONAs is in line with previous research of reader responses to LBs which showed that readers rated LBs more positively than TONAs (Thurman & Walters 2013; Thurman & Newman 2014).

6.3.2 Use of Quality

While the use of Impact was attributed to specific aspects of the news texts, there was no clear tendency for the positive Quality evaluations to take any particular aspect of the news texts as target/object, they were broad ranging in what the respondents said was good. Respondents referred to different parts of the news texts in both their positive and negative Quality evaluations. Positive evaluations made by the TONA respondents included references to: (1) the amount of information provided, (2) the style, (3) the consistency, (4) the structure, and (5) the sourcing. Negative Quality evaluations made by the TONA respondents referred to: (1) the accuracy, (2) the lack of detail, (3) the lack of conclusion. Positive Quality evaluations made by the LB respondents included references to: (1) the use of timestamps, (2) the accuracy, (3) the style, (4) the lay-out, (5) the detail provided, (6) the use of different

media, (7) the sourcing, (8) the inclusion of 'normal' people, (9) the formality, (10) how educational the text was. Negative Quality evaluations made by the LB respondents referred to: (1) bias and (2) use of unconfirmed sources.

At most, three respondents referred to the same aspect of the news texts. This was the case for the sourcing of the LBs, the formality of the LBs and the accuracy of the LBs. More commonly, the same respondents referred to the same aspect of the news texts throughout their Quality evaluations. For example, respondent LB12 referred to the accuracy of the news text three times and respondent LB15 referred to the sourcing of the LB four times. This suggests a consistency in the use of positive Quality per respondent that does not necessarily exist more generally within a group of respondents (at least in the data gathered for this project). Respondents seemed to have individual expectations of what makes a news text 'good' or 'bad'. These diverse evaluations could also have been caused by the lack of definition of the Quality category or the relatively small number of examples I analysed. As each of the Appreciation categories is already concerned with positive and negative evaluation of the news texts, though in more specific terms, Quality does not contain similar distinguishable features.

Martin and White (2005:56) claim Quality is concerned with the question: 'did I like it?' but evaluations containing the phrase 'I like' would be classified as Affect: satisfaction. Their examples are focused primarily on the aesthetics of the evaluated object: 'beautiful', 'enchanting', 'fine', and 'bad', 'grotesque' and 'revolting'. This category is applicable to some categories of evaluative texts such as wine reviews (Hommerberg & Don 2015). In other research, this category was not identified, as was the case in the analysis of representations of UK universities (Morrish & Sauntson 2013). As news texts are generally not presented with aesthetics in mind, Quality may not be an applicable category to the evaluation of these news texts.

6.4 Balance

This section analyses the use of Martin and White's (2005: 57) Balance category in the evaluations of the news texts. Balance forms Composition together with Complexity. Composition is concerned with the respondents' 'view of order' (Hommerberg & Don 2015: 166) and the respondents' perception of complexity of the news texts. Complexity will be discussed in section 6.5. Balance is used to analyse how respondents evaluated the harmony of the news texts. Instantiations of positive Balance include 'balanced', 'consistent' and 'logical', while examples of negative Balance include 'uneven', 'contradictory' and 'disorganised' (Martin & White 2005: 56). Following these examples and considering that respondents evaluated news texts, the instances of Balance in the analysis focused on the structure of the news texts and the balance of the different voices contained therein.

6.4.1 Frequencies of Balance

Figure 6.5 shows the number of instances per 100 words of Balance used for the evaluation of the news texts.
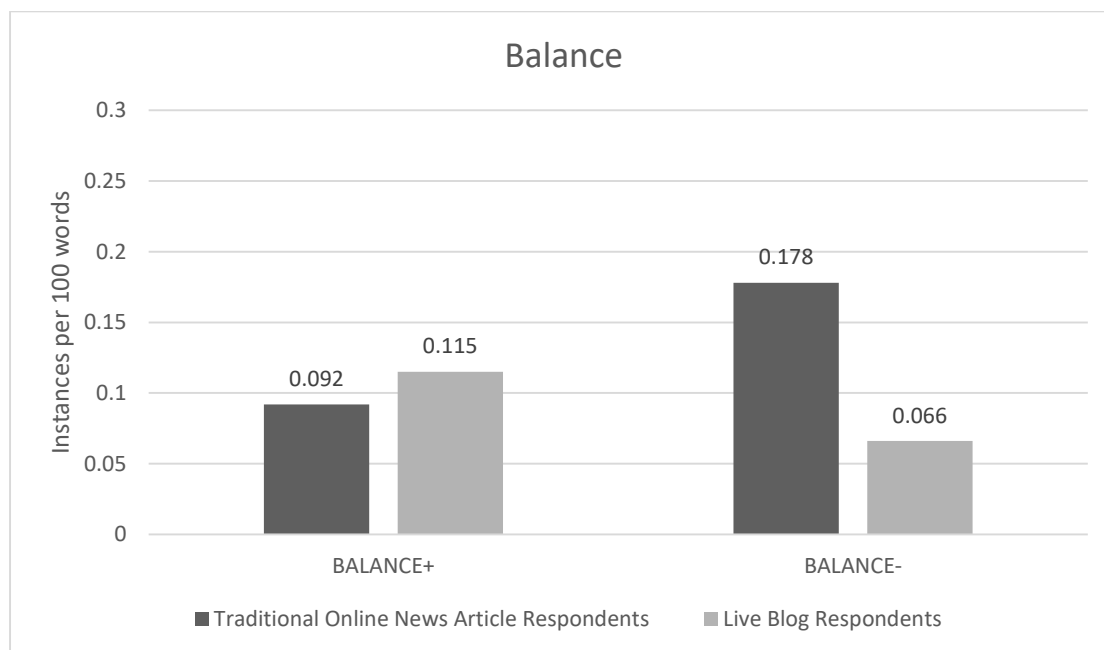
Figure 6.5 Number of instances per 100 words of Balance in evaluations of news texts

The TONA respondents used proportionately more expressions of negative Balance than positive Balance to evaluate the TONAs. On the contrary, the LB respondents used positive Balance more often than negative Balance to evaluate the LBs. These differences can also be found in the raw frequencies in table 6.5.

	Positive Balance	Negative Balance
TONA Respondents	17	33
LB Respondents	28	16

Table 6.5 Raw frequencies of Balance in evaluations of the news texts

While both groups of respondents used negative Balance to evaluate the structure of the news texts, they commented on different aspects of the texts. The LB respondents used negative Balance primarily to evaluate the lack of harmony between the Tweets and the rest of the LBs. The TONA respondents used negative Balance to evaluate the lack of coherence between paragraphs, or satellites (White 1997), of the news texts. These evaluations focused primarily on the 'report from the scene' section which was written in a more personal style than the rest of the news text (see Chapter Five). Section 6.4.3 analyses these distinctions. Before moving to these difference, I analyse the similarities in positive Balance which was used by both groups of respondents to evaluate the polyvocality of the news texts, and used more often by the LB respondents.

6.4.2 Positive Balance Similarities

Both the TONA respondents and the LB respondents evaluated the Balance of the voices in the text positively as can be seen in text box 6.6.

[6.12] 'I think the depth it goes into and **the amount of people it references** throughout (.) just makes you trust its contents more' (A25)

[6.13] 'the fact that you've got **different mediums** as well you've got tweets you've got pictures you've got general reports (.) newsflashes (.) and the video at the top (.) just to give you a kind of a background before you start reading I think is very well (.) **very well organised** (.) and quite easy to read' (LB14)

[6.14] 'there's **a lot of (.) different (.) resources** there's resources from the police force people who are at the school Barack Obama (.) eh news reports which aren't always reliable (.) but there's quite a few of them which are quite (.) **consistently** saying the same sort of thing eh (1) so I would say I believe it (.) and it's quite truthful' (LB21)

Text Box 6.6 Instances of Positive Balance in evaluations of the news texts

All respondents seemed to use positive Balance for the same evaluation. They evaluated the news texts as trustworthy and well-organised which was attributed to the multiple sources with consistent information. In example 6.12, respondent A25 positively evaluated the number of sources used in the TONA. They therefore positively evaluated the 'mix' of sources present in the news text, suggesting a positive evaluation of the Balance and organisation of the news text. The respondent expressed this positivity through the increased trust that the respondent reported, which research has shown is a positive evaluation of news media (Newhagen & Nass 1980; Kohring & Matthes 2007). In example 6.13, respondent LB14 evaluated specifically the polyvocality of the LB and positively evaluated the mix of different media more generally. The respondent stated that the LB included various media forms while being 'well organised'. In example 6.14, respondent LB21 evaluated the use of different resources positively as they were 'consistent' in their information. This respondent did not evaluate the amount of sources but focused their evaluation on the consistency of the information provided by the sources.

6.4.3 Negative Balance Differences

The TONA respondents used negative Balance to evaluate the structure and coherence of paragraphs of the TONAs:

[6.15] 'it feels each little paragraph (.) it's it's really **separated** from loads of different people so you can't (.) focus' (A21)

[6.16] 'the way it is in the article **stands out** quite a lot it's like it's in its own little section' (A14)

[6.17] 'at the beginning (1) it's a little bit **disjointed** in terms of like (1) you've got the families' opinions and then (.) the pictures sort of break it up' (A12)

Text Box 6.7 Instances of Negative Balance by TONA respondents

In examples 6.15, 6.16, and 6.17 the respondents negatively evaluated the Balance of the TONAs. They stated that different paragraphs and sections of the news texts were 'separate', 'standing out' or 'disjointed'. Each respondent referred to an observable part of the article: 'each little paragraph', 'own little section' and 'the pictures'. The respondents appeared to use perception to evaluate the text as imbalanced. The TONA respondents focused their negative Balance evaluations on the coherence of the structure of the news texts (example 6.15), the lay-out (example 6.16) and the use of different media (example 6.17).

The LB respondents used negative Balance to evaluate how embedded Tweets attracted their attention over the rest of the news texts:

[6.18] 'it's kind of eh (.) in that sense almost a typical (.) piece of news (.) and they're almost I thought that (2) it kind of because we give give the numbers (.) you almost kind of skip the numbers because you've seen them so many times eh (.) so for me the twitter things really kind of **stood out** (.) more [i] how did they stand out [p] because they were more personal I think' (LB13)

[6.19] 'I think it (.) it's relatively objective (.) eh (.) but at the same time it (.) it's use (.) of some of **the focus** towards politicians rather than **the focus** being on just (.) the tragedy' (LB25)

Text Box 6.8 Instances of Negative Balance by LB respondents

In example 6.8, respondent LB13 evaluated the Tweets as 'standing out' from the LB, suggesting a perceived lack of harmony in the LB. While this evaluation may not be negative overall towards the LBs, it is a negative evaluation of the Balance of the news texts. Respondent LB13 stated that this emphasis was not caused by the structure, but by the personalisation of the Tweets. This implies that personalised parts of the news texts, specifically Tweets within LBs, draw more attention than other LB updates. This echoes Machin and Mayr's (2012) concern that an emphasis on personalisation of news may avoid discussion of news events and issues, which in this case was implied by respondents LB25 reference to the 'tragedy' in example 6.19. Respondent LB25 used negative Balance to evaluate the choice of topic rather than the structure of the LB. They said that the LB was 'objective' but the focus was on the politicians instead of the 'tragedy'. The respondent seemed to contrast objectivity with a specific focus on politicians, which should be analysed as negative Balance as perceived objectivity is generally a positive evaluation of news media (Eveland & Shah 2003; Gentzkow & Shapiro 2006).

6.4.4 Summary of Balance findings

All respondents evaluated the mix of voices and media in both news texts positively. However, the Balance of LBs was evaluated positively more often than the Balance of the TONAs. The TONA respondents used negative Balance to evaluate the structure of the articles, while the

LB respondents used negative Balance to evaluate the emphasis on the Tweets in the LBs. This echoes the use of Impact in the evaluation of the news texts, where LB respondents evaluated the Tweets using positive Impact (see section 6.2). These results indicate that the presentation and inclusion of the Tweets not only drew attention (Balance), it also influenced how respondents evaluated the LBs as a whole (Impact). Tweets increased the positive evaluations of Impact and the negative evaluations of Balance.

6.5 Complexity

As stated in section 6.4, Complexity is a subcategory of Composition. It analyses whether the text was 'hard to follow' (Martin & White 2005: 56). Positive Complexity includes evaluations such as 'simple', 'clear' and 'detailed'. Negative Complexity includes evaluations suggesting the text was difficult to follow such as 'ornate', 'woolly', or that it was not complex enough, such as 'simplistic'. As part of Composition, this category is focused on the textual order of the evaluated object (Martin & White 2005; Hommerberg & Don 2013). As the evaluated objects of concern in this chapter are the news texts, this category can be applied to the respondents' evaluation without major adaptations. However, it is important to acknowledge research on how complexity is perceived by news audiences as this may influence the use of Complexity by the respondents. News audiences may respond negatively to oversimplification of complex news events, as well as over-complication of news events (Brosius 1989).

Brosius (1989: 2) found that news discourse has to balance the amount of information provided: too much information creates a cognitive overload, while not enough information increases comprehension difficulties. While my research has not tested the comprehension of LBs and TONAs, respondents did comment on both the presence of details and the lack of details through positive and negative Complexity. This suggests that there is a balance news producers need to strike between providing not enough information and providing too much information to construct a news text which may be evaluated using Complexity.

6.5.1 Frequencies of Complexity

Figure 6.6 shows the number of instances of positive and negative Complexity per 100 words when it was used to evaluate the news texts.
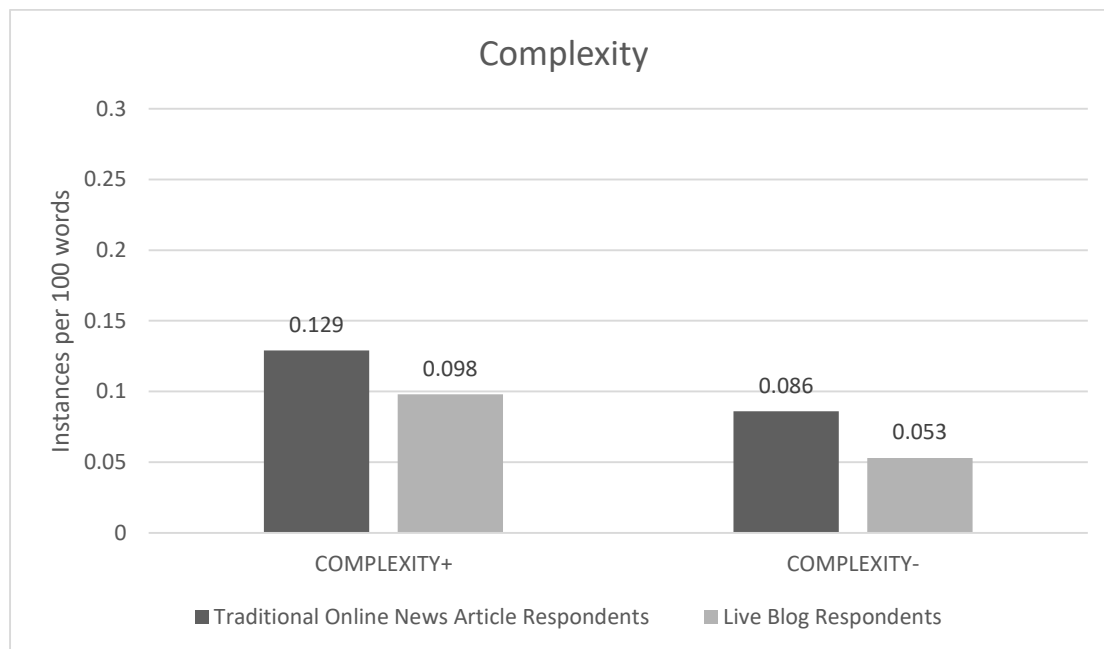
Figure 6.6 Normalised Frequencies of Complexity in evaluations of the news texts

Both the TONAs and the LBs were evaluated using positive Complexity more often than negative Complexity. The differences in frequencies between the TONA respondents and the LB respondents were small, as can also be seen in the raw frequencies in table 6.6.

	Positive Complexity	Negative Complexity
TONA Respondents	24	16
LB Respondents	24	13

Table 6.6 Raw frequencies of Complexity in evaluations of the news texts

Both groups of respondents used positive Complexity 24 times, while the TONA respondents used three more instances of negative Complexity. The TONA respondents and the LB respondents used both positive and negative Complexity to evaluate the amount of detail provided in the news texts. Some respondents evaluated the detail as sufficient, while others

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found the detail to be lacking (see section 6.5.2). LB respondents also used positive and negative Complexity to evaluate the structure of the LBs, something that the TONA respondents evaluated using Balance (see section 6.5.3).

6.5.2 Complexity Similarities

The TONA respondents and the LB respondents used Complexity to evaluate the details provided in the news texts. Where some respondents positively evaluated the provided detail, other respondents who read the same news texts evaluated the provided detail negatively. This suggests that when applying the Complexity category to data, each instance must be examined individually with regards to its co-text and context. Though this category can still be used in analysis, it should be noted that no lexical instances or content of text can be assumed as positive or negative without analysis. This relates back to the criticisms of Appraisal Theory as subjective (Read & Carroll 2012; Fuoli & Hommerberg 2015). As I show below, manual analysis of the Appraisal (rather than an automated search for lexical expressions in isolation) allows the categories to be applied to data.

Positive Complexity
[6.20] 'there's **not** much sort of **excessive description** of what has happened they're just kind of reporting what has happened' (A16)

[6.21] 'it offers obviously the breakdown of the events but then within each section of the timeline it goes into **more detail** eh that feels quite (.) feels quite factual' (LB22)

Negative Complexity
[6.22] 'it sort of just **glosses over** just maybe a lot of the details it doesn't say why this conflict is happening' (A12)

[6.23] 'it's **quite a lot of detail** actually just in three hours so maybe just occasional (.) glimpses maybe not continuously (1) because if you have it continuously you know if you're continuously exposed to something especially if we're not involved then it becomes a bit more (.) well (2) as horrible as it sounds people (.) start losing interest' (LB14)

Text Box 6.9 Instances of Complexity in evaluations of detail in the news texts

Examples 6.20 and 6.21 show how positive Complexity was used by respondents to evaluate the detail in the news texts. Respondent A16 in example 6.20 stated that there was no 'excessive description', implying that the description provided was enough. Respondent LB22 also used positive Complexity to evaluate the details provided in the LB but they suggested that the inclusion of 'more detail' creates a more 'factual'-feeling news report. This could be related to van Dijk's (1988b) suggestion that more detail in news texts can lead to a higher perceived factuality by the media's audience. Conversely, examples 6.22 and 6.23 show how respondents used negative Complexity to evaluate the details provided in the news texts. Respondent A12, who read the same text as respondent A16 in example 6.20, evaluated the news text as 'glossing over' the background of the 2014 Gaza conflict. Respondent LB14 in example 6.23 stated that there was 'quite a lot of detail' but went on to say that 'occasional glimpses' may be more effective to avoid overloading information.

While the respondents all used Complexity to evaluate details in the news texts, the respondents provided a variety of reasons for their evaluations. Positive Complexity was attributed to both more detail (example 6.21) and less detail (example 6.20) and negative Complexity was attributed to lack of detail (example 6.22) and too much detail (example 6.23). These evaluations suggest that while background and context are expected parts of any news discourse (White 1997), there seems to be a scale of acceptable detail in news texts, which is individual to readers (Bell 1991).

6.5.3 Complexity Differences

While both groups of respondents used Complexity to evaluate the level of detail in the news texts, only the LB respondents used Complexity to evaluate the structure of the LBs. The evaluations showed a similar pattern as the detail evaluations. Some respondents evaluated the structure using positive Complexity and other respondents used negative Complexity to evaluate the structure.

Positive Complexity

[6.24] 'within the space of six minutes they've already got like new information there's pictures as well so (.) that's always good to give a bit of like **clarity** to what you're reading' (LB15)

[6.25] 'certain phrasings that make it formal enough for you to get you know that's a news article (2) just the way it's broken down it's very ea- it's a **very easy read** even if it's on a topic that you know is very you know unfortunate sad topic' (LB21)

Negative Complexity

[6.26] 'I think it becomes a little **bit trickier** to get the full picture especially now I've found with like (.) all the different voices were **difficult** to (.) eh to remember well keep in mind in that sense' (LB13)

[6.27] 'it's **not very easy** to read (.) like because it's an update one which is (.) it's just useful because you can kind of (.) get information as it's coming out (.) but it does mean that try and read it and actually get a general picture of what happened you didn't follow it from the start is **quite difficult'** (LB23)

Text Box 6.10 Instances of Complexity to evaluate the structure of the LBs

In examples 6.24 respondent LB15 evaluated the LB as 'giving clarity'. They referred specifically to the use of pictures and the inclusion of new information added 'in the space of six minutes'. This timing was based on the time stamps provided on the updates. In example 6.25, respondent LB21 stated that it was a 'very easy read' due to the lay-out. The phrase 'broken down' suggests a reference to the updates, which are presented as short informative blurbs as opposed to one longer text (see Chapter Five for more detail). While both respondents evaluated the LBs' structure positively, other respondents evaluated it using negative Complexity. In example 6.26, respondent LB13 evaluated the LB as 'difficult'. They attributed this to the polyvocality in the LBs. In example 6.27, respondent LB23 also evaluated the LB as 'difficult'. They referred to the lay-out of the LB, stating that it may have been easy to follow as the LB was being created, but once completed the structure made it difficult to follow.

Similar to the use of Complexity for the level of detail, it appears that some respondents found the LBs easily structured while others struggled to follow them. Interestingly, the TONA

respondents did not use negative Complexity to evaluate the TONAs' structure. Perhaps as the TONAs followed the inverted pyramid structure characteristic of news texts (Bell 1991; Zhang & Liu 2016), their negative evaluations of the structure presented only as negative Balance (see section 6.4.3) and they did not evaluate the structure of the TONAs as making the news texts more difficult to follow (negative Complexity).

6.5.4 Summary of Complexity findings

The news texts were evaluated using positive Complexity more often than negative Complexity. There was minimal difference in the frequency of Complexity between the TONA respondents and the LB respondents indicating that the news format did not influence the respondents' evaluations of how easy the news texts were to follow. Both groups of respondents used positive and negative Complexity to evaluate the level of detail provided in the news texts. This suggests that the evaluation of the amount of provided detail is somewhat idiosyncratic and perhaps dependent upon pre-existing knowledge of the evaluator. However, this is speculation as this research was not concerned with previous knowledge that the respondents brought with them or knowledge and its effect on news text evaluations.

Secondly, LB structure was evaluated using positive and negative Complexity. This again suggests an individual expectation of structure similar to expectations of detail. What is of more interest within my research is that the structure of TONAs was evaluated using Balance while the LB respondents evaluated structure using Complexity. While both categories are part of Composition, Balance is focused more on the harmony of the text whereas Complexity focuses on how easy or difficult the text was to follow. This distinction implies that the structure of TONAs was evaluated based on its harmony, whereas the structure of LBs was evaluated based on how easy or difficult it was to follow. As suggested in section 6.5.3, this could be due to the TONAs being structured following the inverted pyramid, a structure familiar to news media readers (Bell 1991; Zhang & Liu 2016). On the contrary, LBs follow a reverse-chronological structure, which is less common for news reports.

Previous research has also indicated that LB structure may be confusing to readers (Thurman & Walters 2013; Thurman & Newman 2014). While not all LB respondents evaluated this structure negatively, all LB respondents evaluated the structure of LBs on the cline of Complexity. This suggests a link between LB structure and Complexity, and a link between TONAs and Balance: two different approaches to the evaluation of Composition.

6.6 Valuation

Martin and White's (2005: 56) Valuation category answers the question 'was it worthwhile?' Examples of positive Valuation lexis include 'penetrating', 'exceptional' and examples of negative Valuation include 'everyday', and 'fake' (Martin & White 2005: 56). As Martin and White (2005: 57) indicated, what can be considered Valuation depends on a number of variables: the evaluator, the evaluated object, and the 'institutional focus'. For example a literary work for adults will be held to different standards of Valuation than a children's book. If a children's book was challenging, this could be construed as negative Valuation but if a literary work is called challenging, this would most likely be construed as positive Valuation. Therefore, it is important to determine the criteria of Valuation of news texts.

In order to analyse how the respondents valued the news texts, the purpose of the news media needs to be established (Smallwood 1997). An object may be valued positively if it accomplishes the purpose linked to its genre and may be evaluated negatively if it fails to reach its purpose. The purpose of news media, in its ideal form, is to inform in an impartial manner. This can be seen in the mission statements and values identified by the news industry. The first value mentioned on the *BBC*'s mission statement reads: 'trust is the foundation of the *BBC*: we are independent, impartial and honest' (*BBC* 2016). The first line of *The Guardian*'s (2007: 2) editorial code is a quotation which reads: '"a newspaper's primary office is the gathering of news. At the peril of its soul it must see that the supply is not tainted."' The UK's national Editors' Code of Practice devised by the Press Complaints Commission (2011), starts with a section entitled 'accuracy', which begins: 'the press must take care not to

publish inaccurate, misleading or distorted information'. While not all media institutions adhere to these codes, they show that the mainstream news media's self-identified purpose is to inform without bias or dishonesty. This idea is referred to as 'credibility' in the communication field and 'trustworthiness' in the sociology field (Kohring & Matthes 2007: 231-2). Trustworthiness can be considered as positive Valuation as higher trust increases consumption (Tsfati 2010) while lower trust decreases consumption (Tsfati & Cappella 2003).

News credibility and trustworthiness have been operationalised in different ways. Hovland and Weiss (1951) believed credibility consists of trustworthiness and expertness. Berlo, Lemert and Mertz (1969) stated that credibility consists of three factors: safety, qualification and dynamism. Newhagen and Nass (1989: 278) found that how credibility is evaluated depends on which news source is being evaluated. If a newspaper is being evaluated, the credibility of the article depends on the credibility of the institution (Newhagen & Nass 1989: 278). Several respondents of this current research such as respondent LB23 reinforce this institutional evaluation: '[interviewer] do you trust this article? [LB23] yeah it's from *The Guardian* so it's just supposed to be relatively accurate'.

Kohring and Matthes' (2007) work provides the most comprehensive operationalization of media trustworthiness. They stated that trustworthiness of media is assessed through four dimensions:

(1) selectivity of topics

(2) selectivity of facts

(3) accuracy of depictions

(4) journalistic assessment

    (Kohring & Matthes 2007: 239-40)

The first two dimensions concern readers' trust in the institution's selection of the topics that are discussed in the media as well as the facts that are discussed on these topics. The third dimension relates to readers' trust in the accuracy of the selected facts and the fourth

dimension relates to readers' trust in the opinions and evaluation of the journalist that might be presented in an article (Kohring & Matthes 2007: 239-40).

These four dimensions can be measured in reader responses through readers' discussions of media bias. Readers are more likely to trust the media if the information is biased towards the readers' prior beliefs (Mullainathan & Shleifer 2005: 1032; Gentzkow & Shapiro 2006). If media is slanted towards the readers' beliefs, they are less likely to observe this bias (Eveland & Shah 2003; Gentzkow & Shapiro 2006). Therefore, if readers perceive an article to be biased, this means this bias will most likely be against their own beliefs. Therefore, they will be less likely to trust the article, which is a negative Valuation of the article, as lower trust leads to lower consumption (Tsfati & Cappella 2003).The following section will analyse how respondents used Valuation in their interviews and how the discussion of bias fits into the Appraisal framework's Valuation category.

6.6.1 Frequencies of Valuation

Figure 6.7 shows the number of instances of Valuation per 100 words when used to evaluate the news texts.
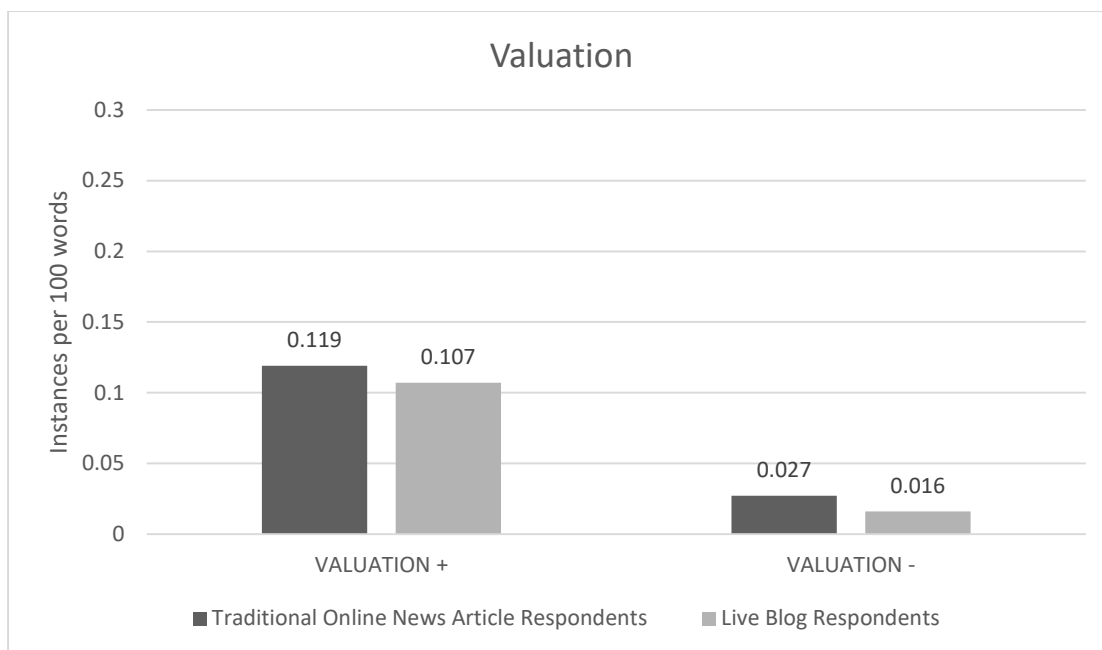
Figure 6.7 Instances per 100 words of Valuation in evaluations of news texts

Both news text formats were evaluated positively more often than negatively. The differences between evaluations of the TONAs and evaluations of the LBs were minimal. This can also be seen in the raw frequencies presented in table 6.7.

	Positive Valuation	Negative Valuation
TONA Respondents	22	5
LB Respondents	26	4

Table 6.7 Raw frequencies of Valuation when used for evaluations of the news texts

The TONA respondents and the LB respondents both used positive Valuation to evaluate the lack of bias found in the news texts which will be discussed in section 6.6.2. Negative Valuation evaluations were more varied. TONA respondents used negative Valuation to evaluate perceived bias and the lack of detail in the news texts. The LB respondents used negative Valuation to evaluate perceived bias too, as well as the news texts' relevancy and appropriateness. As there were only few instances of negative Valuation which additionally were individualistic and did not show any patterns, the following section focuses on the use of positive Valuation.

6.6.2 Positive Valuation Similarities

Both the TONA respondents and the LB respondents evaluated the news texts as factual, objective, neutral and lacking bias.

[6.28] 'I think (.) that if (.) it couldn't be more to either side I feel like it is very **central** to me it's **not too (.) supportive of (.) either side** or it's not too emotive (.) but then (.) it presents **facts** in (.) a very clear way' (A13)

[6.29] 'I haven't really read anything else about it so I don't really know like if this is missing information or (.) but (.) like factually I guess it seems quite sound (.) eh (1) would**n't** say (.) that it really seemed **biased** at all when reading it' (A24)

[6.30] 'it was quite **balanced** they said like at the end how many each (.) eh side had lost in terms of casualties' (LB15)

[6.31] 'it seems to (2) be **balanced** and not sort of have an angle on it and just be reporting the information that it gets from (.) the sources' (LB24)

Text Box 6.11 Instances of Positive Valuation in evaluations of the news texts

The respondents evaluated the news texts positively based on their perceived lack of bias (examples 6.28 and 6.29) and their 'balance' (examples 6.30 and 6.31). In examples 6.28 and 6.29, the respondents positively evaluated the news texts as the respondents stated that they did not perceive any bias towards either side of the news event. The lack of observed bias suggests a level of trust in the news texts (Gentzkow & Shapiro 2006). In examples 6.30 and 6.31, the use of 'balance' is different from Martin and White's (2005: 56) Balance category. The use of the term 'balance' in the Balance category is a textual balance that can be observed with perception. As stated in this chapter's introduction, Valuation is linked to the mental process of cognition (Martin & White 2005: 57) and Halliday's (1978) ideational meta-function of language. The use of 'balance' as Valuation is an ideational balance which readers can only observe if they use cognition to evaluate the different sources used in the article and decide whether or not they perceive bias in the text. For instance in example 6.31, respondent LB24

stated that the article 'seems balanced' because it did not 'have an angle' and was 'just reporting the information'. This was an ideational use of the term 'balanced' because it referred to the trustworthiness of the article. The lack of an angle can be linked to the journalistic assessment of trustworthiness, as the respondent did not observe any poor evaluation or opinion of the journalist. Additionally, the use of 'just' in 'just reporting the information' was used as a minimizer (Lindemann & Mauranen 2001). The respondent implied that the reporters did not do anything apart from relaying information from their sources to the readers which relates to dimension two, the selection of facts (Kohring & Matthes 2007). The reporter did not select what to relay nor did they add any evaluation or analysis, they only relayed information.

6.6.3 Summary of Valuation findings

The TONAs and the LBs were evaluated with similar frequencies of Valuation and with similar Valuation content. Previous quantitative research found differing results where respondents evaluated LBs as more trustworthy than TONAs (Thurman & Walters 2013; Thurman & Newman 2014). While I found distinctions in evaluation in Impact, there was no indication of these differences in the use of Valuation of the news texts. Instead, my results suggest a consistency in how news texts are valued regardless of their presentation as LBs or TONAs. Perceived bias on the part of the reporting is considered to be negative, while ideational balance is valued positively.

6.7 Summary

The analysis of Appreciation in reader responses of the LB and the TONA respondents provides an insight into how readers evaluate news texts, specifically LBs and TONAs. By systematically analysing the use of each subcategory of Appreciation, this chapter identified similarities and differences and analysed how those similarities and differences may be related to the presentations of the news texts. While these results cannot be generalised without

further research as the interview data was limited, they do provide details about how readers might tend to LBs differently as compared with TONAs.

LB respondents evaluated the LBs mostly with Reaction: Impact and Quality. Forty-nine per cent of all Appreciation evaluations of the LBs were made using Reaction. The TONA respondents evaluated the news texts mostly with Composition: Balance and Complexity. Fifty-one per cent of all Appreciation evaluations of the news texts were made using Composition. LB respondents evaluated the LBs based on their affective responses (Reaction), while the TONAs were evaluated more based on perceptions of structure (Composition). Evaluations of Reaction were linked to the personalisation of the LBs by the respondents. They referenced the inclusion of Tweets as well as the use of different media. While TONA respondents positively evaluated the personalisation in their news texts, there were fewer references to specific individuals and more references to the structure and harmony of the news texts. This link between personalisation in news texts and affective responses of readers has also been shown in quantitative research (Maier, Slovic & Mayorga 2017).

Additionally, the structure of the LBs was evaluated more often through Complexity, while the structure of the TONAs was more often evaluated through Balance. As suggested in section 6.5, this could be due to the novelty of the LB structure causing respondents to evaluate the structure on a cline of Complexity as opposed to a cline of Balance. The discourse of the LBs was also evaluated positively more often than the discourse of the TONAs. It could be that the novelty of the format provoked a higher evaluative response as respondents were less familiar with LBs than with TONAs. In most subcategories, positivity was used more often for LB evaluations while negativity was more prominent for the TONA evaluations. Tweets contributed to the LB respondents' evaluation in each Appreciation subcategory. Respondents seemed to perceive the Tweets as showing 'reality' and providing the respondents with the voice of 'ordinary citizens'. While this might not be accurate as the journalists often carefully select the Tweets (Loke and Grimm 2015), it is interesting to note that this perception seemed

to exist among the respondents. This trust in quotations is not new to Tweets, as Tuchman (1972) already commented on the perception of quotations in news media as trustworthy as 'ordinary' people were perceived as credible. On social media, this credibility is established through re-tweets (Castillo, Mendoza & Poblete 2011) and individual expertise (McClain 2017). The Tweets in my research also gain credibility through their inclusion in the LBs of established news institutions. This perceived authenticity was less present in the evaluations made by the TONA respondents. This could be due to the fact that there were fewer quotations in the TONAs (see Chapter Five) and that these quotations were not foregrounded in the way that Tweets were (see section 6.4 on Balance).

Chapter 7 ENGAGEMENT IN READER RESPONSE TO NEWS TEXTS

7.0 Introduction

This chapter analyses the respondents' use of Engagement in their discussions and evaluations of the news texts. This analysis complements the analysis of the evaluation of the news texts in Chapter Six. While the analysis in Chapter Six showed how the respondents evaluated the news texts using Attitudinal Appraisal, this chapter analyses how respondents presented these evaluations through an analysis of their use of Engagement. This chapter contributes to research question three: how did readers evaluate the style and format of TONAs as compared to LBs? As discussed in Chapter Three, Engagement is a category of Martin and White's (2005) Appraisal framework and includes concepts also studied in other linguistic fields such as modality (Palmer 2001), and stance taking (Englebretson 2007). Research from these allied fields will therefore also be referred to throughout the analysis of Engagement in the news texts evaluations.

Engagement focuses on the speaker's epistemic stance: 'the degree of commitment/certainty of the speaker' (Englebretson 2007: 17) and their (dis)alignment with other speakers or texts. Where the analysis of the respondents' use of Appreciation helped to show their Attitudinal evaluations of the news texts, the analysis of the respondents' use of Engagement can provide an insight into the strength of their certainty about these interpretations and their commitment to their opinions. Epistemic stance analysis has focused on different aspects of language such as modality (Palmer 2001), complement clauses (Kärkkäinen 2003, 2007) and pronouns (Scheibman 2007). These forms of stance expression are included in the analysis of Engagement (Martin & White 2005). Additionally, the analysis of the respondents' (dis)alignment with other voices can show who respondents aligned with to assert their evaluations. Therefore, an Engagement analysis can help identify differences and similarities in the certainty and commitment of respondents' stances towards the news texts from a perspective that Attitudinal Appraisal cannot provide.

Earlier quantitative research in media and journalism studies showed that readers rated LBs as more trustworthy than TONAs due to the LBs' polyglossic nature (Thurman & Walters 2013; Thurman & Newman 2014). Thurman and Walters (2013) also showed that LBs were generally considered to be more 'confusing' due to their divergence from the inverted pyramid news structure (Bell 1991; Zhang & Liu 2016) to a reverse-chronological structure. Following these findings, I would expect to find that LB respondents used epistemic modality less frequently and made more use of Engagement sub-categories such as Monoglossia and Contraction than TONA respondents when they evaluated the news texts' objectivity and polyvocality.

I analysed all Engagement for the content that co-occurred with each instance. This content was categorised firstly by whether it co-occurred with Attitudinal Appraisal, and if so, with which Attitudinal sub-category it co-occurred. If no Attitudinal Appraisal co-occurred, I gave the content a thematic label based on the focus of the Engagement instance, these included polyvocality, detail, focus of news text, multimedia, personalisation, publisher, structure, journalist and sourcing. The analysis in this chapter will show that both groups of respondents used Engagement similarly. Both groups of respondents presented evaluations and discussions of the news texts' Composition using Monoglossia and Contraction, while presenting Valuation evaluations mainly using Entertain. The only distinction found was in the presentation of Impact. The TONA respondents presented Impact of the news texts mainly using Entertain, while the LB respondents presented Impact of the news texts mainly using Monoglossia. This chapter will explore how and for which Attitudinal evaluations respondents used each Engagement category. It will conclude with an interpretation of these similarities and differences in the presentation of the respondents' evaluations.

7.1 Frequencies of Engagement

Figure 7.1 shows the normalised frequencies of Heteroglossia and Monoglossia when they were used to evaluate the news texts. Both the TONA respondents and the LB respondents used more Heteroglossia than Monoglossia in their evaluations of the news texts.
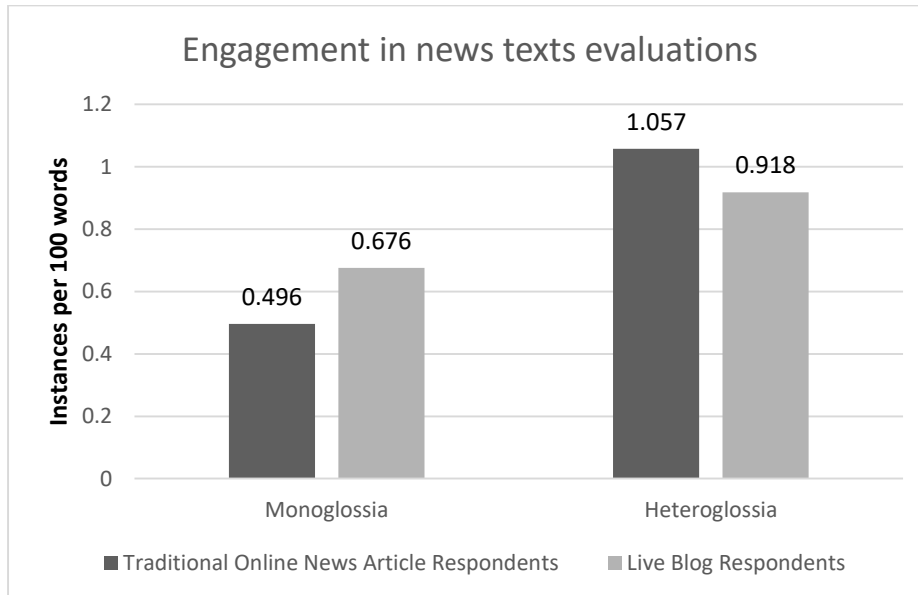
Figure 7.1: Engagement in news text evaluation

Figure 7.1 shows that the TONA respondents used less Monoglossia and more Heteroglossia than the LB respondents when evaluating the news texts. This indicates that the TONA respondents referred more to other voices in their evaluations of the news texts than the LB respondents did. This difference can also be seen in the raw frequencies in table 7.1.

	Monoglossia	Heteroglossia
TONA Respondents	92	196
LB Respondents	165	224

Table 7.1 Raw Frequencies of Monoglossia and Heteroglossia in News Text Evaluations

Heteroglossia contains two subcategories: Contract and Expand. Figure 7.2 shows the normalised frequencies of Contractions and Expansions when used to evaluate the news texts.
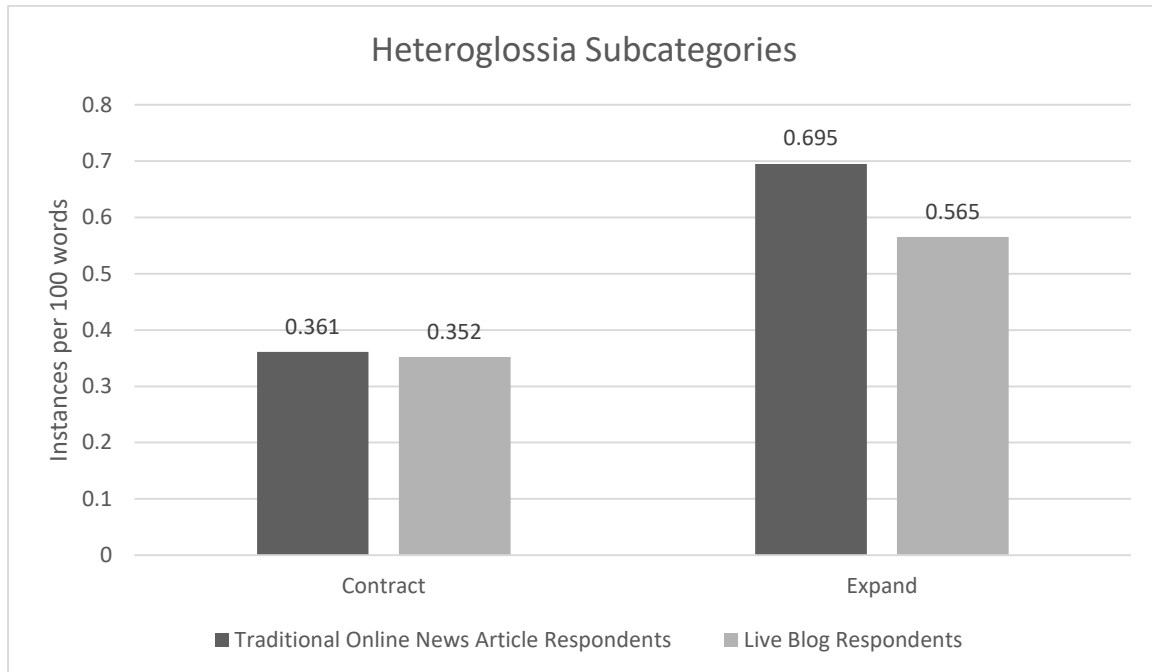
Figure 7.2 Normalised Frequencies of Contract and Expand in News Text Evaluations

Figure 7.2 shows that Contractions were used with similar normalised frequencies by both groups of respondents. In terms of raw frequencies, the TONA respondents did not use more Expansion than the LB respondents as shown in table 7.2.

	Contract	Expand
TONA Respondents	67	129
LB Respondents	86	138

Table 7.2 Raw Frequencies of Contract and Expand in News Text Evaluations

As the interviews with the LB respondents were longer[4], the normalisation of the raw frequencies shows a clearer comparison between the two groups. Expansions were used

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[4] LB respondents' interviews contained a total of 24,411 words. Traditional online news article respondents' interviews contained a total of 18,550 words.

more by TONA respondents, which could indicate that these respondents were more cautious in asserting their evaluations about the news texts. This will be discussed further in section 9.4.

7.2 Monoglossia

This section analyses the use of Monoglossia in the evaluations of the news texts. This includes any statement or evaluation made by the respondents, which was not dialogic. While there is an argument that every statement is by nature dialogic, my research follows Martin and White (2005: 100) definition of Monoglossia who stated that Monoglossic statements include 'no recognition of dialogistic alternatives'. Therefore in my analysis, Monoglossia includes any phrases without textual reference to other voices and perspectives. While the utterance can theoretically still be considered as dialogic, the lack of any reference within the text to alternative perspectives, both explicit and implicit, can only be analysed as Monoglossic. Therefore within this section, when respondents used Monoglossic Engagement to evaluate the news text, they did not construe any alternative perspectives of their evaluations textually. Monoglossic evaluations convey the highest level of certainty possible as Monoglossia presents statements as 'bare assertions' (White 2003:263).

<u>7.2.1 Frequencies of Monoglossia</u>

Figure 7.3 shows the normalised frequencies of Monoglossia used by the TONA respondents and the LB respondents in their evaluations of the news texts.
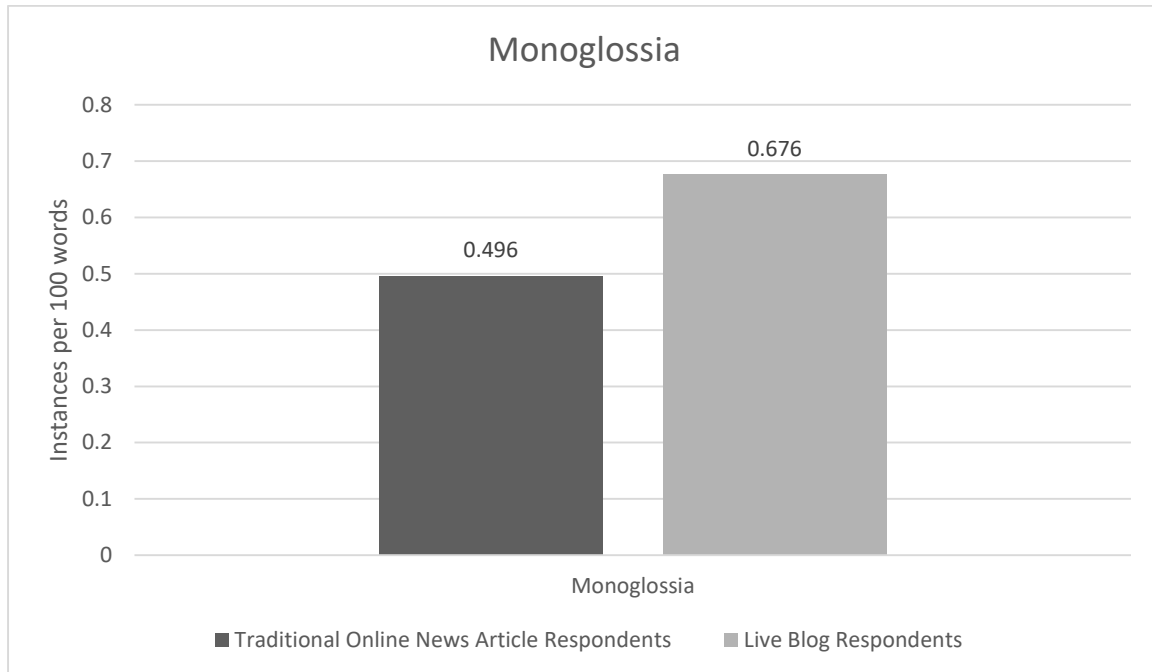
Figure 7.3 Normalised Frequencies of Monoglossia in News Text Evaluations

The TONA respondents used less Monoglossia than the LB respondents in their evaluations of the news texts. This difference was also present in the raw frequencies as presented in table 7.3.

	Monoglossia
TONA Respondents	92
LB Respondents	165

Table 7.3 Raw Frequencies of Monoglossia in News Text Evaluations

This difference shows that LB respondents presented their evaluations more often as assertions than did the TONA respondents. The following sections analyse how Monoglossia was used by both groups of respondents. I analyse if this quantitative difference can be attributed to specific aspects of the LBs. Qualitatively, the TONA respondents and the LB

respondents used Monoglossia similarly. Both groups of respondents used Monoglossia when discussing three aspects of the news texts: (1) Composition (section 7.2.2), (2) Valuation (section 7.2.3), and (3) the polyvocality (section 7.2.4). The LB respondents also used Monoglossia for a fourth aspect: in Impact (section 7.2.4).

7.2.2 Composition

Monoglossia was used by both groups of respondents to evaluate the Composition of the news texts and to describe the news texts. Fifty-nine per cent of the Monoglossia statements made by TONA respondents evaluated the Composition of the TONAs and 47 per cent of Monoglossia statements made by LB respondents focused on the Composition of the LBs. Eighteen respondents, nine TONA respondents and nine LB respondents used Monoglossia to evaluate and discuss the composition of the news texts, primarily through the use of Balance and non-Attitudinal evaluative descriptions of the news texts.

[7.1] 'it**'s** a little bit disjointed in terms of like (1) you've got the families opinions and then (.) the pictures sort of **break** it up' (A12)

[7.2] 'they have loads of videos about like (.) Obama talking and like loads of details and (.) it**'s** quite sophisticated the article' (A26)

[7.3] 'it **was** kind of like a timeline of eh (.) one of the kind of deadliest days (.) from (1) the previous summer right (3) from Gaza' (LB13)

[7.4] 'it **was** like a live feed so it **was** constantly being updated with small bits of information (.) it **was** (.) about a school shooting in America (.) in (.) Oregon' (LB24)

Text Box 7.1 Instances of Monoglossia used to evaluate the News Texts' Composition

Respondent A12 in example 7.1 used Monoglossia in their Balance evaluation of the news text finding it 'disjointed'. They also used Monoglossia in their description of the photograph placement. In example 7.2, respondent A26 used Monoglossia to describe the

use of different media in the news text, evaluating the multimedia creating a news text that is 'sophisticated'. In examples 7.3 and 7.4, both respondents used Monoglossia to describe the lay-out and structure of the LBs. The respondents used Monoglossia to either make positive evaluations about or give neutral descriptions of the news texts. The use of hedging in all examples, 'sort of' in example 7.1, 'quite' in example 7.2, 'kind of' in example 7.3, and 'like' in example 7.4, suggests a level of caution of the speaker (Hyland 1996, 1998; Myers 1989). Expressions using Monoglossic Composition therefore do not necessarily construct an authoritative speaker but instead seem to construct solidarity between the speaker and listener (White 2003). This suggests a common value between the respondents and the interviewer about the Composition of the news texts.

The use of Monoglossia for descriptions of the news texts, specifically the LBs, was unexpected as previous research found that readers of news find LBs' structures confusing (Thurman & Walters 2013). These constructions could be attributed to the respondents having the news texts in front of them as they were being interviewed. Being allowed to look back as they were describing the news texts, provided certainty about the lay-out, style and structure of the texts providing assurance that the respondents were describing the text rather than making assumptions or evaluations of it. However, the previous research showing that readers reported LBs as 'confusing' was conducted while respondents were reading LBs too (Thurman & Walters 2013). This suggests that while respondents may self-report as finding LBs confusing in previous research (Thurman & Walters 2013), their use of Engagement suggests that respondents were not confused about the LBs' structure as they described the LBs' Composition with Monoglossia.

7.2.3 Valuation

The TONA respondents used Monoglossia in co-occurrence with Valuation of the news text in 18 per cent of all Monoglossia instances. The LB respondents used Monoglossia for this purpose in only 7 per cent of all Monoglossia instances. For the TONA respondents, this was

the second most frequent purpose of Monoglossia after Composition. The LB respondents used Monoglossia more for discussions of polyvocality and Impact. As discussed in Chapter Six, Valuation evaluations were used to evaluate the objectivity of the news texts.

[7.5] 'they're just more informing and it**'s** quite objective and detached from the topic (.) whereas eh (.) the people they include obviously have a lot more of an attachment and like (.) more kind of opinions' (A25)

[7.6] 'it **was** quite balanced they said like at the end how many each (.) eh side had lost in terms of casualties so I thought that was quite good to like give perspective' (LB15)

[7.7] 'the actual writer who kind of did the (.) the summary of it (.) I wouldn't say (.) I heard their voice particularly because it's all very (.) eh (.) distant it**'s** very just factual and (.) they don't say I think this at any point in this' (LB22)

Text box 7.2: Monoglossia in evaluations of factuality and bias

In each example in text box 7.2, the respondents used Monoglossia when they evaluated the objectivity of the news texts. In example 7.5, respondent A25 evaluated the objectivity of the article by stating that it was 'quite objective'. They also made a comparison between the author of the news texts who is 'detached' and the news participants quoted in the article, who 'have … more attachment' and therefore 'more … opinions'. The respondent here seemed to equate detachment with objectivity, which, according to Macrorie (1956: 385) was even in 1956 considered to be outdated in journalism. In example 7.6, respondent LB15 evaluated the news text as ideologically balanced as it provided numbers of casualties for both sides of the conflict. In example 7.7, respondent LB22 evaluated the news text as 'factual', making a similar comparison between the 'distant voice' of the journalist and factuality as respondent A25 made between detachment and objectivity.

The factuality and bias of news texts was categorised as Valuation of news texts as explained in Chapter Six. As the examples in text box 7.2 and the other Valuation statements can be categorised as Attitudinal Appraisal, they have to be considered as evaluations. White (2003) argues that Monoglossic statements can create two constructions of the speaker: (1)

the speaker is an authority or (2) the speaker constructs a relationship of solidarity between themselves and the audience. Monoglossic statements of solidarity are generally presented as 'common knowledge' or as 'indisputable versions of events' while Monoglossic statements of power are generally presented as 'evaluations' or 'mental states' of the speaker or of others (Miller 2004: 9). Whereas Monoglossic statements about Composition were generally statements that could be confirmed through analysis of the news texts, the Monoglossic statements about Valuation were evaluations which could not be confirmed. This suggests that the speakers either presented themselves as an authority on the subject of Valuation of news texts, or that the speakers assumed a similarity in news texts values between themselves and the audience: myself as the interviewer. The respondents' use of hedging suggests a construction of alignment between themselves and the interviewer rather than a construction of themselves as an authority on news texts.

7.2.4 Polyvocality & Impact

The TONA respondents used 16 per cent of their Monoglossic statements to evaluate the polyvocality and Impact of the news texts. The LB respondents used 43 per cent of their Monoglossic statements to evaluate the news texts' polyvocality and Impact. The following section will first discuss the use of Monoglossia by the article respondents, followed by an analysis of Monoglossia by the LB respondents. As will be shown, the TONA respondents used Monoglossia in co-occurrence with descriptions of the polyvocality of the news texts while the LB respondents also used Monoglossia to evaluate the Impact of the news texts' polyvocality. Text box 7.3 contains examples of the TONA respondents' use of Monoglossia when describing the polyvocality of the news texts.

[7.8] '**it's** quite a mix actually it's not just eh from (.) one person (3) I'm not really sure (4) I think they haven't (.) I think it'd be best to get a more detailed view from a couple of people' (A21)

[7.9] 'you'**re hearing** from one of the doctors who is actually you know (.) dealing with the crisis (.) rather than the reporter who is just reporting the facts (.) but in a different way' (A12)

[7.10] 'it **gives** lots of details and (1) and like from different perspectives as well (.) but (.) I think the main focus is eh (.) Obama saying that the gun laws have to be stricter' (A26)

Text Box 7.3: Monoglossia by TONA Respondents in Polyvocality Descriptions

In example 7.8, respondent A21 stated that the article was 'quite a mix' and 'not just from one person', describing the use of multiple voices in the text using a Monoglossic statement: 'it is'. In example 7.9, respondent A12 used a Monoglossic statement to discuss the variety of voices used in the article. They stated that 'you're hearing from one of the doctors'. The use of second person pronoun 'you' here is functioning as a generic address (Huddleston 1984: 288) and the lack of any moderating adverbs or adjectives makes this evaluation Monoglossic. The use of the present progressive 'are hearing' gives the impression of an on-going situation or process (Goldsmith & Woisetschlaeger 1982). In example 7.10, respondent A26 described the news text as being 'from different perspectives' again referring to the polyvocality of the news text. Monoglossia seemed to be used by the TONA respondents to construct solidarity between the respondents and the interviewer, establishing the mix of voices as 'common knowledge' (Miller 2004). The LB respondents used Monoglossia to describe the polyglossic LBs and, additionally, to evaluate the Impact of the inclusion of the different voices.

[7.11] 'it's not really about the numbers and statistics (.) eh the eh the most important aspect especially within the tweets (.) the tweets **are** most powerful for conveying the hu- you know a sense of humanity and you know graph- a truly morbid and graphic nature behind what**'s** truly happening' (LB12)

[7.12] 'it said all she was doing was looking into her mother's eyes and an hour later she died but her mother was still having surgery so that's a bit like (.) **hits** you quite hard (4) yeah so (.) it**'s** more it **causes** more of an impact on an individual like myself eh if you have some- (.) family stories and you **can kind of (.) identify** with these people rather than just having the numbers' (LB14)

[7.13] 'they are (.) putting in so many kind of accounts of victims and things cause obviously that**'s** quite like **makes you** empathise with them' (LB22)

Text Box 7.4: Instances of Monoglossia by LB Respondents in Impact Evaluations of Polyvocality

The LB respondents commented on the polyvocality in the LBs in their positive Impact evaluations. In example 7.11, respondent LB12 used Monoglossia to evaluate the Impact of the tweets used in the LB, stating that they 'are most powerful for conveying ... a sense of humanity'. In example 7.12, respondent LB14 made a similar comment about the Impact of polyvocality in the LB. They stated that the stories about specific news participants 'hit' them 'quite hard'. They then continued using Monoglossia to explain why the individual stories had such impact explaining that they could 'identify' more easily with these stories than with statistics. In example 7.13, respondent LB22 also stated Monoglossically that the specific accounts 'made' them 'empathise' with the news participants.

This suggests a stronger conviction on the part of the LB respondents about the Impact of the polyvocality of the LBs than was present in the TONA respondents' evaluations of the news texts. While the TONA respondents used Monoglossia only for description of the news texts' polyvocality, the LB respondents also used Monoglossia for their Impact evaluations of the polyvocality in the LBs. The LB respondents presented their Impact evaluations and the causality between those evaluations and the different voices as 'absolute' (White 2003: 263). The instances of Impact could be identified as evaluations, which implies that the Monoglossic

statements should be classified as constructions of power according to Miller (2004). The Impact evaluations relate to the respondents' affective reactions to the news texts (see Chapter Six for more in-depth discussion). As the respondents are the authority on their own affective responses, Monoglossia was used as a construction of power and authority (White 2003; Miller 2004).

7.2.5 Summary of Monoglossia in News Text Evaluations

Both the TONA respondents and the LB respondents used Monoglossia in co-occurrence with descriptions of composition and polyvocality and Valuation of the news texts. The composition and polyvocality of the news texts seemed to be described using Monoglossia as the respondents were able to read the news texts during the interview. Monoglossia was constructed as solidarity in these instances as the respondents presented their descriptions as common knowledge between themselves and their audience: myself as the interviewer. Through the use of Monoglossia, evaluations of Valuation were also constructed as common knowledge, which is contradictory to Miller's (2004) classification of Monoglossic evaluations being constructions of power. Instead Valuations were constructed as common knowledge suggesting that the respondents may have perceived bias and objectivity.

The difference in the use of Monoglossia in the respondents' evaluations of the news texts was in the evaluations of the polyvocality in the news texts. The TONA respondents did not use Monoglossia in their Impact evaluations of the polyvocality of the news texts, while the LB respondents did use Monoglossia for Impact evaluations. As Impact is part of Reaction, the affective response to the evaluated object, Monoglossia seemed to present the respondents as the authority on their own affective responses to the polyvocality in the LBs. The connection between polyvocality and Impact was specific to the LB respondents (see Chapter Six), which explains why the TONA respondents used Heteroglossia instead of Monoglossia in their descriptions of Impact of the news texts.

7.3 Contraction

Contraction is a sub-category of Heteroglossia, which focuses on the closing down of alternative perspectives. While other perspectives are mentioned or alluded to, the speaker asserts that the presented perspective of the text is the 'correct' option. This means that the speaker may mention opposing viewpoints through either Disclamation or Proclamation. With Disclamation, the speaker mentions opposing viewpoints and Denies or Counters them. This can happen using negation: 'it is not true' or it can happen through the use of coordinating and subordinating conjunctions such as 'but' or 'just': 'this is true, but that is not', similar to Labov's (1972) comparators. With Proclamation, the speaker does not mention opposing viewpoints, but instead uses high modality adverbs to strengthen their own perspective, for example through the use of 'obviously'. By stating that one perspective is 'obviously' the correct one, the speaker indicates the existence of other perspectives while at the same time showing their own to be their preferred evaluation. Contraction in the evaluation of the news texts can show that the respondents have considered other perspectives outside their own but choose to disalign with them. This shows an awareness of other evaluations while also indicating the strength of their own convictions. Contraction can also include a range of modality through the use of modal verbs such as 'could' or 'may'.

7.3.1 Frequencies of Contraction

Figure 7.4 shows the normalised frequencies of Contraction in evaluations of the news texts.
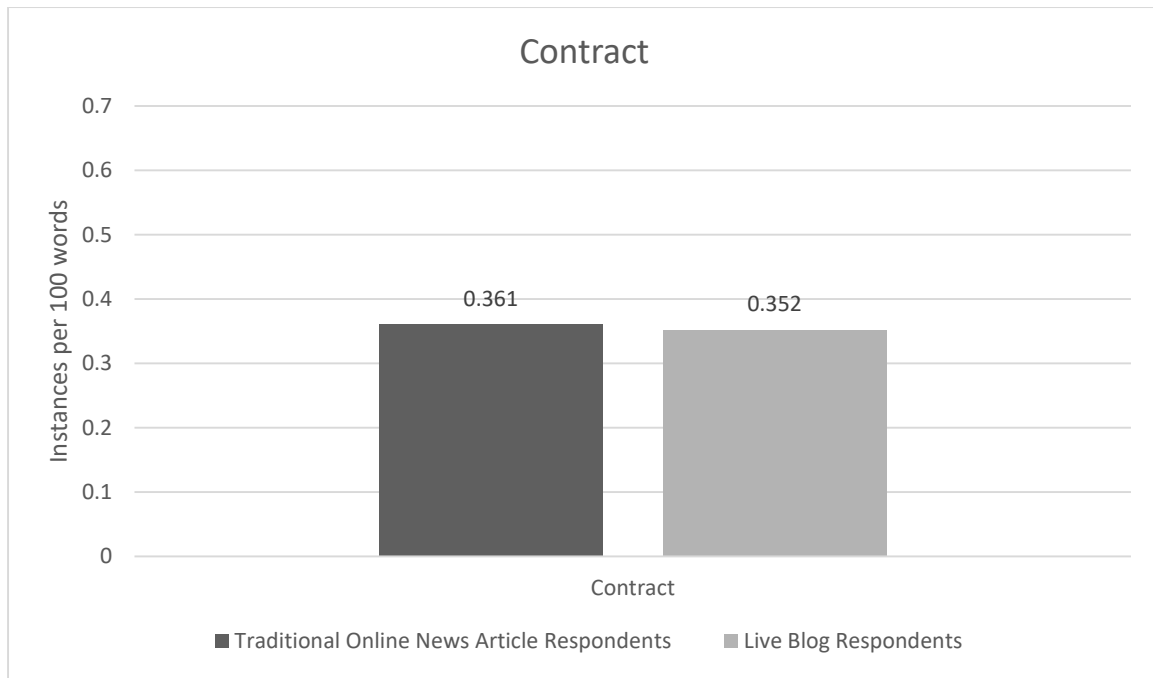
Figure 7.4 Normalised Frequencies of Contract in News Text Evaluations

The TONA respondents used slightly more Contractions in normalised frequency than the LB respondents. This difference was slightly larger for the LB respondents in raw frequencies as can be seen in table 7.4.

	Contract
TONA Respondents	67
LB Respondents	86

Table 7.4 Raw Frequencies of Contract in News Text Evaluations

Within Contraction, the subcategories Proclaim and Disclaim showed a larger distinction between the LB respondents and the TONA respondents. The normalised frequencies of these categories are depicted in figure 7.5.
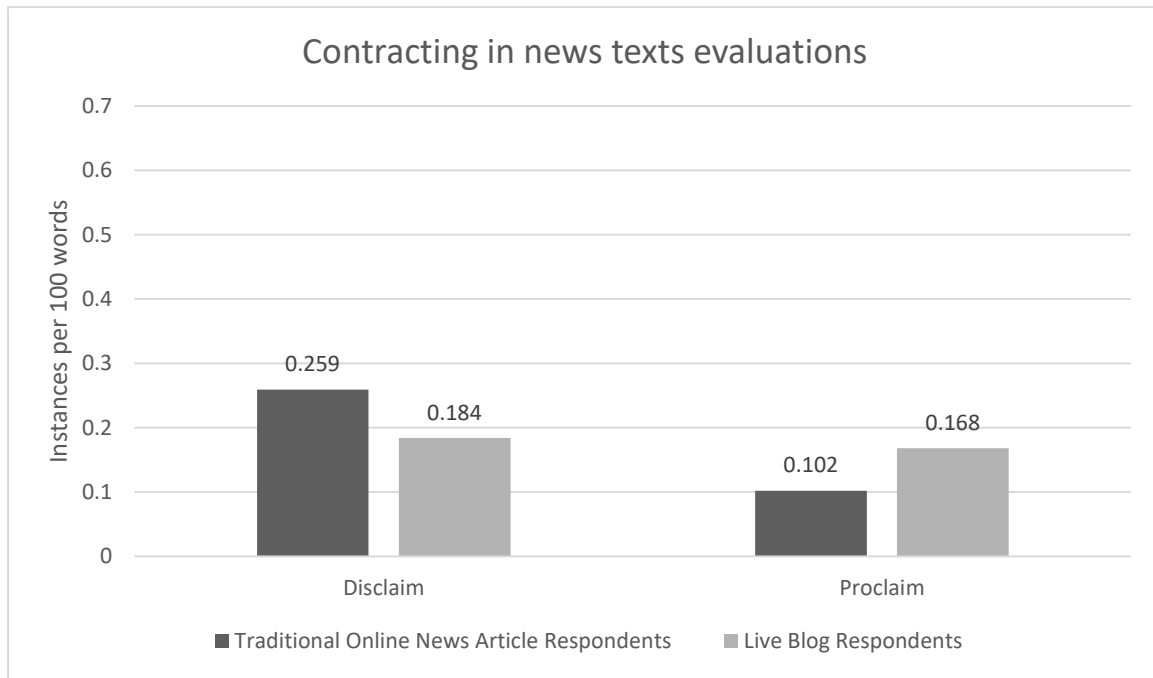
Figure 7.5: Normalised Frequencies of Disclaim and Proclaim in News Text Evaluations

The TONA respondents used slightly more Disclamations than the LB respondents, who used slightly more Proclamations. This distinction was also found in the raw frequencies as shown in table 7.5.

	Disclaim	Proclaim
TONA Respondents	48	19
LB Respondents	45	41

Table 7.5 Raw Frequencies of Disclaim and Proclaim in News Text Evaluations

The LB respondents used a similar number of Disclamations as they did Proclamations, showing an even division between negating other perspectives and affirming their own. The TONA respondents negated other perspectives more than they affirmed their own. This suggests that the TONA respondents compared their news texts to other news texts and existing opinions on what these news texts should be like through Disclamations, while the LB respondents both compared their news texts and affirmed their own perspectives at a similar rate. I will show this in the following sections through the analysis of Disclamations (section 7.3.2) and Proclamations (section 7.3.3).

<ins>7.3.2 Disclaim</ins>

The two groups of respondents qualitatively used Disclamations differently. The TONA respondents used Disclamations in evaluations of lack of detail provided in the news texts, including background information, general information about the news events, and specific information about the news participants. Seventy-five per cent of all Disclamations by TONA respondents discussed a lack of detail in the news texts. The LB respondents also used Disclamations in their evaluations of the lack of detail in the LBs. However, they used only 20 per cent of their Disclamations in discussions of a lack of detail. Table 7.6 shows the content that co-occurred with Disclamations with their percentages. The content contains both topics, which were presented without Attitudinal Appraisal such as personalisation and specific Attitudinal Appraisal categories such as Impact.

	TONA Respondents		LB Respondents	
	Raw	Percentage	Raw	Percentage
Balance	36	75 %	9	20 %
Valuation	7	15 %	9	20 %
Impact	5	10 %	4	9 %
personalisation	0	0	12	27 %
Complexity	0	0	4	9 %
Enough Detail	0	0	4	9 %
Focus of News Text	0	0	3	7 %
Total	48	100 %	45	100 %

Table 7.6 Percentages of Content Discussed using Disclamations

The TONA respondents primarily used Disclamations to evaluate Balance in the news texts, while the LB respondents used Disclamations for a variety of topics. Disclamations may fulfil one of three pragmatic functions (Pagano 1994; Don 2017). Firstly, it may be used as a 'denial of background information' (Pagano 1994), where 'the speaker assumes or implies that

the listener entertains a mistaken idea' (Don 2017: 16). Secondly, Disclamations may be used as a 'denial of text-processed information (Pagano 1994), where the speaker assumes that the listener may misinterpret the text. Thirdly, Disclamations may be used to project 'unfulfilled expectations' (Pagano 1994), where the speaker makes the listener a 'co-participant in some counter-expectation' (Don 2017: 20). In each category, the speaker makes assumptions about what the reader may think and either explicitly or implicitly negates those assumptions. The TONA respondents primarily used Disclamations to project 'unfulfilled expectations' (Pagano 1994), making assumptions about joint expectations between themselves and the interviewer as to the amount of information that should be presented in the news texts.

[7.14] 'I don't think there's enough (1) to (.) kind of make an informed opinion about any of the (.) the fighting in there (.) there's **not** a lot about the history of it so it focuses on this one event which is fair enough cause it's one event (.) **but** there's **not** enough sort of background to it' (A14)

[7.15] 'it says witnesses within the school **but not** so much on the details around it and the time in here (.) who did it involve who was in the school **but** it **doesn't** specify who was there (.) but a rough idea of what happened' (A21)

Text Box 7.5: Instances of Disclamations by TONA Respondents

Respondent A14 used both Denial and Counter in example 7.14. They stated that there was 'not a lot' of background information provided about the conflict, using Denial. They continued with a justification as to why the article might not have needed to supply background information as it 'focuses on this one event'. They concluded their evaluation with a Countering construction using the conjunction 'but' to reiterate that there was not enough background information. In example 7.15 respondent A21 also used Denial and Counter in their discussion of a perceived lack of detail provided in the news text. These types of discussions of Balance were present in 75 per cent of Contractions made by TONA respondents. The respondents seemed to compare the amount of detail in the news texts to an assumption about how much detail should be provided, using Disclamations to project 'unfulfilled expectations' (Pagano 1994; Don 2017). Considering that 75 per cent of Disclamations were used for this purpose

with each TONA respondent using at least one Disclamation for this topic, it shows that it was common for these respondents to evaluate the news texts against a set of expectations concerning the amount of provided information. This assumption of a level of expected detail was also found in Attitudinal evaluations (see Chapter Six).

The LB respondents did not focus their Disclamations on one topic but used Disclamations to discuss personalisation, detail, Impact, Valuation, Complexity, and the focus of the news texts. Some of these instances are shown in text box 7.6 below.

[7.16] 'the time stamps certainly helps like you know given a - giving a live updates and writing the times (.) certainly makes it like you know seem like it's - it certainly gives like a chronological sense to it (.) eh (.) and it's I - I'd say **it's not** quite as like you know vivid as having the photo **but** certainly does add an element of reality grounded into this' (LB12)

[7.17] 'I would say I trust it as I said there was a there's quite a lot of eh (.) sources (.) pro-(.) used in the article eh (1) which are all (.) saying similar things (.) eh (1) so **it's not it's not** based on one person saying something or one person (.) eh (.) one person's opinion or view of what's happened it's lots of people (.) providing their input on this (.) event' (LB21)

[7.18] **it's not** very easy to read (.) like because it's an update one which is (.) it's just useful because you can kind of (.) get information as it's coming out (.) **but** it does mean that try and read it and actually get a general picture of what happened you didn't follow it from the start is quite difficult' (LB23)

Text Box 7.6: Instances of Contraction used by LB Respondents

In example 7.16, respondent LB12 uses Disclamations and Counters to construct a narrative comparator (Labov 1972) between the vividness provided by photographic evidence, which is not present in the news text, and the vividness provided by the time stamps on the updates. In example 7.17, respondent LB21 used Denial to evaluate the perceived balance in the LB, stating that due to the variety of sources used the information provided is based on many different experiences and perspectives. As discussed in Chapter Four, the greater the number of different sources that are included as evidence in news texts, the more balanced and less biased such news texts are perceived to be (Tuchman 1972; Stenvall 2008). Here,

respondent LB21 used Denial to compare the use of only one person's experience as negative, to the positive use of multiple people's experiences as superior evidence. In example 7.18, respondent LB23 used both Countering and Denial in their Complexity evaluations of the news text. The LB respondents used Disclamations as comparators (Labov 1972), which Pagano (1994) also refers to as contrasts. Don (2017) specified that contrasts are generally constructed through the use of Counter in Appraisal, as is apparent in examples 7.16 and 7.17.

Overall, the TONA respondents used Disclamations to negatively evaluate the Balance in the news texts, focusing on the amount of detail and background information provided, while the LB respondents used Disclamations for a variety of topics. The respondents talked about the things that the article does *not* do but significantly, the things that it does not do tend to be things that might be positively evaluated such as including sufficient detail and sufficient information. This makes the Disclamations negatively loaded. In the case of both the TONAs and the LBs, the use of Disclaim itself displays an awareness on the part of the respondents that things may have been otherwise, that these texts are not the only possible texts that could have been produced about these events. It might even be said, as Labov (1972) suggests in his discussion of narrative comparators, that the denial of alternatives evaluates what is happening – in this case, what is in the text – against what might for better or worse be considered 'normal'. The respondents seem to compare the news texts unfavourably to the normative standards of the participants. Interestingly, in the case of the TONAs these comparisons were focused on the amount of information provided, while the LBs are compared to a variety of standards. This suggests that all TONA respondents had an unmet assumption about the amount of information, while the LB respondents evaluated the LBs with a variety of expectations and assumptions in mind.

7.3.3 Proclaim

The TONA respondents used 60 per cent fewer Proclamations than Disclamations in their evaluations of the news texts, while the LB respondents used 9 per cent fewer Proclamations than Disclamations. LB respondents used 54 per cent more Proclamations than the TONA respondents when they evaluated the news texts. Though there was a quantitative difference in the use of Proclamations, qualitatively there was less difference between the TONA respondents and the LB respondents. Both groups of respondents used Proclamations mostly to discuss and evaluate the polyvocality of the news texts and the Impact. Table 7.7 shows the content that co-occurred using Proclamations and includes the raw frequencies and the percentage. The content contains both topics, which were presented without Attitudinal Appraisal such as polyvocality and specific Attitudinal Appraisal categories such as Impact.

	TONA Respondents		LB Respondents	
	Raw	Percentage	Raw	Percentage
Polyvocality	5	26 %	12	29 %
Impact	5	26 %	8	20 %
Valuation (Bias)	3	16 %	6	15 %
Multimedia	2	11 %	2	5 %
Balance	2	11 %	6	15 %
Media Institution (*BBC*, *Guardian*)	2	11 %	0	0
Structure	0	0	5	12 %
Quality	0	0	2	5 %
Total	19	100 %	41	100 %

Table 7.7 Frequencies of Content in Proclamations - Percentages were rounded up

The instances of multimedia, detail and structure were observations of the news texts as the respondents had these in front of them during the interview. Example 7.22 in text box 7.7

below shows how respondent LB22 uses the adverb 'obviously' to affirm the use of updates to 'break down' the events. The instances of polyvocality (example 7.19), Impact (examples 7.20) and bias (example 7.21) were less built on observation of the news texts and also contained interpretations from the respondents. For example in example 7.21, respondent LB13 stated 'of course' the journalists 'build a picture' by selecting what information to include in the news texts. The use of a Proclamation suggests that the selectivity of journalism is accepted knowledge as it affirms the respondents' perspective and only implicitly acknowledges alternative viewpoints.

[7.19] 'they've **obviously** had the chance to like (.) maybe be in touch with those from the UN and (.) and the military and the defence forces' (A15)

[7.20] 'I guess it's slightly sympathetic towards (.) the (.) eh well (.) just getting a quote of the (.) the father (.) like because he was saying that he was just as shocked as well and towards the community **obviously** it's sympathetic towards then but then not towards (.) the actual shooter' (A24)

[7.21] 'it's just kind of (2) reports of what happened yeah (.) their opinions don't really (.) well they do kind of (.) I mean they **of course** they build a picture of (.) by choosing the video and by choosing the photographs for example of (.) eh (.) protests around the world (.) they do kind of create a theme where (.) you understand that this something that's kind of affecting more than (.) Gaza' (LB13)

[7.22] 'I'd say so in that it (.) cause it offers **obviously** the the break-down of the events but then within each section of the timeline it goes into more detail (.) eh that feels quite (.) feels quite factual' (LB22)

Text Box 7.7: Instances of Proclamations in News Text Evaluations

Examples 7.19 and 7.20 show similar constructions. Respondent A15 in example 7.19 presents the contact between the journalists and news participants as 'obvious' and respondent A24 in example 7.20 presents the Impact of the news texts as 'obvious'. The use of Proclamations for evaluations specifically is interesting as this suggests an expectation of what a news text should be like. The respondents presented their evaluations of Impact, polyvocality and bias as accepted knowledge, suggesting that those evaluations are part of

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their expectations of a news text. For instance, for respondent LB13 in example 7.21, the use of the Proclamation suggests that this respondent expected the news text to be selective and construct a news story. These Proclamations were used similarly as Disclamations of 'unfulfilled expectations' (Pagano 1994; Don 2017), only the evaluations presented with Proclamations present fulfilled expectations. The respondents therefore imply expectations that news texts have selectivity bias, have contact with news participants and have a certain Impact. As with Disclamations, these Proclamations are presented as joined expectations between the speaker and listener as the respondents use high modality in their evaluations (Palmer 2001).

7.3.4 Summary of Contract

The analysis of Contractions showed that the respondents presented evaluations of provided detail, Valuation, personalisation in the news texts through Disclamations as not having met their expectations of news texts. The respondents presented their evaluations of Impact, polyvocality and Valuation through Proclamations as having met their expectations of news texts. Contractions 'act to close down the dialogic space' for alternative perspectives (Põldvere, Fuoli & Paradis 2016: 195). These constructions allude to alternative perspectives that are negated (Disclamations) or they affirm the presented perspective as the 'right' perspective (Proclamations). By analysing which topics were discussed using Contractions, I showed how the respondents presented their observations and evaluations in the context of sets of expectations of news texts. The analysis of Disclamations showed that respondents compared the news texts they read to expectations of the amount of information that should be provided in news texts, the Valuation and bias of news texts and how personalised news texts are expected to be. TONA respondents focused primarily on the first two topics, while LB respondents used Disclamations to evaluate the personalisation of the LBs and a variety of other topics presented in section 7.3.2. Additionally, Proclamations were used positively to approach the Contraction of alternative perspectives. Both groups of respondents focused

Proclamations on Impact, polyvocality and Valuation. This analysis showed that the respondents presented these evaluations as fulfilled expectations that were shared by the speaker and listener.

7.4 Expansion

Expansion is the second sub-category of Heteroglossia in which 'alternative positions are construed as possible or even likely and as to greater or lesser degrees authorized' (White 2003: 268). These presentations of alternative positions can be divided in sub-categories: (1) Attribute and (2) Entertain. In Attribute the speaker ascribes a statement to another voice. This is done through Acknowledgements, where the reporting verb is neutral such as 'said', or through Distancing, where the reporting verb is negative such as 'claim' (Martin & White 2005). In Entertain the speaker shows uncertainty, hesitation or humility about the statement. This can be done through the use of Complement-Taking Predicate constructions such as 'I think' or 'I guess' (Põldvere, Fuoli & Paradis 2016) or through the use of modality and hedging such as 'maybe', 'probably' or 'perhaps'.

7.4.1 Frequencies of Expand

Figure 7.6 shows the normalised frequencies of the two sub-categories of Expand: Attribute and Entertain. The TONA respondents used more Expand than the LB respondents and this difference is also found in each sub-category. Both the TONA respondents and the LB respondents used more Entertain than Attribute.
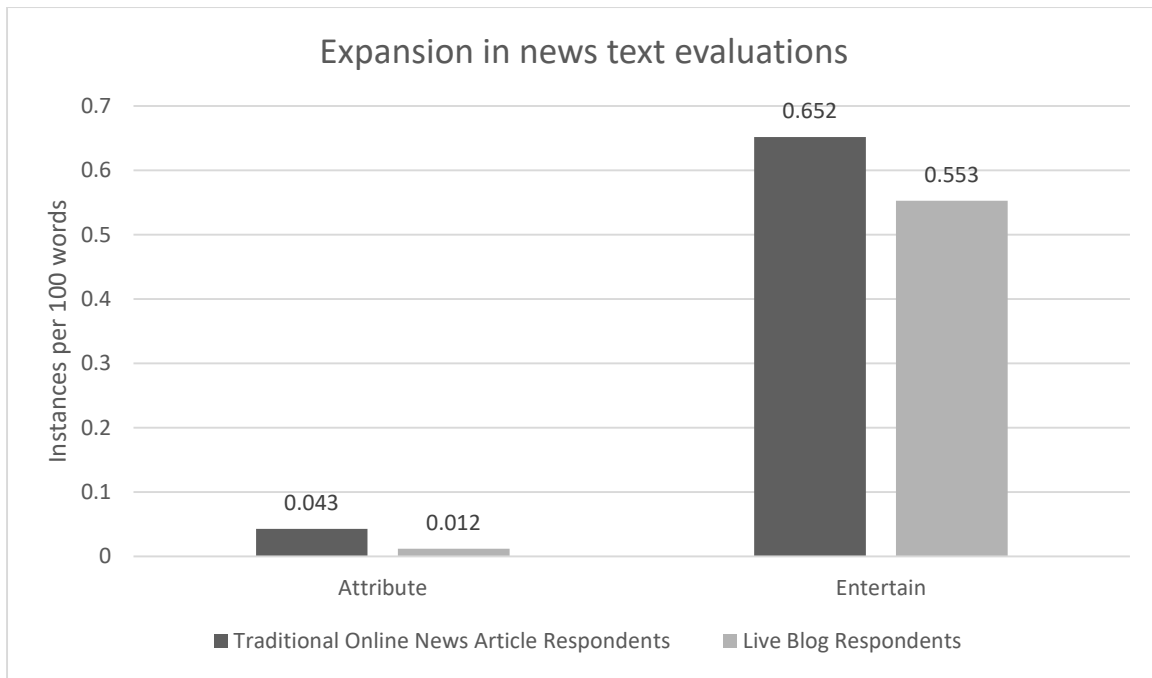
Figure 7.6: Expansion in news text evaluations

The raw frequencies of Attribute and Entertain, presented in table 7.8, showed less difference between the TONA respondents and the LB respondents.

	Attribute	Entertain
TONA Respondents	5	121
LB Respondents	3	135

Table 7.8 Raw Frequencies of Attribute and Entertain in News Text Evaluations

The following sections analyse how both groups of respondents used Expansion and how that affected the presentations of their evaluations of the news texts.

7.4.2 Attribute

Most respondents used Attribute to Acknowledge alternative perspectives. There was one instance of Distancing, which was made by a TONA respondent. This Attribution was made in reference to the objectivity of the news texts.

> [7.23] 'it seems they've tried to do that to be as sort of clear and (.) as neutral as possible at least that they **can claim** to be as neutral as possible' (A14)

Text Box 7.8 Instance of Distancing in News Text Evaluation

While this is an interesting allusion to the bias of the news text, as a single instance of Distancing it cannot contribute to my larger analysis and discussion of Engagement in news text evaluations. There was also minimal use of Acknowledgements. The TONA respondents used four instances and the LB respondents used three instances. Instances where respondents attributed information to the news texts or journalists were included but were mainly found in evaluations of the news events rather than the news texts. Similarly to the use of Distancing, as these instances are quantitatively limited, they cannot contribute my analysis of Engagement in the evaluation of news texts. Therefore, the following section focuses on the use of Entertain by both groups of respondents.

7.4.3 Entertain

The final category analysed in this chapter is Entertain. This sub-category of Expansion functions 'by explicitly presenting the proposition as grounded in its own, contingent, individual subjectivity, the authorial voice represents the proposition as but one of a range of possible positions' (Martin & White 2005: 98). Entertain includes modals of probability, evidentials and Complement-Taking Predicate constructions (Martin & White 2005: 108-9; Põldvere, Fuoli & Paradis 2016). Entertain may be used for similar reasons as the use of modals and hedging: to express (un)certainty, to hedge the statements, to express humility, and for politeness reasons (Palmer 2001). Additionally Entertain presents the perspectives as belonging to the

speaker and therefore as one of many possible perspectives. This suggests that aspects of the news texts which were evaluated using Entertain, were not compared to a set of expectations as the evaluations presented as Contractions were. Instead, Entertain evaluations were presented as one of many possible expectations and evaluations suggesting a more individualised evaluation of the news texts.
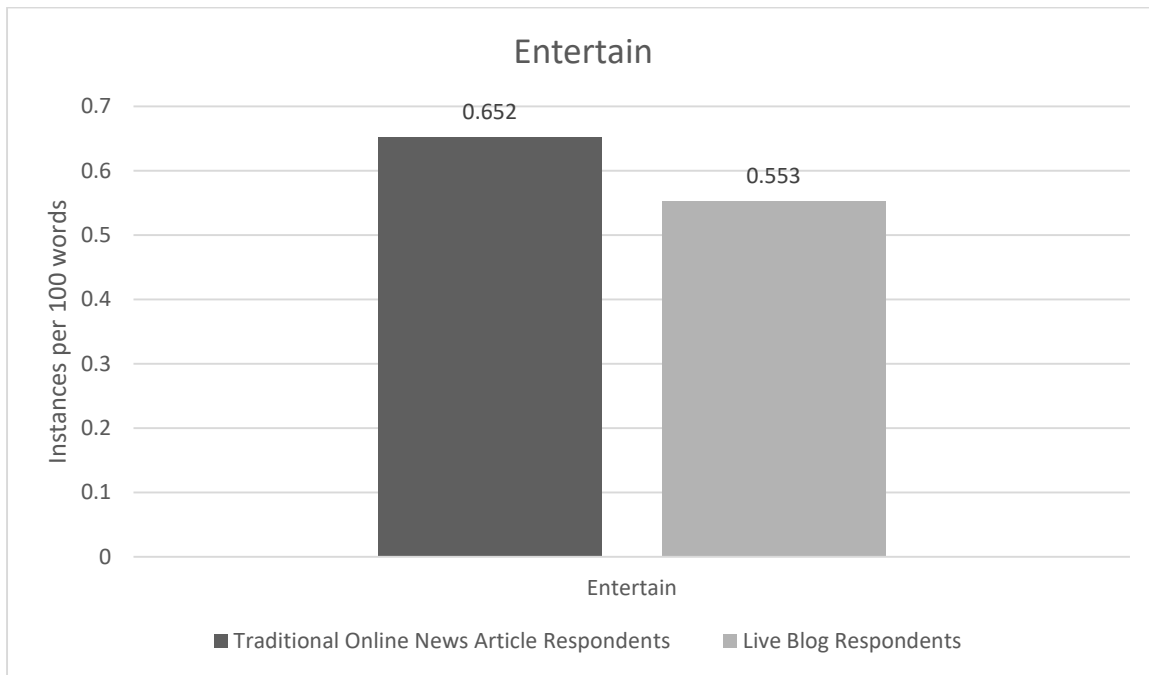
Figure 7.7: Normalised Frequencies of Entertain in News Text Evaluations

Figure 7.7 shows the normalised frequencies of Entertain in news text evaluations. When normalised, the TONA respondents used Entertain slightly more than the LB respondents in their evaluations of the news texts. The LB respondents used more Entertain in raw frequencies as shown in table 7.9.

	Entertain
TONA Respondents	121
LB Respondents	135

Table 7.9 Raw Frequencies of Entertain in News Text Evaluations

Entertain used by both groups of respondents co-occurred with a variety of content. This content consisted of Attitudinal Appraisal categories and non-Attitudinal topics such as

sourcing. These are presented in table 7.10. Included in the table are the raw frequencies of how often Entertain was used for each topic and which percentage of all instances of Entertain was used per topic.

	TONA Respondents		LB Respondents	
	Raw	Percentage	Raw	Percentage
Valuation	51	42 %	41	30 %
Impact	19	16 %	27	20 %
Style	14	12 %	5	4 %
personalisation	13	11 %	9	7 %
Structure	7	6 %	6	4 %
Complexity	7	6 %	6	4 %
Detail	6	5 %	3	2 %
Quality	2	2 %	17	13 %
Journalist	2	2 %	3	2 %
Sourcing	0	0	20	15 %
Total	121	102 %	135	101 %

Table 7.10 Content Discussed using Entertain

Both groups of respondents used Entertain mostly with Valuation and Impact. The TONA respondents also used Entertain to comment on the style of the news texts and the personalisation, while the LB respondents used more Entertain for Quality and discussions of sourcing in the news texts. This section focuses on the instances of Entertain used with Impact and Valuation to explore how respondents used Entertain. In Valuation, Entertain was used to avoid committing to specific evaluations of the news texts. In Impact, Entertain was used to both project evaluations and to specifically ascribe evaluations to the speaker's own perspective.

[7.23] '**I guess** it's objective in saying this is - these are the facts this all happened (.) I don't know if there's an agenda though by the person who's written it because (1) yeah I don't know which side they might take eh (2) it does add **I would say** but it's (1) it's harder to (.) it's not like it's boring it's just that it's harder to understand **I'd say** just cause it's more statistics (A12)

[7.24] 'I like that it's taken direct- like not direct quotes but eh (.) it's reporting from there from the area it's not just like an out- I don't feel like it's an outsider's opinion I feel like it's coming from within the situation (.) it's like a massacre that's in quotation marks **I assume** (.) that that's been something that's said about it' (A13)

[7.25] 'they write in like (.) a very sort of (.) how to say like depersonalised style that's like never says I really (.) it's very sort **of I suppose you'd say** (.) it'd want to sound quite objective **I suppose** it's (1) just trying to really relay the sources with this and then describe what's in them' (LB24)

[7.26] 'the tweets are most powerful for conveying the hu- you know a sense of humanity and you know graph- a truly morbid and graphic nature behind what's truly happening **I think** the like you know shocking imagery about the burns in the face the legs lost (.) eh (.) and not looking away from her mum **I think** it's things like that which provide much more human sense - a much more real sense to the conflict' (LB12)

Text box 7.9: Entertain by article respondents in evaluations of news texts

Examples 7.23 and 7.25 show the use of Entertain with Valuation. Respondent A12 in example 7.23 stated 'I guess it's objective', using 'I guess' as an evidential marker (Kärkkäinen 2007: 212). They then stated that they 'don't know' whether the reporter had 'an agenda' when writing the news text. The phrase 'I don't know' can fulfil several functions (Tsui 1991). In this instance the respondent seemed to use 'I don't know' to 'avoid assessment (Tsui 1991: 609). They commented on the objectivity of the news text using low evidential modality and after their statement about the journalist's agenda, they changed the topic to Complexity: 'it's harder to understand'. This avoidance of assessing the objectivity of the news text also seemed present in example 7.25. Respondent LB24 avoided explicitly evaluating the objectivity of the news text by using a low modality reporting verb: 'suppose', ascribing the evaluation to their own perspective: 'I suppose' and projecting the evaluation: 'I suppose you'd say'. These examples were characteristic of the Valuations using Entertain. The respondents

avoided explicit assessments of the news texts' objectivity instead using implicit and vague language in their Valuation.

Examples 7.24 and 7.26 show the use of Entertain with Impact. Respondent A13, example 7.24, used Entertain in the reporting phrase 'I assume'. They stated that the style of the article made it sound like it was an 'inside' report and that the reporter had experienced the fighting first hand. This evaluation was projected through an agentless statement: 'I assume that's been something that's said about it'. In example 7.26, respondent LB12 used Entertain to ascribe their evaluation to their own perspective using the reporting phrase 'I think'. Simultaneously, 'I think' can function as an epistemic modal particle (Aijmer 1997; Kärkkäinen 2003), presenting the evaluation with a level of uncertainty of its truth value.

7.4.4 Summary of Expand

Both groups of respondents mostly used Entertain, with minimal use of Attributions. This could be due to the fact that the respondents did not have access to alternative voices that also evaluated the news texts to which they could have Attributed evaluations. Chapter Nine focuses on the use of Engagement in news event evaluations, which shows a higher use of Attribute as respondents could Attribute evaluations and discussions of the news events to the news texts and all voices presented in the news texts. This suggests that the use of Attribution may rely on the availability of alternate voices to which speakers may Attribute evaluations and descriptions.

Respondents used Entertain for a wide variety of topics. However, the two most discussed topics were the same in both groups of respondents: Valuation and Impact. With Valuation, respondents used Entertain to avoid committing to an assessment of the objectivity of the news texts. These evaluations were instead projected using generic second person pronouns or presented using low epistemic modality. Impact was presented as either specifically belonging to the respondent or was projected. The first person evaluations were most common: the TONA respondents attributed 83 per cent of Entertain to themselves (using

'I') and the LB respondents attributed 68 per cent of Entertain to themselves. As Impact is part of Reaction, it represents evaluations of an affective nature. As these evaluations can include personal feelings, this could explain why these were presented commonly using Entertain and attributed using first person pronouns.

7.5 Summary

Both groups of respondents presented their evaluations of the news texts more often with reference to other voices (Heteroglossia) than without reference to alternative perspectives (Monoglossia). Monoglossia was primarily used by both groups of respondents to discuss and evaluate observable information about the news texts. In particular, evaluations of Composition were presented using Monoglossia. These evaluations focused on the structure of the news texts and could have been due to the fact that respondents had the news texts in front of them as they were being interviewed. They were able to confirm their evaluations and descriptions, which could have influenced the Engagement that was used when discussing Composition.

Both groups of respondents presented their Heteroglossic evaluations more often as one of the possible perspectives (Expand) than as a closing down on alternative perspectives (Contract). Contractions focused on content that was more observable such as evaluations and discussions of Balance and polyvocality. These evaluations focused on comparisons between standards set to news texts and if and how these news texts reached those standards. TONA respondents more often used negative comparisons (Disclaim), where the news texts did not reach certain standards, while the LB respondents used a similar amount of negative (Disclaim) and positive (Proclaim) comparisons, where the news texts did reach certain standards. The standards that respondents implicitly evaluated the news texts by included amount of detail that should be provided, how many news participants should be quoted and what kind of news participants should be quoted (e.g. authorities or civilians), and how coherent news texts should be. The quantitative difference in Disclaim and Proclaim

between the TONA respondents and the LB respondents suggests that the TONAs were more often negatively compared to set standards, whereas LBs were more positively appraised. The newness of LBs could explain this positive evaluation as they differ from the expected news standards of structure (reverse-chronological instead of inverted pyramid – see Chapter Five) and polyvocality (higher polyvocality – see Chapter Five). This positive evaluation of LBs compared to TONAs was also found in more quantitative research (Thurman & Walters 2013; Thurman & Newman 2014).

Finally, Entertain was used in Attitudinal evaluations such as Valuation and Impact. Both groups of respondents presented Valuation primarily using Entertain. These evaluations were presented often as 'voiceless' evaluations (Becker 2011), without a clear agent. Impact on the other hand was attributed to the respondents themselves using active first person constructions such as 'I think'. While the TONA respondents presented Impact most often using Entertain (43 % of all Impact instances), the LB respondents presented Impact most often using Monoglossia (65 % of all Impact instances).

Sixty-five per cent of Impact used by LB respondents was presented with Monoglossia and therefore not as explicitly evaluative as it would be with Heteroglossia. TONA respondents also presented Impact using Monoglossia but only did so in 34 % of all Impact instances. This suggests that TONA respondents presented Impact more often as Heteroglossic than the LB respondents and therefore more explicitly as subjective. The LB respondents presented their Impact evaluations as if they were the only possible evaluation of the LBs. This suggests that the Impact evaluations of the LBs were presented as if they were factual statements. These evaluations focused on the affective characteristics of the LBs, suggesting that, for the participants in my study, the Tweets and multimedia in the LBs[5] could only be evaluated as impactful and strongly affective.

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[5] Impact evaluations primarily referred to the polyvocality and multimedia of the LBs, see Chapter Six for more detail.

Chapter 8 ATTITUDINAL READER RESPONSE TO NEWS EVENTS

8.0 Introduction

This chapter analyses how respondents evaluated the reported news events. It aims to answer research question two: how did readers evaluate the reported news events in TONAs as compared to LBs? By separating the evaluation of the news events from the evaluation of the news texts, I analyse whether the news events were evaluated differently when read through TONAs or LBs. In this chapter, I investigate respondents' use of Attitudinal Appraisal in their evaluations of the news events. The analysis of respondents' evaluations of news events is interpreted following Martin and White's (2005) Appraisal framework as well as research on the standards by which news events are evaluated. These standards are known as news values (Galtung & Ruge 1965; Bell 1991; Bednarek & Caple 2017). The Appraisal system has been discussed in detail in Chapter Three while the news values have been discussed in Chapter Two.

The analysis in this chapter indicates that respondents of LBs and TONAs evaluate news events using similar standards. These evaluations show signs of the construction of news values. The only distinction found between readers' responses to LBs and readers of TONAs is that respondents of LBs evaluated the news events as more affective than readers of TONAs. This chapter is structured by Appraisal categories and compares and contrasts the use of each category between LB respondents and TONA respondents.

8.1 Attitudinal Appraisal in Respondents' News Event Evaluations

As news events are 'natural phenomena' (Martin & White 2005: 43), in the sense that they occur independently from news texts and news reports, their evaluations are categorised as Appreciation. Both the LB respondents and the TONA respondents therefore primarily used Appreciation when evaluating the news event as can be seen in figure 8.1.
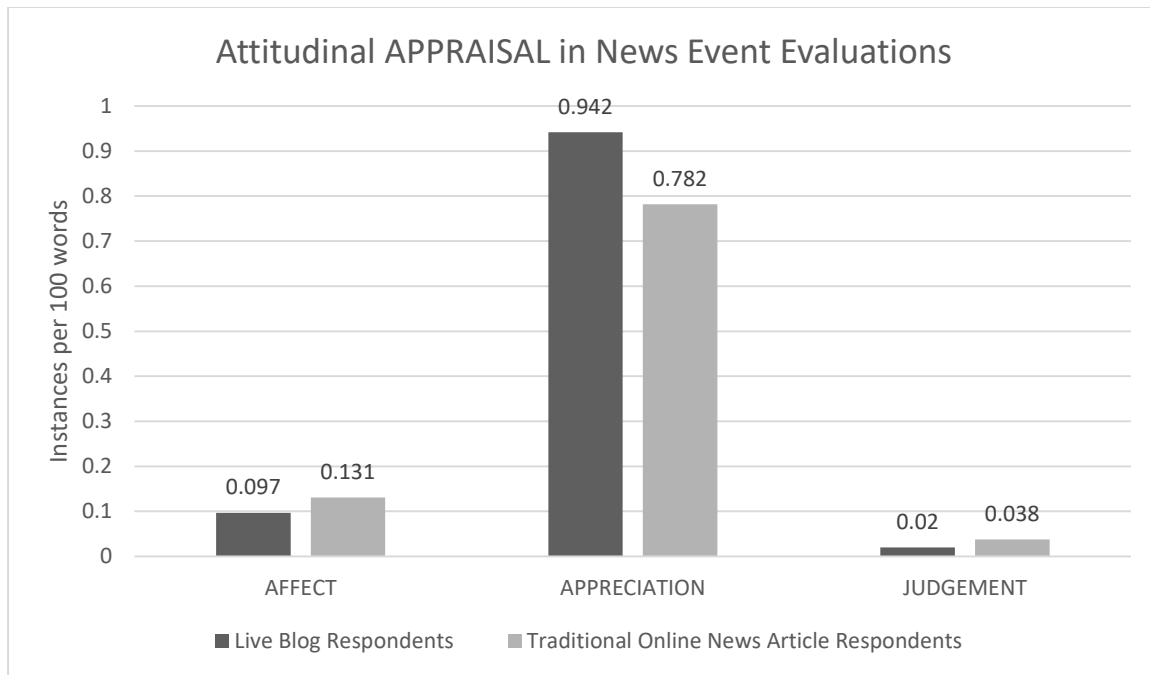
Figure 8.1 Attitudinal Appraisal instances per 100 words in News Event Evaluations

Affect was used 18 times by the TONA respondents and 32 times by the LB respondents. It was attributed to either news actors or to the respondents themselves. The TONA respondents attributed five instances to themselves and 13 instances to news actors. The LB respondents attributed four instances to themselves and 28 instances to news actors. It is unclear why respondents rarely expressed Affect for themselves but it could be due to the nature of the interview, as respondents perhaps felt uncomfortable in expressing their feelings. The instances were all Unhappiness, focusing mainly on the negative emotions of the news actors. As these responses were limited in comparison to the Appreciation responses and were concentrated all within unhappiness, these will not be discussed in detail in this chapter. However, as most Affect was attributed in some way to news actors, this will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Nine, focusing on the manner of attribution of affective responses as this is particularly relevant to Engagement. Judgement was used for the evaluation of news actors as reported in both news events, for example as respondent LB16 stated: 'it's the *innocent* civilians that are getting killed'. The TONA respondents used Judgement seven times and the LB respondents used Judgement four times. Due to the low number of instances for

both Affect and Judgement, his chapter focuses on the respondents' use of Appreciation in their evaluations of the reported news events.

Figure 8.2 shows the number of instances of each Appreciation subcategory per 100 words by the TONA respondents and the LB respondents.
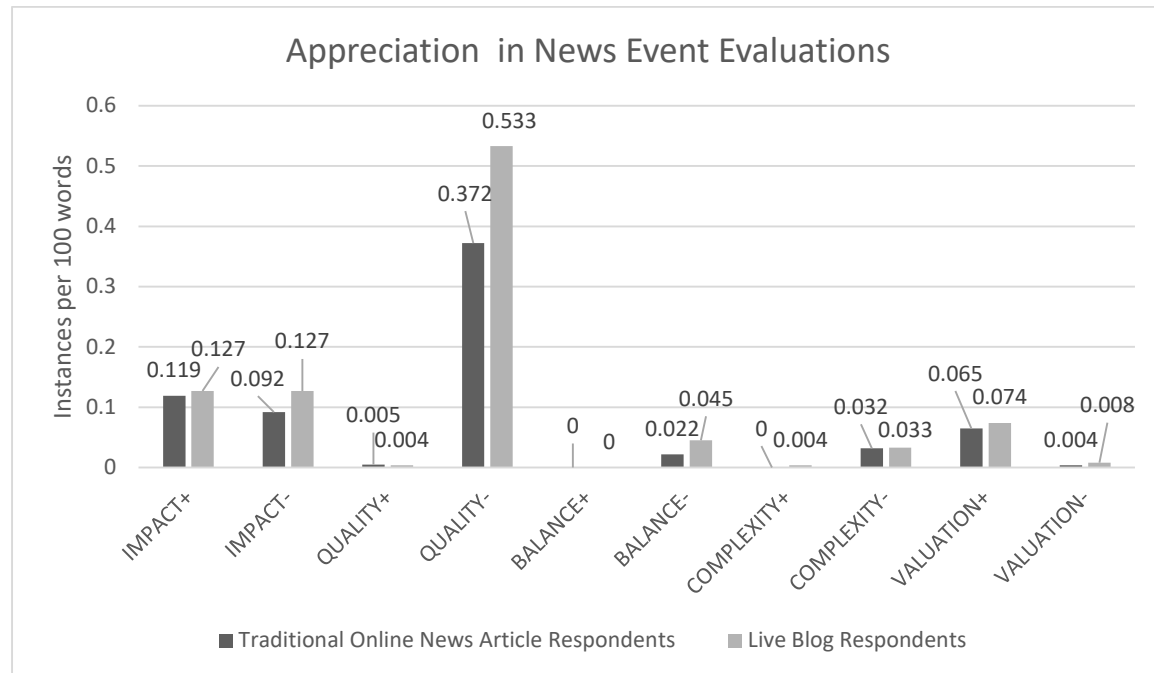
Figure 8.2 Appreciation instances per 100 words in Respondents' News Event Evaluations

There are large differences between the normalised frequencies of the different Appreciation categories. These range from 0.533 instances per 100 words for negative Quality to 0 instances of negative Balance. Smaller differences were found between the LB respondents and the TONA respondents. Most categories had a maximum difference of .035. This suggests a consistency in how readers evaluate news events as distinct from the presentation of the news texts (discussed in Chapter Six). The only exception to this pattern of similarity in Appraisal was negative Quality. This category had a difference of .161 between LB respondents and TONA respondents. This suggests that either negative Quality might be used differently in the respondents' interviews than the other Appreciation subcategories or that the presentation of the news events may influence the use of negative Quality by readers.

8.2 Quality

Quality is part of the subcategory of Appreciation called Reaction, which analyses the 'semantics of an affective experience' (Hommerberg and Don 2015: 167). This subcategory of Appreciation contains evaluations that reveal the speaker's reaction to the object of evaluation (Martin & White 2005: 56). Quality includes positive evaluations such as 'good', 'appealing' and 'lovely' and negative evaluations such as 'bad', 'ugly' and 'repulsive' (Martin & White 2005: 56). Bednarek and Caple (2012: 55) argued that the news values negativity, impact, novelty, personalisation and superlativeness can be constructed through 'references to emotion', indicating a similarity between these news values and Reaction, which focuses on affective evaluations. This section will therefore consider these news values in the analysis of the respondents' use of Quality and analyse which news values may be associated with Quality.

8.2.1 Frequencies of Quality

As discussed in section 8.1, Quality had the highest normalised frequency. Figure 8.3 shows the normalised frequencies.
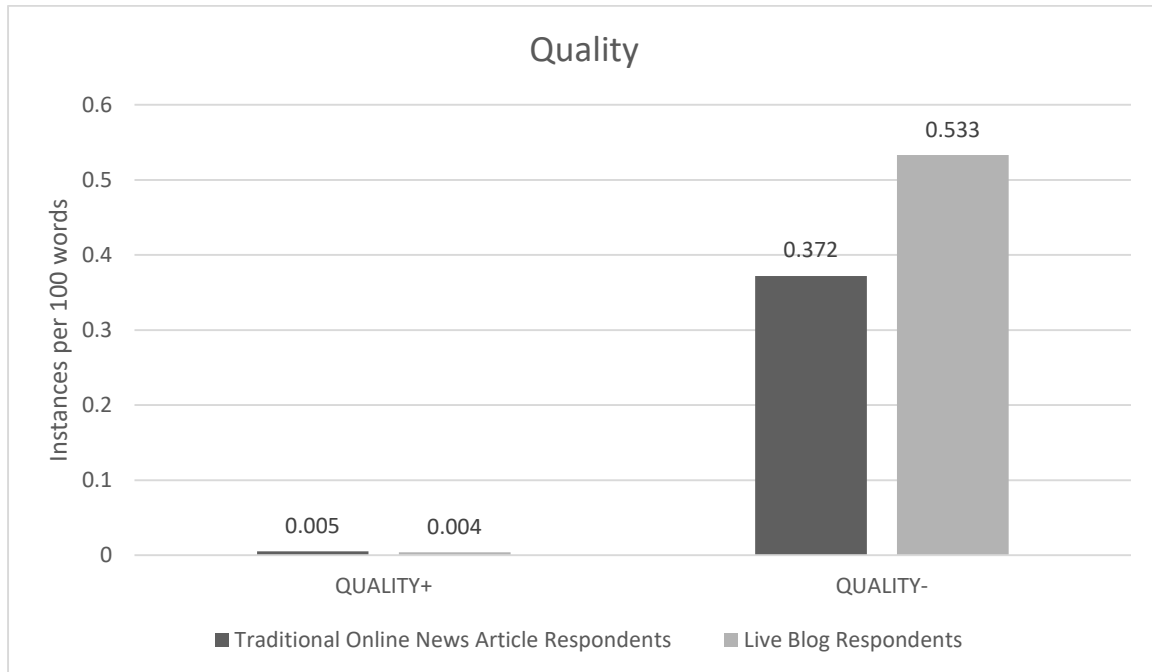
Figure 8.3 Instances of Quality per 100 words in TONA and LB respondents' interviews

The TONA respondents and the LB respondents both used negative Quality more often than positive Quality. This was expected, as both news events were negative stories. Table 8.1 shows the raw frequencies of both categories.

	Positive Quality	Negative Quality
TONA Respondents	1	69
LB Respondents	1	130

Table 8.1 Raw frequencies of Quality in TONA and LB respondents' interviews

In raw frequency, the LB respondents' interviews contained 88 per cent more negative Quality than the TONA respondents' interviews. When normalised, the LB respondents' interviews also contained 43 per cent more negative Quality than the TONA respondents' interviews.

8.2.2 Positive Quality

Throughout the interviews, there were two instances of positive Quality. One appeared in an interview with a TONA respondent and one appeared in an interview with a LB respondent.

[8.1] 'what happened was the Israeli forces attempted to seek out these (.) these rocket sides and gave surprisingly according to Israeli sources gave the civilians warning ample warning to try and evacuate the area which is a **wise** move' (LB12)

[8.2] 'nine got shot and seven got injured they originally thought more were injured but then (.) it **wasn't as bad as they first thought**' (A21)

Text Box 8.1 Positive Quality instances in evaluations of the news events

These instances are interesting in themselves but due to the limited number of times they occurred, they do not contribute to the overall analysis. I therefore do not analyse them further.

8.2.3 Negative Quality

The TONA respondents used negative Quality to evaluate their affective responses to the consequences of the news events and the personal experiences of news actors created by the news events. Out of 83 instances of negative Quality, 45 instances contained lexical terms related to emotional states: *traumatic, upsetting, sad, saddened, scary, scared, emotive, emotional, horrendous, horrible, horrifying, alarming, concerned, shocking.* While expressions of emotions, such as 'I am scared' or 'the scared child' should be categorised as Affect, the evaluative instances discussed here were presented as characteristics of the news events. For example, respondent A12 stated about the Gaza news event: 'I think it's horrible'. 'Horrible' is presented through a copular construction as an aspect of the news event, 'it'. This type of construction is typical of evaluation (Hunston & Sinclair 2000). The classification of this construction as Quality rests on two assumptions. First, evaluations of entities should always be classified as Appreciation. Martin and White (2005: 57-8) specifically comment on the

reference to emotion in Appreciation: 'we think it is important to distinguish between construing the emotions someone feels (**affect**[6]) and ascribing the power to trigger such feelings to things (**appreciation: reaction**[7])'. Secondly, while this type of construction may indicate that the respondents feel this emotion, this is not clear from the text. To achieve replicable results as discussed in Chapter Three, this analysis takes each evaluative instance at 'face-value' (Thompson 2014) meaning that these instances must be categorised as Quality, not as Affect.

8.2.3.1 Similarities in News Event Evaluation using Negative Quality

The TONA respondents and the LB respondents used negative Quality to evaluate the number of people affected by the news event. In evaluations made by respondents who had read about the Gaza conflict, references were made to the death toll and to people having to flee as can be seen in text box 8.2.

[8.3] 'it says in the article the UN have something about 50,000 yeah the UN now supplies help to more than 50,000 Palestinians who sought shelter in schools in Palestine (.) so that's it's really **upsetting** to think that that's happening (.) so far away' (A13)

[8.4] 'I think (.) in terms of numbers and it made it sound like it's quite eh (.) quite **horrific** event just the (.) eye witness report from the doctor the hospital and about the scenes that were going on' (A14)

[8.5] 'it does show the magnitude of what (.) what's happening out there and the amount of conflict that's going on the amount of people that are being killed as well (.) it's quite (.) it's quite **unnerving**' (LB14)

Text Box 8.2 Negative Quality evaluations by TONA and LB respondents of the Gaza conflict

In each of the examples, the respondents presented negative Quality as linked with the number of victims in the news events. Respondent A13 did this through the use of causal conjunction 'so'. Respondent A14's evaluation can be construed as linking the numbers and

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[6] Emphasis added by original authors
[7] Emphasis added by original authors

negative Quality through the use of 'it made it sound like', which also acknowledged the role of the news text in the evaluation. Respondent LB14's evaluation can be construed as a link through textual proximity. The scale of an event and the amount of people it affects are part of the news value impact, one of the news values expressed through references to emotive language (Bednarek & Caple 2012: 55). In this case, the large consequences of the news event increased the perceived impact of the news event.

In evaluations made by TONA respondents and LB respondents who read about the Oregon college shooting, negative Quality was linked to the consistency of mass shootings happening in the USA.

[8.6] 'it's really **sad** (.) eh (1) and it's like (.) becoming the norm in America and it **shouldn't be**' (A22)

[8.6] 'it's **tragic** (.) eh (.) but I think what's **more tragic** is that (.) it's happened (.) again (.) like (.) and there's been so many cases in America so many chances that they could have taken to change it and they haven't' (LB25)

[8.8] 'it's sad but kind of (.) it's **more sad** because it's not exactly a unique story (.) so the fact that it kind of (.) I've lost track of who which school you know has been attacked in America like they're listing off all these places (.) in the little (.) in the video' (LB23)

Text Box 8.3 Negative Quality evaluations by TONA and LB respondents of the Oregon shooting

Each example in text box 8.3 shows that the respondents presented their negative Quality evaluations as linked to the consistency of mass shootings. Respondent A22 made this connection by repeating that these shootings 'should not be' the norm and respondent LB25 and respondent LB23 both explicitly linked their 'more tragic' evaluation with the fact that these mass shootings keep happening. These types of evaluations suggest a link between the numbers of people affected or killed by a news event (in the case of the Gaza conflict) and the typicality of a news event (in the case of the Oregon shooting) and negative Quality evaluations of that news event. The news values impact and negativity can both be

constructed by referencing numbers of affected people (Bednarek & Caple 2017: 85). The lack of uniqueness of a news event is also part of the construction of newsworthiness. Bednarek and Caple (2017: 80) label this type of news value as consonance: a news event which is 'discursively constructed as (stereo)typical'. The respondents used negative Quality to evaluate the aspects of the news events that can be linked to these news values, suggesting that impact, negativity and consonance invoked an 'affective' response from the respondents as Quality is part of Reaction (Hommerberg & Don 2015).

8.2.3.2 Differences in News Event Evaluations using Negative Quality

There was one distinction found in how the TONA respondents and the LB respondents used negative Quality. Both groups of respondents referred to personal experiences of news actors when evaluating the news events. However, the TONA respondents referred either to more general groups of people such as 'the families' or they projected experiences onto news actors. The LB respondents referred to specific individuals who had been mentioned in the news texts, mainly through embedded Tweets.

[8.9] 'I can only imagine it's just absolutely so **terrifying** for (.) eh (.) and they're probably thinking what is being done to help us (.) which is obviously very like for them they'll be you know (.) they'll be there thinking they won't (.) they will be in like unknown (.) they'll be in a state of not knowing what is going to happen and just sort of hoping that some- well something is gonna happen to help these people (.) yes <u>so</u> it's very **scary**' (A15)

[8.10] 'I think like me now (.) obviously it's maybe (.) **shocked** (.) and you think about the people and about their families but after this then I'd just carry on with what I was doing so when I'm reading it (.) impact emotionally but then afterwards I would just carry on doing what I was gonna do' (A21)

Text Box 8.4 Negative Quality evaluations by TONA respondents on personal experiences of news actors

Respondent A15 stated in example 8.9 that the event was 'scary', which they seemed to connect to projected personal experience of the news actors in the reported events using

the causal conjunction 'so' (underlined). The respondent did not refer to a specific point in the TONA nor did the TONA provide any information about the news actors' thoughts and mental or emotional states. Respondent A15 said they 'can only imagine' and used high epistemic modality to personalise the event: 'they will be in like unknown' and 'they'll be in a state of not knowing what is going to happen'. In example 8.10, respondent A21 also linked negative Quality, 'shocked', with personal experiences of news actors as they stated they would 'think about the people and their families'. Although the respondent did not refer to any specific people, the use of the definite article 'the' preceding 'people' suggests that the respondent was referring to the news actors affected by the news event.

Text box 8.5 contains examples of how LB respondents used personal experiences of news actors to justify negative Quality.

<div style="border:1px solid black; padding:10px;">

[8.11] 'this I think like you know having sources in the area especially civilians like you know the Gaza resident I think seeing his tweets is (.) a pretty **terrifying** like you know breaking my home is shaking right now because of Israeli bombing' (LB12)

[8.12] 'I think all videos do give like (.) our emotive (.) emotive response (.) either because you're seeing like these children in this horrible area that had to be their homes eh (.) so it is **saddening**' (LB16)

[8.13] 'I remember there was one guy from New Zealand I think it said (.) who's here doing eh (.) sports scholarship maybe (.) and he'd only been there two weeks eh (.) so (.) yeah it's pretty **horrendous** (1) eh (.) so he (.) there was his account he'd given he was running away with another boy and (.) the other boy he was running with was shot so that's pretty **traumatic**' (LB22)

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Text Box 8.5 Negative Quality evaluations by LB respondents on personal experiences of news actors

Each respondent referred to the use of different voices in the LB in their evaluations. In example 8.11, respondent LB12 referred to the tweets of one specific 'Gaza resident' which caused them to evaluate the reported news event as 'terrifying'. Respondent LB16 in example 8.12 referred to the videos of children in the affected area and linking those videos to their

evaluation of the news event as 'saddening'. Both respondents referred specifically to the embedded media in the LBs. Respondent LB12 referred to the tweets and respondent LB16 referred to the videos. Both negative Quality instances also functioned as invoked Affect. However, as each of the respondents ascribed the affective experience to the news event, the Affect is only invoked and cannot be treated as a certain affective experience by the respondents. In example 8.13, respondent LB22 spoke about a news participant from New Zealand and his account of the shooting. This account was presented as a direct quotation in the LB, which the respondent referred to as 'his account'. They recounted specific details from the quotation: 'he was running away with another boy' and that the student was 'here doing sports scholarship'. The respondent mixed direct speech markers 'here' with indirect speech marker 'there' further into the quotation: 'he'd only been there for two weeks', showing blurring of repetition from the news text and the respondent's own recounting.

I interpret these types of evaluations as evaluations related to the news value personalisation. The evaluations of the news events made by the respondents suggest a connection between the personal experiences of news actors (LB respondents), or the perceived experiences of news actors (TONA respondents), and the use of negative Quality by the respondents. Bednarek and Caple (2017: 88) state that the news value personalisation occurs when 'the [news] event is discursively constructed as having a personal or 'human' face (involving non-elite actors, including eyewitnesses)'. They (2017: 89) add that personalisation can also be constructed by reference to 'emotional experiences' of 'ordinary news actors'. In this data, the respondents constructed the experiences of ordinary news actors. The experiences were constructed with reference to specific individuals from the LBs by the LB respondents and constructed without reference to the news texts by TONA respondents. This suggests that news values are not only constructed within news texts (Bednarek & Caple 2017) but readers in their evaluations of news events may also construct them. These constructions can draw on individual experiences presented in the LBs or they can be constructed through projections of experiences onto news actors in case of the TONA

respondents. Therefore this suggests that readers can evaluate news events based, perhaps unconsciously, on news values.

8.2.4 Summary

The respondents used Quality to evaluate affective characteristics of the news events. Negative Quality was used most often throughout the news event evaluations, meaning that the respondents' evaluations of the news events were primarily negative. This can be expected as both news events concerned events containing high death tolls. The TONA respondents and the LB respondents both used negative Quality when they evaluated the number of people affected by the news events. I interpreted this as linked to the news events' impact news value. This was consistent across both news formats and both news events. The respondents who read about the Oregon shooting also used negative Quality when they evaluated the consistency of mass shootings in the USA. Both TONA respondents and LB respondents negatively evaluated how common these types of news events were, and linked these reoccurrences to superlative negative Quality. I interpreted this as an evaluation of the news events' consonance news value. This was again consistent across both news formats, but it was not found to be present in the evaluations of the Gaza conflict.

A distinction was found in how TONA respondents and LB respondents evaluated the personal experiences of news actors using negative Quality. Both groups of respondents evaluated personalised aspects of the news events using negative Quality. However, the TONA respondents referred to groups of news actors or projected Appraisal onto news actors, while LB respondents referred to specific individuals mentioned in the LBs. These references by LB respondents were made primarily to embedded external voices such as Tweets, videos and direct quotes. These evaluations also account for the quantitative difference in the use of negative Quality, as LB respondents evaluated social media while TONA respondents did not have access to embedded social media. These evaluations suggest a link between negative Quality evaluations of news events and the construction of the personalisation news value.

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Evaluations from both groups of respondents can be interpreted in this way, with the LB respondents referring to specific individuals involved in the news events.

8.3 Impact

Impact is the second subcategory of Reaction, the category within Appreciation that contains evaluations of affective characteristics of entities. Positive Impact is defined in Martin and White's (2005: 56) Appraisal framework as something that is 'interesting' and 'captivating'. Negative Impact on the other hand is something that is 'boring' or 'predictable' (Martin & White 2005: 56). If respondents evaluated the news event as for example 'interesting', 'shocking' or 'real', this was classed positive Impact, comparable to Martin and White's (2005: 56) examples such as 'lively' and 'moving'. These evaluations show that the respondents were engaged in the news event and that it was 'grabbing' their attention. If respondents evaluated the news event as 'boring' or 'not interesting', this was categorised as negative Impact, as respondents were not engaged by the news events.

8.3.1 Frequencies of Impact

Positive Impact was the second most used category in the evaluations of the news events. Figure 8.4 shows the normalised frequencies of Impact.
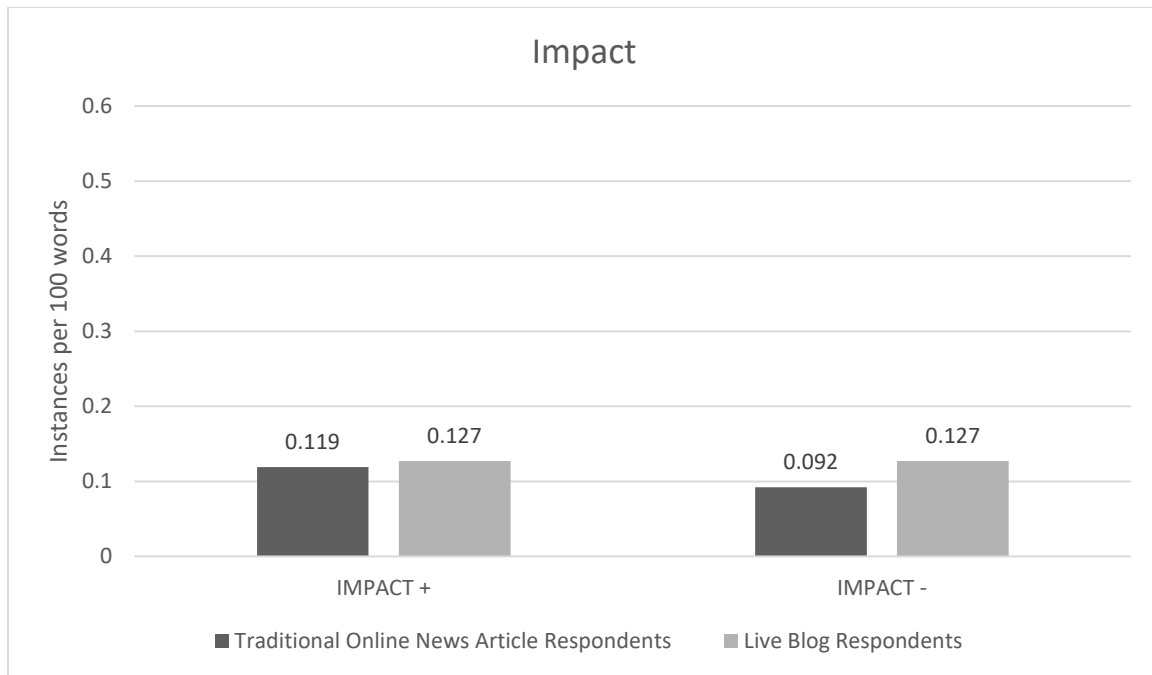
Figure 8.4 Instances of Impact per 100 words in TONA and LB respondents' interviews

Both groups of respondents used a similar amount of positive and negative Impact. Also in the raw frequencies there was minimal difference between positive and negative Impact, nor was there a large frequency difference between the use of Impact by TONA respondents and the use of Impact by the LB respondents. These raw frequencies are displayed in table 8.2.

	Positive Impact	Negative Impact
TONA Respondents	22	17
LB Respondents	31	31

Table 8.2 Raw frequencies of Impact in TONA and LB respondents' interviews

The LB respondents used more Impact overall. However this can be due to the fact that the interviews with the LB respondents were longer on average. The normalised differences are minimal as was seen in figure 8.5.

LB and TONA respondents both used negative Impact to evaluate the regularity of the news events. Similar to negative Quality evaluations of personalisation, with positive Impact

the LB respondents evaluated the individual accounts of news actors, while the TONA respondents evaluated the experiences of groups of people. In negative Impact, the LB respondents evaluated the geographical distance between them and the news events, while the TONA respondents focused on an ideational distance perceived between themselves and the news actors. Bednarek and Caple (2017: 56) refer to the construction of distance in news texts as proximity, and differentiate between geographical proximity, discussed by the LB respondents, and cultural proximity, closer to what was discussed by the TONA respondents. However, where Bednarek and Caple (2017) focus on the cultural differences between the audience and the news actors, the TONA respondents focused their Impact evaluations more on emotional closeness to the news actors.

8.3.2 Similarities in Impact

Respondents used negative Impact similarly. Both the TONA respondents and the LB respondents used negative Impact to evaluate the regularity of the news events. This suggests a perceived lack of unexpectedness by respondents, which creates less newsworthiness. I consider this to be different from the news value consonance, as an increase in consonance would create more newsworthiness and therefore positive Impact evaluations. As respondents evaluated the consistency of conflicts and mass shootings negatively, I argue that this should be considered as a lack of unexpectedness, decreasing the newsworthiness of the news events.

[8.14] 'I **don't know if it's shocking** because it has happened before and like like frequently (.) I think they're (.) probably thinking (.) oh I don't know like it's happening again' (A26)

[8.15] 'I don't think I heard about it (.) but (.) eh (.) I mean it's **not exactly surprising** maybe I did but I (.) because there are so many it's not (.) particularly surprising it doesn't stand out as one in my mind particularly (.) but (.) eh (.) I mean yeah it's always sad to hear but (1) it is quite common occurrence there' (A24)

[8.16] 'it's one of the things you see quite often (.) yeah (.) so it's kind of eh (.) in that sense almost a **typical** (.) piece of news (.) and they're almost I thought that (2) it kind of because we give the numbers (.) you **almost kind of skip** the numbers because you've seen them so many times eh (.) so for me the twitter things really kind of stood out (.) more' (LB13)

Text Box 8.6 Instances of Negative Impact in evaluations of the lack of novelty

In example 8.14, respondent A26 used inscribed negative Impact to evaluate the event. They stated that they didn't 'know if it's shocking'. In example 8.15, respondent A24 made a similar statement as they evaluated the news event as 'not exactly surprising'. They explicitly stated that while the news event was new to them, they were not surprised as the news event was a 'common occurrence' in the USA. Both respondents linked the lack of surprise and shock to the regularity of the news event. As they had seen similar events before, the reported news event was evaluated with negative Impact, as it was no longer engaging to them. In example 8.16, respondent LB13 made a similar connection with negative Impact. The respondent stated that it was a 'typical' news event and said that they almost did not read any of the statistics in the LB as they had seen them before for other news events. These examples of negative Impact seemed to project a lack of unexpectedness in the reported news event. Bednarek and Caple (2017) make no suggestions about the lack of the news value unexpectedness decreasing a news events' newsworthiness, the evaluations made by these respondents suggest that the lack of this news value decreased the Impact of the news event and thereby its newsworthiness.

8.3.3 Differences in Impact

Respondents used positive Impact primarily to evaluate the experiences of news actors in the reported news events. However, similar to negative Quality, while TONA respondents focused their evaluations on the experiences of general groups of news actors (examples 8.14 and 8.15), LB respondents focused their evaluations on the experiences of specific individual news actors (examples 8.16 and 8.17).

[8.17] 'I don't know like people are dying on doorsteps and (.) it's just really sad like (3) it is kinda disgusting to think that's why I'm going back - I might turn back into a pacifist (.) it's just it's horrible (.) they - we - they just must be so scared like (2) it's **incomparable**' (A13)

[8.18] 'well obviously it'd be (.) **big impact** on the close community' (A21)

[8.19] 'I'd say this article represents it pretty well eh (.) especially by including tweets of civilians involved and like you know hearing about the imagery eh (.) like you know hearing about the like imagery and the human impact eh (.) so I'd say this article is really is really good for demonstrating the **emotional impact** that eh (.) that Gaza like you know has had on these people and the **personal impact**' (LB12)

[8.20] 'there was that Twitter there were a few tweets from one of the students she was just like oh my god there's someone shooting in school (.) which is (.) **I just you know imagine** seeing that in your twitter feed **you wouldn't believe it** would you (.) eh (1) yeah (.) it's **crazy**' (LB22)

Text Box 8.7 Instances of positive Impact and personalisation of news events

In example 8.17, respondent A13 talked about 'people' who were 'dying on doorsteps', referring to a specific report in the news text. The respondent also projected emotions onto the news actors, stating that 'they must be so scared'. They linked this projection of the news actors through the use of 'like' with the evaluation that the news event is 'incomparable'. This is positive Impact as it suggests that the news event is more remarkable than any other news event. Remarkability is one of Martin and White's (2005: 56) suggested lexical instances of positive Impact. Respondent A21 in example 8.18 made a similar evaluation. They stated that the news event would 'obviously' have a 'big impact on the close community'. The use of 'big

impact' evaluated the effects of the news event. This has been categorised as positive Impact as it invokes an affective response within the community to this news event. Both respondents A13 and A21 did not specify individual news actors in their evaluations. Instead, respondent A13 referred to 'people' and respondent A21 referred to the 'community'.

This is a distinct difference from the positive Impact evaluations made by the LB respondents. In examples 8.19 and 8.20 both respondents referred to the Tweets from news actors that were embedded in the news texts. Respondent LB12 made a similar evaluation to respondent A21 as they evaluated the news event as having an 'emotional impact'. The respondent specifically referred to the affective impact of the news event, making this an evaluation that should be categorised as Impact. Respondent LB22 invoked a positive Impact evaluation. They stated that if the Tweets found in the LB would appear in their own Twitter timeline, they 'wouldn't believe it'.

These examples demonstrate how respondents evaluated the personalised aspects of the news events. Both groups of respondent used positive Impact to evaluate the experiences of news actors. This suggests that the inclusion of news actors in reported news events could increase respondents' use of positive Impact and their perception of the news events' unexpectedness and personalisation. For TONA respondents, this was concentrated on general experiences of news actors. For LB respondents, this included specific experiences from news actors, and Tweets that appeared to be directly from news actors within the news events. This is a similar distinction as was found in the use of negative Quality. I interpret this as a consistency in the effects of individual reports from news actors in LBs, which increases the emphasis on the personalisation news value and thereby the effect of personalisation on readers. It also seemed to increase the respondents' use of Reaction in their evaluations of the news events, with LB respondents using .791 instances of Reaction per 100 words and TONA respondents using .588 instances of Reaction per 100 words.

Secondly, both groups of respondents used negative Impact to evaluate the proximity of the news event. However, each group of respondents referred to a different type of

proximity. TONA respondents evaluated the news event as emotionally distant as opposed to geographically distant. LB respondents evaluated the news event as geographically distanced. These types of evaluations are exemplified in text box 8.8.

[8.21] 'I want to do (.) want to know more about this but it's upsetting to know that that's happening you **feel so distant** from it (.) which again we shouldn't we should be doing what we can (.) but I don't have not really sure what there is to do' (A13)

[8.22] 'it will affect people they'll feel empathy and sympathy you know (.) eh (1) but I think because it's not directly related to us (.) we don't really have shootings in the UK (.) in schools (.) or (.) colleges campuses whatever (.) eh (1) in that sense **I don't think it will**' (LB21)

Text Box 8.8 Instances of Negative Impact evaluations of proximity

In example 8.21, respondent A13 did not use inscribed negative Impact evaluation but I argue that the statement 'you feel so distant from it' is invoked negative Impact. The feeling of distance suggests a lack of engagement from the respondent with the news event. It is comparable to evaluations such as 'uninviting', which Martin and White (2005: 56) state is part of negative Impact. By using the verb 'feel', this implies that the 'distance' is a psychological or emotional distance felt by the respondent as opposed to a geographical distance. In addition, the respondent did not refer to any geographical distance, as opposed to LB respondents.

In example 8.22, respondent LB21 referred specifically to this geographical distance as a reason for negative Impact. The respondent stated that the news event 'will affect people' but concludes through reference to the different countries that they 'don't think it will' affect them. As opposed to the feeling of distance described by respondent A13, this respondent specifically mentioned the United Kingdom as a separate country from the United States. This focused the evaluation on the geographical distance more so than the psychological distance. Nan (2007: 491) found that social or emotional distance can be decreased with the inclusion of 'concrete, detailed, and contextualised terms'. As the LBs contained more details and Tweets directly from news actors, this could have affected the proximity evaluations. LB

respondents did not negatively evaluate any emotional distance, as opposed to TONA respondents who did comment on this.

8.3.4 Summary

Respondents used positive Impact to evaluate experiences of news actors in the reported news events. TONA respondents evaluated the experiences of general groups of news actors. These experiences were evaluated as engaging and interesting to the respondents. LB respondents evaluated the experiences of individual news actors, with references to pictures and Tweets that were included in the LBs. These embedded media were evaluated positively as increasing the remarkability of the news events. This can be interpreted through news value analysis. The news value personalisation increases the newsworthiness of news events. In the evaluations analysed here, personalisation occurred in two ways: by reference to groups of news actors and by reference to individual news actors. Respondents linked both types of personalisation to positive Impact. This suggests that any specific information about news actors and their experiences may increase the news events' newsworthiness and its effect on respondents' Reaction.

This conclusion is also applicable to the respondents' use of negative Impact in their evaluations of proximity. While the TONA respondents negatively evaluated the social proximity, LB respondents negatively evaluated the geographical proximity. The direct access to news actors through Tweets and pictures in LBs may result in a closer social proximity perceived by the LB respondents (Cohen, Adoni & Bantz 1990; Nan 2007). However, both groups of respondents commented on the lack of proximity, which in both cases was linked to negative Impact. This suggests that the news value proximity may be constructed by the respondents as having an influence on their evaluations of the news event. Finally, all respondents linked the lack of novelty to negative Impact. This suggests that unexpectedness is an important news value in constructing news events that respondents evaluate as engaging.

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8.4 Balance

Balance and Complexity form Composition, the second subcategory of Appreciation. Composition relates to 'textual organisation' and 'our view of order' (Martin & White 2005: 57). Balance concentrates on the coherence of a text while Complexity concentrates on the ease or difficulty of understanding and following a text. Martin and White's (2005: 56) examples of positive Balance include 'harmonious', 'consistent' and 'proportioned' and their examples of negative Balance include 'irregular', 'disorganised' and 'contradictory'. While Martin and White (2005: 57) posed a link between Composition and textual organisation, my approach to Composition focuses on the aspect of Composition that Hommerberg and Don (2015: 167) elaborate on: "Composition is indicative of a perceptual, but not necessarily Affect-related, experience'. For Hommerberg and Don (2015) whose research focuses on evaluations of wines, Composition contains evaluations of the acidity level of wine (Balance), the ripeness of wine (Maturity) and the bouquet of wine (Complexity). It is important to determine how the evaluated subject can be defined in terms of Balance before being able to identify the lexical items carrying the evaluation.

Composition of news events can be evaluated by analysing the construction of news events in news texts, or in this case, in readers' evaluations of the news events. News events are always constructed using evaluative language (in various forms). This is because news producers have to present news events as newsworthy in order to justify their reporting. This newsworthiness is constructed through the use of news values. Considering that Composition evaluations do not contain references to emotive language (Martin & White 2005: 57; Hommerberg & Don 2015: 167), the news values that are expressed with references to emotive language can be eliminated from possible Composition news values: negativity, personalisation and impact (which were primarily found in negative Quality evaluations). This leaves the following news values: eliteness, consonance and unexpectedness. Eliteness

refers to the inclusion of elite persons or countries in the news event, but no respondent made implicit or explicit reference to this news value.

Consonance, without affective evaluations, maps onto Martin and White's (2005: 56) definitions of Balance. Bell (1991: 157) defines consonance as the news event's 'compatibility with preconceptions about the social group or nation from which the news actors come'. Bednarek and Caple (2012: 41) include any preconceptions held by readers about the events themselves, for instance the preconception that mass shootings are common in the USA. Martin and White's (2005: 56) idea of how well the evaluated subject 'hangs together' is then realized as how well the reported news event fits together with preconceptions of such events, including preconceptions about the involved country and news actors.

News events may also be constructed as having negative Balance as they do not fit with the readers' preconceptions. This is evaluated under novelty (Bell 1991; Bednarek & Caple 2012), though the newer term unexpectedness (Bednarek & Caple 2017) is more applicable as news events may not be novel while still being unexpected. This news value is constructed through comparisons and 'evaluations of unexpectedness' (Bednarek & Caple 2017: 80). As discussed in the analysis of negative Impact, this can include affective responses such as 'shocking', which are categorized as positive Impact. Negative Balance may contain evaluations of how this news event is different from previous news events through the use of comparatives, superlatives, or intensified lexis indicating a news event which does not fit preconceptions but without the affective evaluation of negative Reaction.

8.4.1 Frequencies of Balance

Figure 8.5 shows the normalised frequencies of Balance in the interviews with the TONA respondents and the LB respondents.

Figure 8.5 Instances of Balance per 100 words in interviews with TONA respondents and LB respondents

There were no instances of positive Balance by neither the TONA respondents nor the LB respondents. There was also limited use of negative Balance, with only a minor difference in frequency between the TONA respondents and the LB respondents. All instances of Balance were found in interviews with respondents who had read about the Gaza conflict. This can also be seen in the raw frequencies depicted in table 8.3.

	Positive Balance	Negative Balance
TONA Respondents	0	4
LB Respondents	0	11

Table 8.3 Raw frequencies of Balance in interviews with TONA respondents and LB respondents

There was a difference in the frequency of Balance use of .023 instances per 100 words in favour of the LB respondents. In raw frequency, this was a difference of five instances. Additionally, TONA and LB respondents used negative Balance similarly when analysed qualitatively.

8.4.2 Negative Balance

Both the TONA respondents and the LB respondents used negative Balance to evaluate the relationship between the reported news events and their expectations of such news events.

[8.23] 'I think I would be aware that it is sort of (.) it's just an aspect of what has happened and **it shouldn't be taken to be reflective** of the whole conflict' (A14)

[8.24] 'it seems that there's conflict between (2) two groups (.) like in the Gaza strip the Palestinians and the Israelis and it seems that (.) it**'s escalated** to a point where (.) lots of citizens are dying' (A12)

[8.25] 'if (3) the militants are obviously defending (.) trying to defend their power over the (.) of Gaza and the (.) the Israelis are trying to (.) uproot them so it's probably all **turmoil** and (1) yeah (.) it's just a way (.) just focusing on how to survive rather than (2) rather than worrying about what's for dinner' (LB14)

[8.26] 'it was kind of like a timeline of eh (.) **one of the kind of deadliest** days (.) from (1) the previous summer right (3) from Gaza' (LB13)

Text Box 8.9 Balance by TONA respondents and LB respondents

In example 8.23, respondent A14 stated that the reported day should not be 'taken as reflective of the whole conflict'. They evaluated the specific day reported on in the TONA as potentially lacking consonance with the Gaza conflict and that the reported day might only be portraying one aspect of the conflict. More commonly, respondents evaluated the reported news event as 'escalating', 'chaotic' or causing 'turmoil'. In example 8.24, respondent A12 evaluated the news event by saying it had 'escalated'. They explained that the escalation had moved from a conflict without casualties to one where 'lots of citizens' were dying. The death toll has been shown to relate to the respondents' evaluations in my analysis of negative Quality (see section 7.2.2). Here, the respondent referred to the death toll as an indication of the development of the news event from a non-lethal conflict to one that requires attention. This newsworthy aspect of the news event made it stand apart from other events. Similarly, in

example 8.25, respondent LB14 evaluated the reported news event as chaotic and being in 'turmoil', which can be characteristic of an escalating conflict that is hard to control. The use of the noun 'turmoil' indicated that the event had become unpredictable and imbalanced, and therefore had lower consonance relating to negative Balance. The respondent also related this unpredictability of the news event to how news actors may be focused on survival as opposed to 'what's for dinner'. By juxtaposing these two thoughts, the respondent amplified the severity of the conflict, showing its exceptional nature compared to everyday life.

Finally, in example 8.26, respondent LB13 stated that the reported news event was 'the deadliest day of the conflict', quoted directly from the article. The use of the superlative 'deadliest' functions as negative Balance, as the respondent evaluated the reported day as more deadly than any other day in the Gaza conflict. When interpreting this from a news value perspective, this can be considered the news value superlativeness (Bednarek & Caple 2017). This news value is focused on the intensity and scope of a news event. Bednarek and Caple (2017: 80) specifically indicate that the use of superlatives and comparatives help construct this news value.

8.4.3 Summary

This section analysed the use of Balance by respondents in their evaluations of the reported news events. While LB respondents' interviews contained more than double the instances of Balance found in TONA respondents' interviews (11 instances versus 4 instances), neither group of respondents used much Balance. Therefore, while the difference in frequency appears to be large, due to the limited number of instances it is difficult to draw any conclusions based on frequency alone.

The analysis of the instances of Balance showed that the news values consonance and superlativeness may be used to analyse evaluations of reported news events. As consonance is concerned with how an event fits with preconceptions about similar events, the

host country and the news actors (Bednarek & Caple 2012: 41), using the analysis of consonance can help find how the Balance of the news event in comparison to those same three aspects is evaluated. Other Balance evaluations could be interpreted as constructing the superlativeness of the reported news event. The use of comparatives and superlatives indicates a comparison between the evaluated news event and other events. It suggests that the evaluated news event is more newsworthy as it stands out from other events.

8.5 Complexity

Complexity is the second part of Composition. It is concerned with evaluations of the complexity of the evaluated object. Positive Complexity includes positively loaded evaluations such as: 'simple', 'precise', 'intricate', 'rich' (Martin & White 2005: 56). Negative Complexity on the other hand can be used to appraise the evaluated object as difficult to comprehend. This is reflected in Martin and White's (2005: 56) lexical suggestions for negative Complexity: 'extravagant', 'woolly', 'plain', 'simplistic'. These examples of Complexity can be related to one of Thompson and Hunston's (2000) parameters of evaluation: the parameter of in/comprehensibility. Bednarek & Caple (2012: 141-2) explain how this parameter may appear in news texts:

> Evaluations of In/comprehensibility in news discourse have to do with the degree to which journalists, news actors or sources evaluate entities, situations, states-of-affair, or statements in stories as being within or outside the grasp of their understanding.

Bednarek and Caple (2012: 141-2) focus on how this parameter may appear in news texts, similar to Bell's (1991) unambiguity news value, stating that this evaluation may be made by 'journalists, news actors or sources'. The evaluation is made by reference to the speaker's understanding of the evaluated object. They elaborate on this initial definition by including 'concepts of vagueness and explicitness: what is vague is less easily comprehensible; what is explicit is more easily comprehensible' and 'questions of ease and difficulty' of

understanding (Bednarek & Caple 2012: 142). This explanation is most applicable to the evaluations analysed here. However, while Bednarek and Caple (2012; 2017) focused on the construction of newsworthiness in news texts, my analysis focuses on evaluations made by respondents to the news texts. The object of the evaluations remains the same: the reported news events or aspects of the reported news events. As the news value unambiguity shows considerable overlap with Complexity, I interpret lexical terms of Complexity focused on understanding such as 'difficult' or 'simple' as Complexity evaluations of the news events. This excludes lexical terms such as 'intricate' and 'rich' that are more applicable to news texts than news events.

8.5.1 Frequencies of Complexity

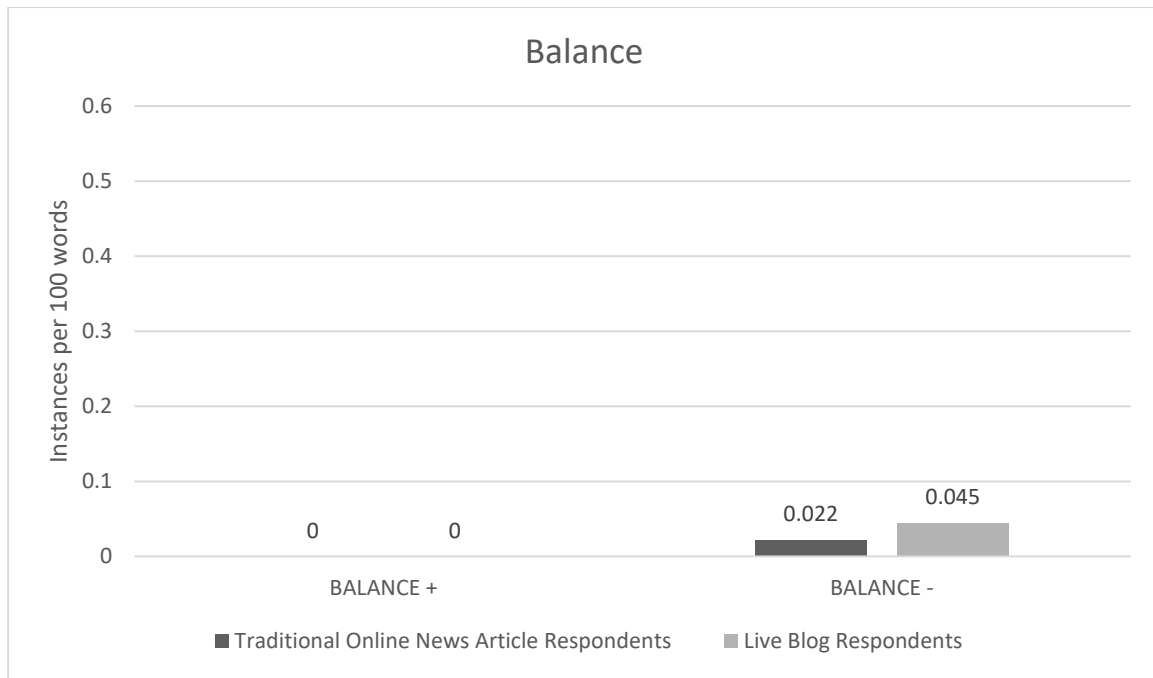Figure 8.6 shows the normalised frequencies of Complexity in the interviews with the TONA respondents and the LB respondents. All instances of Complexity were only found in interviews with respondents who had read about the Gaza conflict.
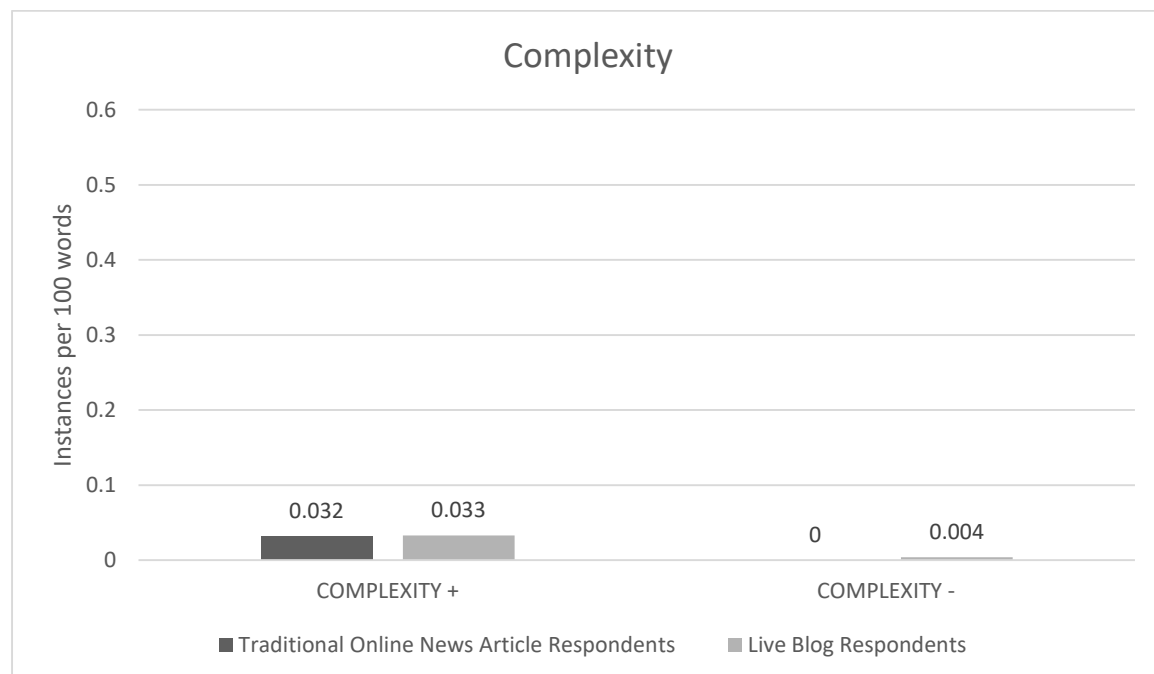
Figure 8.6 Instances of Complexity per 100 words in interviews with TONA respondents and LB respondents

Positive Complexity was used once across all interviews by LB respondent LB12 who stated: 'now the conflict's just escalating due to one **simple** failed tactical manoeuvre'. They evaluated the bombing of Gaza as 'simple'. While this evaluation is interesting in itself, it is a singular instance positive Complexity and will therefore not be analysed further. The raw frequencies of Complexity are depicted in table 8.4.

	Positive Complexity	Negative Complexity
TONA Respondents	0	6
LB Respondents	1	8

Table 8.4 Raw frequencies of Complexity in interviews with TONA respondents and LB respondents

Negative Complexity was used six times by TONA respondents and eight times by LB respondents. This resulted in almost the same normalised frequency of negative Complexity across the text types presented in figure 8.6.

8.5.2 Negative Complexity

Both the TONA respondents and the LB respondents focused their evaluations on their own

lack of understanding of the history of the conflict.

[8.27] 'these two groups of people are killing each other (.) eh (1) however I don't know it doesn't really go into the **complicated** reasons so I guess maybe the agenda is not (.) is not to confuse us but to sort of not inform us of the whole picture what's going on' (A12)

[8.28] 'I find the issue is a **difficult** one because I feel like I don't know enough about it to kind of have a (.) that much of a valid informed opinion about it eh (.) obviously with that kinda thing when it's civilians it's horrible' (A14)

[8.29] 'it's obviously really really bad (.) eh (.) yeah it's (.) it's shocking that like (.) the wor- (.) **it's hard to like determine** like which side to be on cause of like Hamas (.) eh (.) and then the Israeli soldiers but obviously the Israeli soldiers it said in the news that they'd lost 18 soldiers but the Palestinians had lost 425 people so yeah it's just (.) it's just a really bad situation' (LB15)

[8.30] 'to me it's just kind of another conflict that's happening in the world but I don't know (.) that area that well so and the history of it so it's **harder to understand**' (LB16)

Text Box 8.10 Negative Complexity by TONA respondents and LB respondents

In example 8.27, respondent A12 stated that the article did not go into any of the

'complicated reasons' for the conflict. While the subject of the sentence is the news text: '**it**

does not go into', the use of 'complicated' evaluates the reasons for the existence of the

conflict. The use of the adjective 'complicated' signals a difficulty of understanding by the

respondent of the history of the conflict. In example 8.28, respondent A14 evaluated the

conflict as 'difficult', stating that there was not enough information available for them to form

an opinion. The respondent commented that they did not have enough knowledge to be able

to make a judgement about the conflict. This perceived need for more information invokes an

evaluation of negative Complexity about the conflict: more information is needed before the

respondent can make a judgement.

In example 8.29, respondent LB15 made a similar statement, saying that they could not determine 'which side to be on' because both sides had suffered losses. The respondent did not refer to lack of historical knowledge on the conflict, but instead suggested that as both sides had suffered losses, it is 'hard' to choose one over the other. This invokes a lack of contextual knowledge, as the respondent was only able to refer to the death tolls on both sides without referring to any other context. Finally in example 8.30, respondent LB16 evaluated the conflict as 'harder to understand' because of a perceived lack of knowledge on the history of the conflict. The respondent explicitly stated they have difficulty understanding the conflict. This should therefore all be categorised as negative Complexity.

8.5.3 Summary of Complexity

Each of these respondents implied a lack of contextual information in the news texts. These evaluations suggest that the reported news event was ambiguous as it might not be representative of 'the whole picture' (respondent A12) and as there might not be enough information present (respondents A14, LB15, LB16) to understand the conflict. While these evaluations in part place blame with the news texts for a lack of information provided, the object of the Complexity evaluations is the news event. The respondents refer to the 'reasons', 'the issue', 'the conflict' and 'the sides' as objects of evaluation, not the news text. However, there is an invoked negative Complexity evaluation of the presentation of the news events in the news texts as respondents experience the news event through the news texts. These news texts could have provided more contextual information about the news event to present it more clearly.

8.6 Valuation

Valuation is the final sub-category of Appreciation. It is concerned with evaluations about the 'ideational worth' of an entity (Martin & White 2005: 57). This worth 'relates to established

norms and social worth' (Hommerberg & Don 2016: 167). Examples of Valuation include 'important', 'relevant', 'meaningless' (Kaltenbacher 2006: 272). The field of the evaluated object determines the lexis related to Valuation, which in this case is news. As Valuation is concerned with the 'worth' and importance of an object, I follow Kaltenbacher's (2006) and Hommerberg and Don's (2015) definition of importance. If respondents evaluated the news events as important or worthy of attention, this has been categorised as Valuation.

The frequency of Valuation as used by the readers of the LBs and the TONAs were skewed as one of the questions in the interview was 'do you think this news event is important'. This resulted in five out of ten TONA respondents and nine out of ten LB respondents evaluating the news event as 'important'. Most of these respondents repeated the wording from the question resulting in their use of 'important'. As Lampropoulou and Myers (2013) explain, the repetition of words used in the question can function differently depending on the co-text within the answer. It can signal confirmation of the question or corrections of the question (Bolden 2009). Repetition of words from the question may also indicate alignment or disalignment with the question posed (Lampropoulou & Myers 2013). Alignment occurs when respondents answered the question by repeating part of the phrasing and continuing with an explanation of their evaluation. This form of repetition is also of consideration in DuBois' (2014) dialogic syntax, where he argues for the repetition of phrases to be considered as alignment. Instances that follow these arguments have been categorised as positive Valuation. Disalignment occurs when respondents repeated part of the question and rephrased it negatively. This can been categorised as negative Valuation. If there was limited uptake (Lampropoulou & Myers 2013) and the respondent did not elaborate on their 'important' evaluation, this was not categorised as Valuation. Lampropoulou and Myers (2013) showed that lack of uptake may indicate disalignment as respondents are merely repeating parts of the question to satisfy the interviewer. For example if a respondent answered 'yes, it is important' without elaboration, this was not categorised as Valuation.

8.6.1 Frequencies of Valuation

Figure 8.7 shows the normalised frequencies of Valuation.
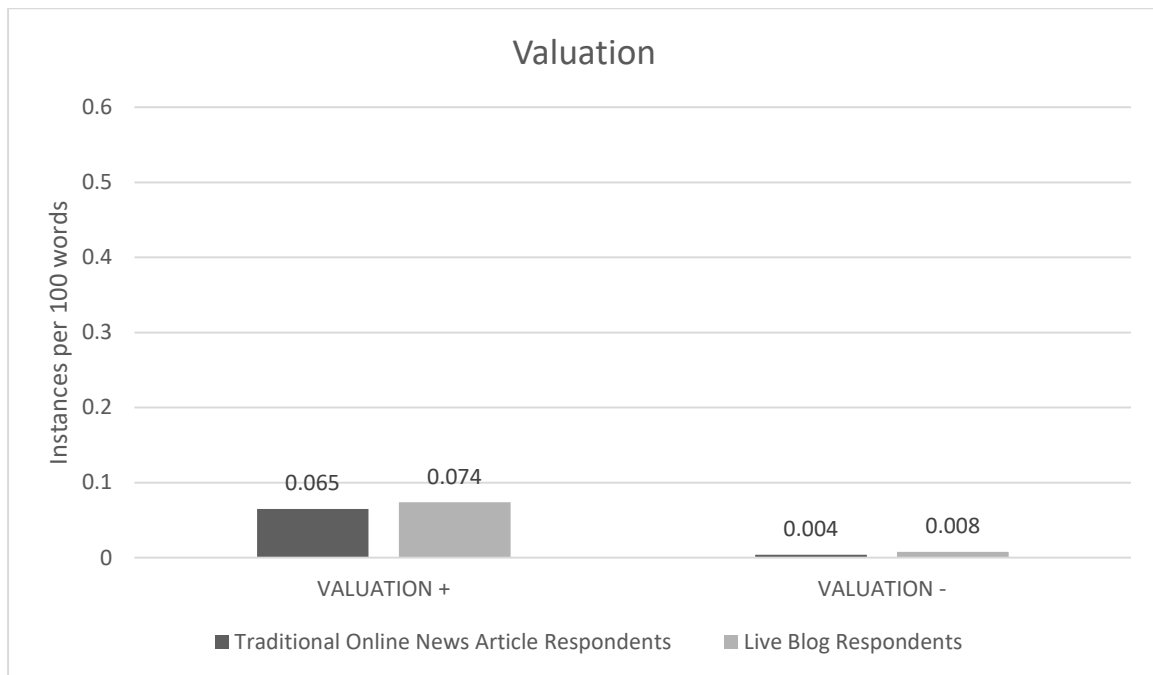
Figure 8.7 Instances of Valuation per 100 words in interviews with TONA respondents and LB respondents

There was no large difference between the use of Valuation by the TONA respondents and the LB respondents as can be seen in figure 7.7. Both groups of respondents used positive Valuation more often than negative Valuation, though both categories were used minimally. Table 8.5 shows the raw frequencies of Valuation.

	Positive Complexity	Negative Complexity
TONA Respondents	12	1
LB Respondents	18	2

Table 8.5 Raw frequencies of Valuation in interviews with TONA respondents and LB respondents

8.6.2 Positive Valuation

TONA respondents and LB respondents used positive Valuation to evaluate almost the same aspects of the news event. Both groups of respondents used positive Valuation to evaluate the news events' contribution to their own knowledge and the news value impact. LB respondents also used Valuation, negative and positive, to evaluate the effect of the geographical distance between them and the news event. Finally, one TONA respondents linked their negative Valuation evaluations with their own lack of knowledge about the news events. However as only one TONA respondent made this evaluation, it will not be discussed further as it does not contribute to the overall argument.

8.6.2.1 Positive Valuation similarities

As stated above, both groups of respondents linked their positive Valuation evaluations with the knowledge they gained from reading about the news event.

[8.31] 'I think it is **really important** because like I said it's (.) you don't know about things like these things like this until you read and I always avoid news like this' (A13)

[8.32] 'I suppose it's just - it just suddenly gives a sense of perspective really and I think that perspective is **really important** to like know about - to see what's happening across the globe in order to develop one's own knowledge (.) and have a sense of gratitude for living in such an environment that so like unaffe- like so peaceful' (LB12)

Text Box 8.11 Instances of positive Valuation and knowledge

In example 8.31, respondent A13 explained the positive Valuation by stating that the news was important because if it were not reported, the respondent would not know about it. Other respondents made similar comments: the event happened and should be reported on so audiences can learn about world events. This links the importance of the news event with the primary function of news media: to inform audiences, blurring the evaluation of the news events with evaluation of the news texts. Respondent LB12 made a similar evaluation in

example 8.32. They stated that this news event is 'really important' because it put their own life in perspective. They also referenced the need to develop 'one's own knowledge' about current events, again referring to the news media's function to inform.

Respondents also linked positive Valuation with the news value impact.

[8.33] 'people are being murdered (.) so (.) it's (.) very **important** that (1) eh (.) it is talked about' (A26)

[8.34] 'this does seem **quite important** like (.) the fact that so many lives were lost from the Palestinians and obviously the Israeli soldiers as well I think it's a really important thing to report on' (LB15)

Text Box 8.12 Instances of positive Valuation and the news value impact

In example 8.33, respondent A26 linked positive Valuation to the immediate effect of the shooting through the use of the causal conjunction 'so': 'people are being murdered'. This aspect of the news event could be analysed as constructing the news value impact, as it covers the consequences of the shooting. Additionally, this clause constructed the news values superlativeness and negativity. Specifically the use of the term 'murdered' as opposed to 'killed' or 'died' increases both news values as it suggests malicious intent on the part of one human being to take the life of others. Respondent LB15 also linked positive Valuation to the number of lives lost in the conflict. In each example the respondents evaluated parts of the news events that can be interpreted as constructing the news value of impact, and secondarily superlativeness and negativity.

8.6.2.2 Positive and Negative Valuation differences

Two LB respondents also used positive Valuation to evaluate the geographical distance between news actors and the news events. This is especially interesting as one LB respondent also used geographical distance to explain their negative Valuation focusing on the distance

between themselves and the news event. As both positive and negative Valuation contained similar explanations, they will be discussed together.

[8.35] 'I think it's **quite important** for people to (1) not necessarily worldwide but definitely in the United States I think it's definitely important that people hear about (.) what's going on so that people can get behind (.) new law enforcements' (LB21)

[8.36] 'I think (.) people should read it (.) eh (5) but I suppose maybe it's (.) like much **more important** if you live in like the local area as well (.) this is a completely different country' (LB24)

[8.37] 'I actually haven't heard of this conflict before I'd say it was less im (.) **less important** eh (.) and obviously it's like further away from home than some other conflicts like in Europe so (.) maybe **not as important** in that way' (LB16)

Text Box 8.13 Instances of positive Valuation and negative Valuation by LB respondents

In examples 8.35 and 8.36 both respondents stated that the news event, the college shooting in Oregon, may be more important for people living in the USA. I interpret this as a link to the news value proximity, which dictates that news events are more newsworthy if they happen near the audience. This can be either geographical proximity or cultural proximity. In this case, all respondents refer specifically to geographical proximity.

In example 8.37, respondent LB16 linked their negative Valuation with geographical proximity. They stated that the Gaza conflict may be less important to Europeans as it is 'further away from home'. Respondent LB16 draws on the same connection between geographical proximity and newsworthiness as respondents LB21 and LB24. All evaluations suggested a link between newsworthiness and geographical proximity.

8.6.3 Summary of Valuation

The evaluations of the news events' newsworthiness revealed a link between the respondents' perceptions of newsworthiness and two news values: impact and proximity. If the news events

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appeared closer to the respondents, it would be more newsworthy. For instance, respondents stated that the Oregon shooting may be more important for Americans than for Europeans. Secondly, the number of people affected by the news events, in this case the number of people who died, influenced the newsworthiness. An event was evaluated as more newsworthy based on the number of deaths and non-lethal victims.

In addition, respondents evaluated the news events as newsworthy because if something happened in the world, people should be aware of it. This indicates a connection between perceived newsworthiness and the news media's task of informing audiences. The respondents did not elaborate on whether they should be aware of everything that happens in the world or if they trust the news media's selection of events. The evaluations made by the respondents seemed to indicate some trust in the news media in their selection process as none of the respondents questioned the newsworthiness of the news events.

8.7 Summary

This chapter answered research question two: how did readers evaluate the reported news events in TONAs as compared to LBs? My analysis has shown that there were minimal differences between the TONA respondents and the LB respondents and both groups of respondents constructed news values in their evaluations. The TONA respondents and the LB respondents both used negative Quality most often to evaluate the news events. The second most frequently used categories were positive and negative Impact. This means that most evaluations made by the respondents were Reaction, evaluations that were 'related to affection' (Martin & White 2005: 57). From the TONA respondents' evaluations, 81 per cent were Reaction. From the LB respondents' evaluations, 82 per cent were Reaction. Though the respondents rarely used Affect, they ascribed affective qualities to the news events. This could be due to the design of this research, with one-on-one interviews leading respondents to perhaps feel uncomfortable expressing personal feelings. It could also be due to the design of the Appraisal framework as other Appreciation categories are less applicable to objects that

are not texts. For instance the Composition category, containing Balance and Composition, is primarily aimed towards the evaluation of textual structure. Though efforts have been made to adapt this to different evaluated objects such as wine (Hommerberg & Don 2015), the basis remains focused on textual order. This makes these categories harder to adapt and identify in evaluations of objects, which are not texts such as the news events.

However, this adaptation may not be necessary as this chapter has shown. By analysing the Reaction evaluations of respondents and interpreting them through news value analysis, I identified different Reaction evaluations based on different aspects of the news events. Respondents referred to news events' impact, consonance, personalisation and cultural proximity in their Reaction evaluations. The aspects of the news events that respondents linked Reaction to, such as quotations or Tweets, constructed these news values. I therefore suggest that these four news values may influence readers' affective evaluations of news events.

Chapter 9 ENGAGEMENT IN READER RESPONSE TO NEWS EVENTS

9.0 Introduction

This chapter analyses the use of Engagement in the respondents' evaluations of the news events. It complements the analysis of Chapter Eight, which focused on the Attitudinal Appraisal used by the respondents in their news event evaluations. This current chapter contributes to answering research question three: how did readers evaluate the reported news events in TONAs as compared to LBs? This chapter therefore focuses on evaluations of the news event; the underlying plot, not the news texts; the manner of presentation. By investigating the occurrences of Engagement, I analyse how the respondents presented their evaluations of these news events and how respondents presented the news events without Attitudinal Appraisal. This analysis aims to investigate how readers took stances towards the news events and if there was a difference between LB respondents and TONA respondents in stance-taking when the respondents evaluated the news events.

As discussed in Chapter Three, quantitative research has shown that news readers rated LBs as more trustworthy than TONAs (Thurman & Newman 2013). If correct, this higher level of trust may also be reflected in the respondents' use of Engagement when evaluating the news events, on the grounds that higher trust may be realised by higher expressions of certainty when the respondents relayed information that they learnt about via the news texts. Of course, they may also show certainty about distrust, which is analysed through the co-occurrence of Valuation and Engagement. Contrastingly, the LBs contained more sources and were presented more Heteroglossically, as shown in Chapter Five. The LB respondents therefore had access to a wider variety of sources than the TONAs, which could result in a higher use of Heteroglossia when describing and evaluating the news events.

Similar to Chapter Seven, I analysed all Engagement instances for the content that co-occurred with each instance. This content was categorised according to Attitudinal Appraisal category, or, if no Attitudinal Appraisal co-occurred, by content topic. Both groups of

respondents primarily discussed this content: (1) news event descriptions, (2) Reaction (Attitudinal Appraisal), and (3) projection of emotions onto news actors. 'Descriptions' of the news event include any discussion of the news event without Attitudinal Appraisal. It should be noted that while I will not use the term 'evaluation' for these instances to avoid confusion with Attitudinal evaluations, these descriptions were in some sense evaluative of the news event. The respondents used different Engagement categories in descriptions of the news events, and therefore took different stances. The content category 'projection of emotions' contains a combination of Affect and Appreciation presented as experienced by news actors. While the Appreciation could also have been categorised as Reaction, there was an interesting comparison to be made in the amount of agency attributed to news actors in affective responses. The instances of Appreciation that were categorised as projection of emotions were presented as affective evaluations experienced by news actors through an adjunct, such as 'it's shocking *to them*'. These instances are comparable to instances of Affect presented as experienced by news actors, such as 'they're shocked'. Both instances are Monoglossic as the affective responses are presented as the only perspective but there is a difference in relative agency. The responses containing Appreciation ascribed relatively less agency to the news actors as opposed to the Affect which ascribed the emotion directly to the news actors. More examples will be discussed in section 9.2.4. The final section of this chapter, section 9.5, provides a quantitative comparison of how each of these topics was most commonly presented and discusses the implications further.

9.1 Frequencies of Engagement

Figure 9.1 shows the normalised frequencies of Monoglossia and Heteroglossia in the discussions and evaluations of the news events. Both the TONA respondents and the LB respondents used Heteroglossia more often than Monoglossia when evaluating the news events.
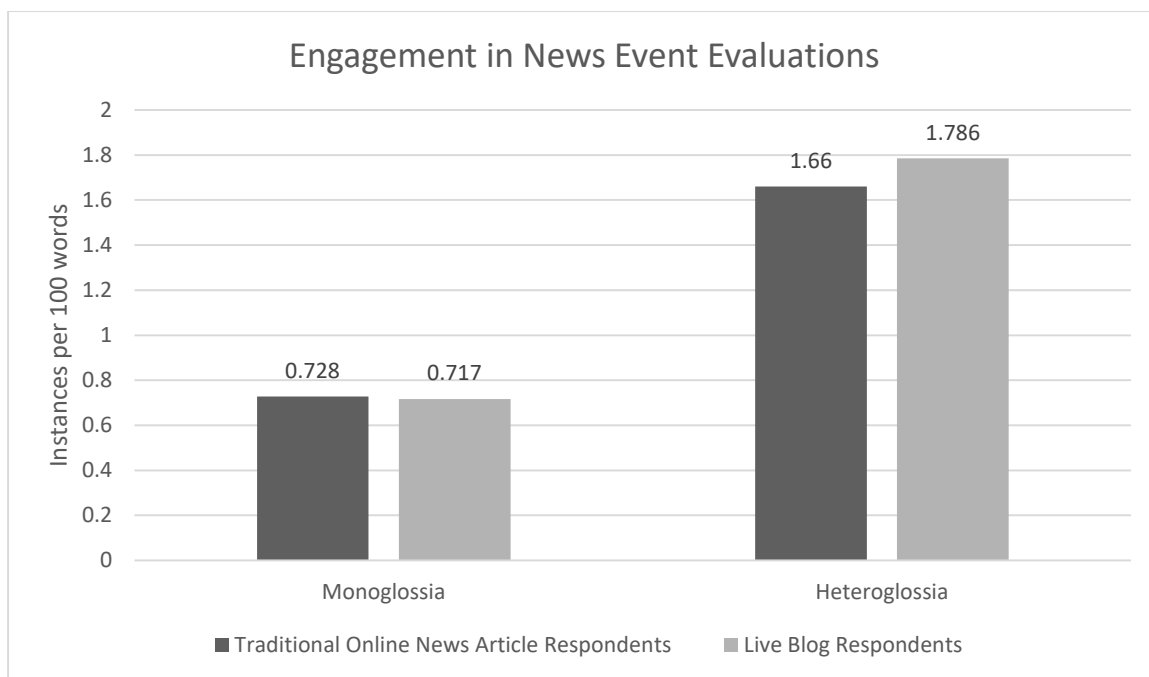
Figure 9.1 Normalised Frequencies of Engagement in Evaluations of the News Events

Both groups of respondents presented their evaluations of the news events with reference to outside voices (Heteroglossia) more than twice as often as without reference to other perspectives (Monoglossia). The LB respondents used slightly more Heteroglossia than the TONA respondents, while the latter used more normalised Monoglossia than the former. The difference in Heteroglossia is consistent with the raw frequencies, while the difference in the normalised frequencies of Monoglossia was too small to also be found in the raw frequencies.

	Monoglossia	Heteroglossia
TONA Respondents	135	308
LB Respondents	175	436

Table 9.1 Raw Frequencies of Engagement in Evaluations of the News Events

The respondents also showed similar quantitative use of the two main sub-categories of Heteroglossia: Contract and Expand.

245
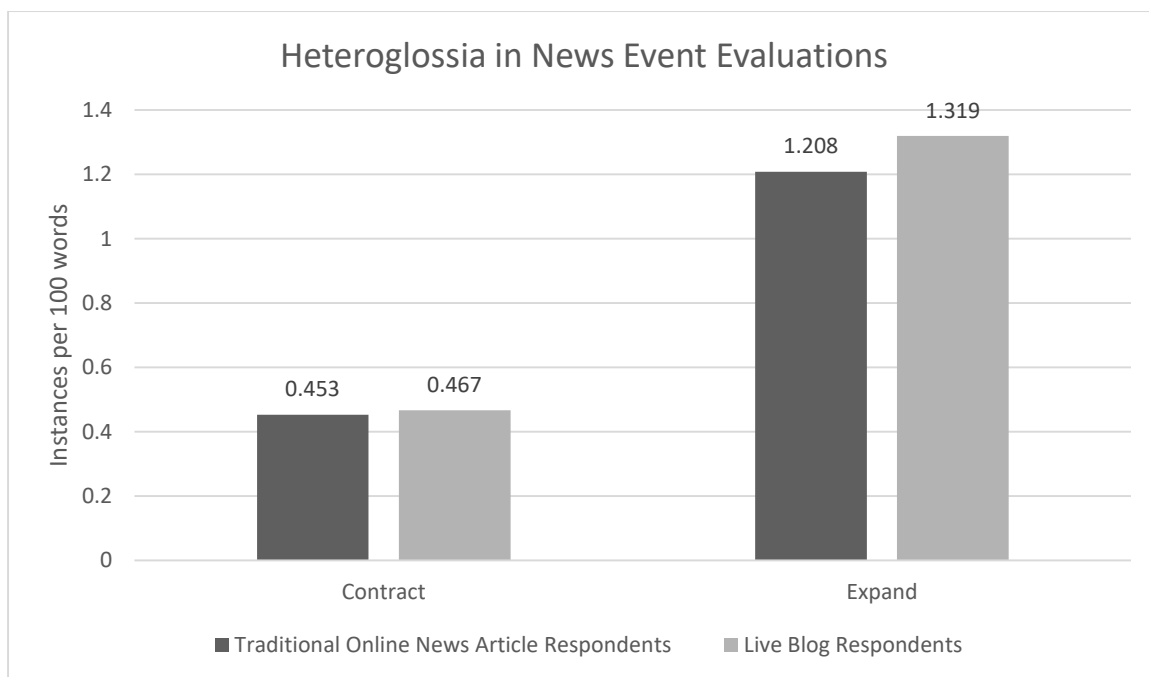
Figure 9.2 Normalised Frequencies of Heteroglossia in Engagement of News Events

The LB respondents used Contraction and Expansion more often than the TONA respondents, as the LB respondents used more Heteroglossia overall. The difference between the LB respondents and the TONA respondents was larger for Expansion than Contraction. This can also be seen in the raw frequencies.

	Contract	Expand
TONA Respondents	84	224
LB Respondents	114	322

Table 9.2 Raw Frequencies of Heteroglossia in Engagement of News Events

The LBs contained more sources than the TONAs, which could explain the slightly higher frequencies of Heteroglossia, and Expansion, in the evaluations of the news events by the LB respondents. The LB respondents had more sources to refer to as they evaluated the news events, while the TONA respondents had fewer sources to which they could attribute their evaluations. The attributed sources will be discussed in more detail in sections 9.3 and 9.4 which analyse the use of Contraction and Expansion respectively.

9.2 Monoglossia

Monoglossia can be used by speakers to align themselves and show solidarity with the original speaker (Du Bois 2014) as the original statement is not questioned. In this research, I consider the original speakers with whom respondents may align themselves through Monoglossia to be the news texts. This includes the sources presented in the news texts. As Monoglossia does not include direct references to sources, I am unable to consider the sources separately from the news texts in this section. This separation was possible in the analysis of Heteroglossia (sections 9.3 and 9.4).

9.2.1 Frequencies of Monoglossia

Figure 9.3 presents the normalised frequencies of Monoglossia in the evaluations and discussions of the news events by the respondents.
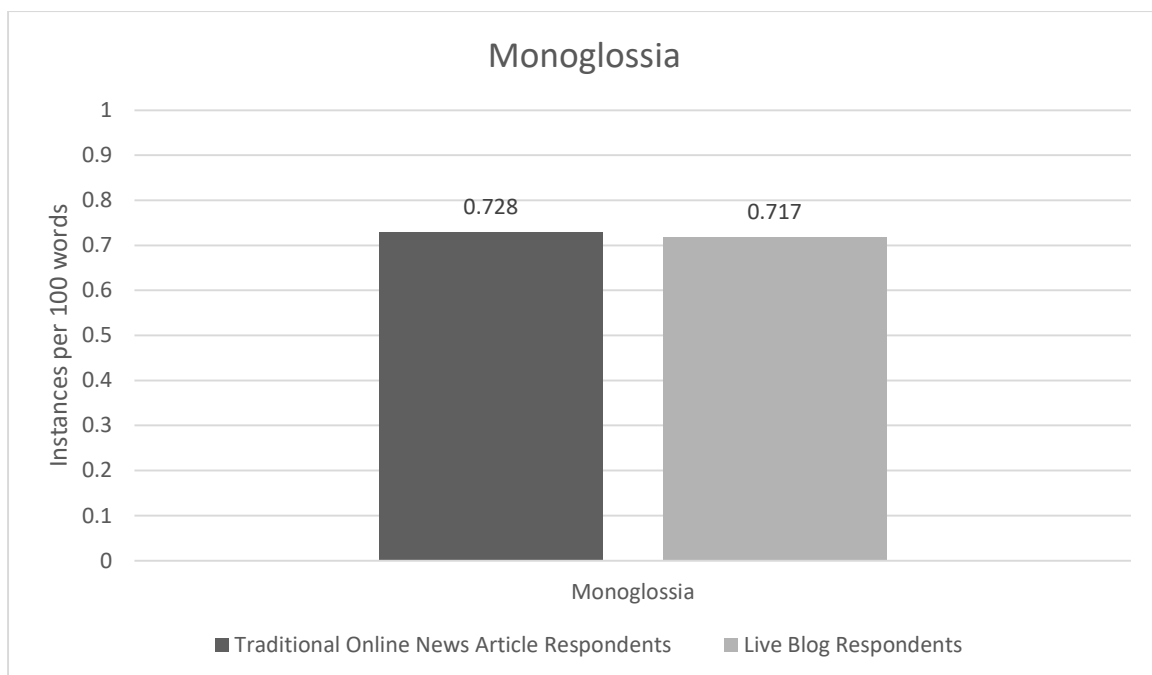
Figure 9.3 Normalised Frequencies of Monoglossia in News Event Evaluations

The TONA respondents and the LB respondents used a similar amount of Monoglossia when the frequencies were normalised. In raw frequencies, there was a difference of 40 instances as can be seen in table 9.3.

	Monoglossia
TONA Respondents	135
LB Respondents	175

Table 9.3 Raw Frequencies of Monoglossia in News Event Evaluations

For both groups of respondents, Monoglossia co-occurred with the three key topics discussed in the introduction: (1) descriptions of the news event (section 9.2.2), (2) Reaction evaluations (section 9.2.3), and (3) projection of emotions onto news actors (section 9.2.4). However, Monoglossia also co-occurred in lower frequencies with other topics. Table 9.4 includes all content that was presented Monoglossically by the respondents. It contains the Attitudinal category or topic, the raw frequencies of Monoglossic statements on that content and the percentage out of the total number of Monoglossic instances. For instance the LB respondents used 89 instances of Monoglossia to describe the news events, which accounted for 51 percent of all instances of Monoglossia used by the LB respondents.

	TONA Respondents		LB Respondents	
	Raw Freq.	Percentage	Raw Freq.	Percentage
Descriptions of News Event	86	64 %	106	61 %
Quality -	17	13 %	33	19 %
Impact -	8	6 %	6	3 %
Impact +	6	4 %	9	5 %
Projecting Emotion	7	5 %	13	7 %
Balance	4	3 %	4	2 %

Valuation	5	4 %	3	2 %
Personal knowledge	1	1 %	0	0
Complexity	1	1 %	1	1 %
Total	135	101 %	175	100 %

Table 9.4 Content Co-Occurring with Monoglossia

Both the TONA respondents and the LB respondents used Monoglossia for the same content in similar frequencies such as Balance which co-occurred four times with Monoglossia in interviews with both groups of respondents. This shows a consistency in Monoglossia despite of the format of the news texts. The following sections analyse the use of Monoglossia in the first three topic instances as these were used most commonly by both groups of respondents.

9.2.2 Descriptions of the News Events

Both the TONA respondents and the LB respondents took Monoglossic stances in descriptions of the news events. Sixty-five per cent of Monoglossic statements made by TONA respondents described the news event, while 51 per cent of Monoglossic instances by the LB respondents contained descriptions of the news events. The occurrence of Monoglossia shows that the respondents did not present any other perspectives, neither explicitly nor implicitly. These instances all contained information from the news texts but were presented by the respondents without reference to the news texts. The respondents instead presented the information as generally agreed upon through the use of Monoglossia.

[9.1] 'this conflict there **was** a truce between Israel and Palestinians and the Palestinians and then (.) there**'s been** conflict and it**'s** mainly **affecting** the civilians' (A13)

[9.2] 'there**'s** like another shooting in America in a school a 26 year old eh (.) and a teacher **got shot**' (A22)

[9.3] 'in Gaza there**'s** a lot of conflict between Israelis (1) in Israel between Palestinians (.) and (2) eh yeah (.) and civilians **are trying to flee** the area' (LB16)

[9.4] 'it **was** the shooting (.) most recent shooting (.) shooting in America (.) eh ten people **killed** seven **injured** (.) three critically (.) eh (1) there**'s been** (.) lots of reactions across America' (LB22)

Text Box 9.1 Instances of Monoglossia and Descriptions of the News Events

There was no use of modality, mental verbs, negation, external voices, or any form of overt agreeing with the story presented by the respondents. These Monoglossic presentations of the reported news events were mainly in response to the interviewer's question: 'can you tell me about the news you just read'. While these Monoglossic answers could have been influenced by the question, as respondents perhaps felt more confident in talking about 'what they just read', not all respondents used Monoglossia to describe the news event. Some respondents responded Heteroglossically, as will be discussed further in section 8.2.2 and 8.2.3. It is still important to note that most respondents described the news event Monoglossically as it reinforces the idea of one singular perspective of what happened.

9.2.3 Reaction

Monoglossia also co-occurred with Reaction (Quality and Impact) evaluations of the reported news events, focusing on the affective characteristics of the news events (White 2003). The use of Monoglossia in these cases was slightly more prevalent among the LB respondents than the TONA respondents, suggesting that the LB respondents presented affective evaluations as objective or as general consensus more often than TONA respondents.

Twenty-seven per cent of Monoglossia used by TONA respondents and 31 per cent of Monoglossia used by LB respondents contained Reaction evaluations.

[9.5] 'they'll be in a state of not knowing what is going to happen and just sort of hoping that some- well something is gonna happen to help these people (.) yes so **it's very scary**' (A15)

[9.6] '**it is really shocking** you don't think (.) that kinda thing would still be going on now' (A21)

[9.7] '**it's sad** how far people are so willing to take eh to take their beliefs' (LB12)

[9.8] 'it is mentions a lot of times in the article about like this is (.) the 45th one this year in America (.) school shooting and the 142nd one since (.) Sandy Hook **which is pretty (.) appalling**' (LB24)

Text Box 9.2 Monoglossia in Reaction evaluations of reported news events

The respondents used similar constructions to evaluate the affective characteristics of the reported news events using Reaction. Each respondent used a clause structure of subject, verb, complement, with in some cases, as examples 9.5, 9.6 and 9.8, the addition of adverbs used as pre-modifications of the adjectives to increase the Force of their stance (Martin & White 2005: 141). Although the Graduation markers in the examples were stronger for the TONA respondents, overall there was a similar use of Graduation in the Monoglossic Reaction evaluations. Most common was the use of 'quite', followed by 'pretty'. This showed hedging by the respondents in the strength of their evaluations (Hyland 2015).

The news texts, as also shown in Chapter Five, presented evaluation in quotations, among other means (Tuchman 1978; White 1997; 2003; Wahl-Jorgenson 2012). By presenting evaluation in separate Appraisal satellites (White 1997; 2003), the journalists aim to maintain 'objectivity'. My analysis shows that when the respondents retell these reports, they remediate this evaluation pattern to Attributions. The respondents presented the evaluation Monoglossically as opposed to the news texts which presented the evaluations as Attributions. This change may be due to the fact that the respondents were not bound by the

same professional standards that journalists are expected to adhere to when reporting news events.

9.2.4 Projecting Emotions onto news actors

Eight per cent of the Monoglossia used by TONA respondents and nine per cent of Monoglossia used by LB respondents co-occurred with the projection of emotions onto news actors. Although there were fewer instances of Monoglossia and projection than Reaction evaluations and news event descriptions, there was an interesting distinction between the TONA respondents and the LB respondents. There was a difference in the extent to which the news actors were represented with degrees of agency, as interpreted by the lexico-grammatical choices made by the TONA and LB respondents.

[9.9] 'I don't know anything about the area or not really but (.) it sounds like it's a fairly like (.) not particularly large town so **it's (.) quite shocking to them** that this happened that such a thing happened in their own (.) eh (.) city or town' (A24)

[9.10] '**it's just turning their lives upside down** they like (.) they've had (.) they've said that civilians have just had to flee (.) the area and it's (.) the (.) innocent civilians that are getting killed (.) eh (1) yeah well **they're not happy about it** basically' (LB16)

[9.11] 'it just kind of becomes a statistic in such a big country and there's such a small fraction of people that have lost people that **they kind of push it off (.) pretend like it doesn't happen**' (LB23)

Text Box 9.3: Monoglossia in projection of emotions onto news actors

Example 9.9 shows an instance of a TONA respondent presenting the news actors passively. The respondent used the structure of 'it', verb, complement, followed by an adjunct, establishing the emotion as a response of the news participant. The first bolded instance in example 9.10 also shows this construction, again using a construction that places the agency with the unidentified 'it', creating Appreciation which is presented as experienced by the news actors.

On the other hand, example 9.11 and the second Monoglossic instance in example 9.10 show how the LB respondents presented the news actors as the active subjects in their Monoglossic statements. I differentiate these instances from Heteroglossic Acknowledgement as the respondents did not use reporting verbs, nor are the affective responses presented as one possible perspective. Instead they presented the emotional or mental state of the news actors. In example 9.10 respondent LB16 stated: 'they're not happy about it'. Respondent LB16 projected the unhappiness directly onto the news actors without signs of doubt or modality. This projection of evaluation onto news participants is a form of embedded evaluation (Labov 1972: 372-3) and can also be seen as a narrative report of emotion (Leech & Short 2007). By introducing the evaluation as an emotion of the third person, in this case the news participants, the respondents attributed the agency of the senser to the news actors without interference of other perspectives. This use of Monoglossia for affective evaluations is similar to Wahl-Jorgenson's (2012: 130) 'outsourcing of emotional labour'. This was identified in news texts where journalists used quotations for Appraisal purposes, attempting to present themselves as objective and detached. My analysis shows that the respondents seem to do this too, the LB respondents using mainly Affect and the TONA respondents using mainly Reaction, though they do not outsource all Appraisal as will be show in sections 9.3 and 9.4.

9.2.5 Summary of Monoglossia

Monoglossia was most commonly used in combination with the description of the news events, Reaction of the reported news events and the projection of emotions onto news actors. For the description of the news events, this suggests a certain level of trust from the respondents in the news texts as they relayed the information they had read in the news texts without alluding to alternative perspectives. In terms of Reaction, the use of Monoglossic stances presented the evaluations as bare assertions. The evaluative adjectives were presented as accepted characteristics of the reported news events. These presentations appeared across

all respondents, suggesting a consistency in how Reaction evaluations of news events are presented.

The projection of emotions was mostly attributed directly to the news actors by the LB respondents with Affect, while the TONA respondents presented the news actors more passively with Reaction. This distinction between active and passive news actors was also present in the news texts. The TONAs presented the news actors more passively and indirectly, while the LBs contained more direct access to the news actors through social media presenting them more actively.

9.3 Contractions in Evaluations of the News Events

The following section will discuss the use of dialogic Contraction by the respondents in their discussions and evaluations of the news events. Heteroglossia contains two types of Engagement: Contraction and Expansion. Dialogic Contraction 'acts to challenge, fend off or restrict the scope of' differing value positions (Martin & White 2005: 102). This can happen in a positive manner through Proclamations such as reporting verbs 'show' and 'demonstrate', or it can occur in a negative manner through Disclamations such as through negation or Denial. Contractions are also used to create a comparison between implicit standards and expectations and the evaluation of the news event. Through the use of comparators (Labov 1972), respondents evaluated the news events as having met these expectations (Proclamations) or not having met these expectations (Disclamations). The analysis of Contraction can therefore be used to identify these unspoken standards and expectations by which the respondents evaluated the news events.

The analysis of Heteroglossia in the respondents' discussions and evaluations of the news events can provide an insight into whether the respondents were open to other value positions (using Expansion) or whether they were committed to one position (using Contraction). A difference between the TONA respondents and the LB respondents might indicate an influence of the news format on the respondents' ability to present different perspectives about the same news event. A similar use of Contraction between the TONA

respondents and the LB respondents might indicate a lack of influence from the news format on the respondents' use of Engagement. Additionally, the analysis of Heteroglossia can provide more information about how the respondents re-purposed the information provided in the news texts: did they question the news texts or did they accept the news texts' perspective as the sole perspective?

LB respondents used more Proclamations for descriptions of the news events, while TONA respondents used more Disclamations for descriptions of the news events. In the case of affective evaluations, including Reaction and the projection of emotions onto news actors, the LB respondents used more Disclamations and the TONA respondents used more Proclamations. This suggests that the TONA respondents evaluated the news events as not meeting implicit expectations, while the LB respondents' use of Proclamations suggests that the news events met their implicit expectations. Affective evaluations showed the opposite. The LB respondents presented affective evaluations through Disclamations as not having met their expectations, while the TONA respondents presented affective evaluations through Proclamations, suggesting that the news events had met their expectations. These results suggest a higher focus on affective evaluations from the LB respondents with higher expectations of emotional characteristics than the TONA respondents seemed to have.

9.3.1 Frequencies of Contraction

Figure 9.4 shows the normalised frequencies of Disclamations and Proclamations as used in the evaluations of the news events. Both groups of respondents used positive Contraction (Proclamations) more often than negative Contraction (Disclamations).
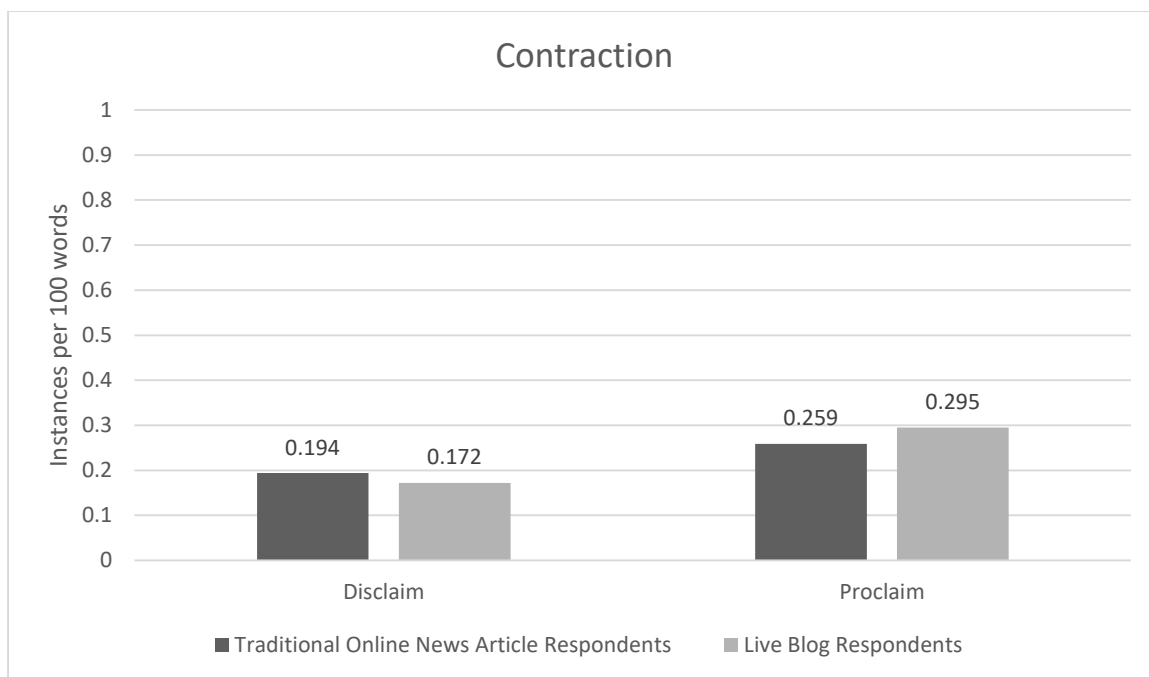
Figure 9.4 Normalised Frequencies of Contraction in News Event Evaluations

The LB respondents were positive slightly more often, using more Proclamations and fewer Disclamations than the TONA respondents, who were negative slightly more often. This distinction was not present in the raw frequencies as can be seen in table 9.5.

	Disclaim	Proclaim
TONA Respondents	36	48
LB Respondents	42	72

Table 9.5 Raw Frequencies of Contraction in News Event Evaluations

9.3.2 Disclaim

Disclamations were used for a variety of topics by both groups of respondents. Both the LB respondents and the TONA respondents used Disclamations primarily for descriptions of the reported news events. Secondly, both groups of respondents used Disclamations for Reaction evaluations. And thirdly, they used Disclamations for the projection of emotions. These topics are the same as the most often found topics in Monoglossic utterances, so it should be noted that each topic was found more frequently presented Monoglossically than it was with

Disclamations. The final section of this chapter, 9.5, will provide numerical detail on how each topic was presented with Engagement.

For Disclamations, table 9.6 presents all content that co-occurred with Disclamations, and includes the raw frequencies and the percentage of total Disclamations.

	TONA Respondents		LB Respondents	
	Raw Freq.	Percentage	Raw Freq.	Percentage
Descriptions of News Event	24	66 %	23	55 %
Reaction -	11	30 %	9	21 %
Projecting Emotion	0	0	8	19 %
Valuation	1	3 %	0	0
Complexity	0	0	1	2 %
Multimedia	0	0	1	2 %
Total	36	99 %	42	99 %

Table 9.6 Content Co-Occurring with Disclamations

9.3.2.1 Description of News Events

The respondents used Contractions to express their lack of knowledge about the reported news events (example 9.12), discuss what did or did not happen during the reported news event (example 9.13) and discuss the lack of confirmation of information concerning the news event (example 9.14).

[9.12] 'obviously with Hamas it's sort of a militant group I **don't** wanna (2) endorse their actions anyway eh (1) I do again (.) I **don't** know probably enough about it the eh Israeli defence force is kind of (.) I **don't** know enough about it to know how much they are (.) a legitimate subset of government or how much they are maybe (.) in themselves eh (.) slightly militant or not I **don't** know enough about the conflict and the history about it really' (A14)

[9.13] 'they can launch an operation and avoided all this **but** by handing it to the mili- the military who prefer to do things more open warfare (2) operations like this just **don't** have the like care to avoid civilians and avoid like eh (2) what's the word eh (3) collateral damage that could've avoided this whole massacre' (LB12)

[9.14] 'there were nine or ten people dead it **wasn't** confirmed by the end of this (.) seven injured (.) people dead included the gunman' (LB25)

Text Box 9.4 Disclamations and Descriptions of News Events

In example 9.12, respondent A14 used Denial to Contract their knowledge about the conflict saying 'I don't know' three times while discussing Hamas. The function of 'I don't know' has received extensive research (Tsui 1991; Beach & Metzger 1997; Scheibman 2000; Baumgarten & House 2010). Tsui (1991) found the lexical bundle to have six pragmatic functions while Beach and Metzger (1997) summarised these six into three pragmatic functions. According to Beach and Metzger (1997), the phrase can be used to indicate uncertainty of the speaker, to delay a response needed from the speaker, or as a method of closing a discussion without committing to a certain viewpoint. In this data, respondent A14 seemed unsure about Hamas and their own knowledge of the conflict. This was also reflected in their use of Denial when talking about endorsing the actions of Hamas: 'I don't wanna endorse'. Their final use of 'I don't know' used the phrase in its third pragmatic function of attempting to close the discussion without committing to a viewpoint (Beach & Metzger 1997).

In example 9.13, respondent LB12 used both Denial, 'don't', and Counter, 'but', while discussing what happened during the news event. They started by stating what the news participants could have done, 'launch an operation', and countered that with what actually happened in their opinion. Several respondents also used Denial to talk about unclear information, as respondent LB25 did in example 2. They said: 'it wasn't confirmed'. While this

was an evaluation of the news event, as 'it' referred to the number of casualties, there was a clear link with the news texts as the confirmation would have come from the text. Respondent LB25 referred to the news text in the same utterance when they stated 'it wasn't confirmed by the end of it'. This second 'it' referred to the news texts, the LB in this case. Finally, in example 9.14, respondent LB25 used Denial to express uncertainty about the exact number of casualties. By using a Denial to state that the news text had 'not confirmed' the exact number, the respondent compared that lack of confirmation to an expected confirmation.

Each respondents' use of Disclamations in the description of the news events functioned as a comparison to an expected state. The respondents used Disclamations to compare their evaluations of the news event and the news event itself to an expected level of knowledge (example 9.12), an expectation of care for citizens (example 9.13) and an expectation from the news text to provide confirmed information (example 9.14).

9.3.2.2 Reaction Evaluations

Both the TONA respondents and the LB respondents also used Disclamations when making Reaction evaluations of the news events.

[9.15] 'it must be absolutely horrific (.) but it (.) at the same time it's you know you **can't** necessarily comprehend if you **haven't** experienced it (1) eh (.) but (.) that's **not** to say it (.) **I'm not** concerned about it 'cause I really am' (A15)

[9.16] 'I think (.) well (.) I **don't** know if it's shocking because it has happened before and like like frequently (.) I think they're (.) probably thinking (.) oh I **don't** know like it's happening again' (A26)

[9.17] 'it's sad **but** kind of (.) it's more sad because it's **not** exactly a unique story (.) so the fact that it kind of (.) I've lost track of who which school you know has been attacked in America like they're listing off all these places (.) in the little (.) in the video and it's kind of like I **didn't** realise it was that many' (LB23)

Text Box 9.5 Disclamations and Reaction Evaluations of the News Events

In examples 9.15 and 9.16, respondents A15 and A26 used Contraction to evaluate the news events' negative Impact. Respondent A15 stated that they 'can't necessarily comprehend' the situation that the news participants were in. Respondent A26 used Contraction similarly to respondent A14 (example 9.12) as they also said: 'I don't know'. In this case, the respondent used the phrase to preface a belief that might not generally be acceptable, that a shooting is not 'shocking'. This function of 'I don't know' is described by Tsui (1991: 618) as 'minimizing of impolite beliefs'. A26 stated that the news event might not have any Impact: 'I don't know if it's shocking', because it had happened many times before. The LB respondents used Disclamations to evaluate the positive Impact of the news events as respondent LB23 did in example 9.17. Respondent LB23 used a Counter construction to intensify the negative Quality by stating: 'it's sad but kind of more sad'. They Countered their initial evaluation of the news event being sad by using the comparative 'more' to intensify negative Quality. These examples were found across both groups of respondents, with both TONA respondents and LB respondents using Disclamations for negative Quality and negative Impact evaluations.

These Disclamations construct a comparison between the Reaction evaluations made by the respondents and an expected Reaction evaluation. For instance, respondent A15 makes this comparison explicit in the last sentence of example 9.15: 'that's not to say I'm not concerned, because I really am'. These evaluations suggest that the respondents had an idea about what an expected affective response was, which they used to mitigate their own responses.

9.3.2.3 Projection of Emotions

Thirdly, and finally, the LB respondents used Disclamations to project emotions onto news actors. Nineteen per cent of Disclamations made by the LB respondents co-occurred with projections, while the TONA respondents did not use Disclamations when projecting emotions. The LB respondents presented their projections as 'unfulfilled expectations' (Pagano 1994),

suggesting an implicit standard for emotional response of news actors that the TONA respondents did not refer to.

[9.18] 'I feel sorry for the Palestinian civilians and I'm (.) I'd say like they're the good like victims in all of this **but** then I suppose the soldiers are only doing what (.) they feel (.) is good for their country like they're doing what they feel is right' (LB15)

[9.19] 'there wasn't much like given on the children other than they were young school children (.) eh a couple of interviews were done with them (.) eh (1) **but** the the general consensus for they were terrified you know eh (.) understandably so' (LB25)

Text Box 9.6 Disclamations and Projection of Emotions onto News Actors

In example 9.18, respondent LB15 compared the emotions of the soldiers to the emotions of the Palestinian civilians. This Contraction seems to function as a 'denial of text-processed information' (Pagano 1994), as the first part of the sentence suggests a comparison between the Palestinian civilians as the 'good victims' and the implied 'bad soldiers'. The use of 'but' constructed a Counter stance where the respondent prevented the interviewer from assuming that that the respondent thought the soldiers were 'bad' as 'they're doing what they feel is right'. This Contraction therefore functioned as a face-saving act where the respondent did not present a statement that appeared as a negative evaluation of the Israeli soldiers. In example 9.19, respondent LB25 also used a Counter construction to refute the assumption that without enough interviews with the children, they could not make an assumption about the children's emotional state. Instead the respondent stated that there was a 'general consensus', which seemingly functions as evidential modality (Palmer 2001) as the 'consensus' is the evidence for the projection of emotions.

The LB respondents used Disclamations more than the TONA respondents when projecting emotions onto news actors. The analysis of the examples suggests that the LB respondents used Disclamations to project emotions onto news actors without appearing to make assumptions. Respondent LB15 used Disclamations to prevent passing judgement on

Israeli soldiers and respondent LB25 used Disclamations to assert a 'general consensus' as evidence for their projection.

9.3.3 Proclaim

Proclamations were used again for similar topics of discussion across both groups. Both groups of respondents used Proclamations primarily for (1) event descriptions, (2) negative Reaction, and (3) positive Reaction. Table 9.7 shows the raw frequencies of Proclamations per topic and the percentage of total Proclamations.

	TONA Respondents		LB Respondents	
	Raw Freq.	Percentage	Raw Freq.	Percentage
Descriptions of News Event	21	44 %	46	64 %
Reaction-	9	19 %	8	11 %
Reaction+	8	17 %	7	10 %
Projecting Emotion	6	13 %	5	7 %
Valuation	4	8 %	6	8 %
Total	48	101 %	72	100 %

Table 9.7 Proclamations and Co-Occurring Content

The LB respondents used Proclamations more commonly for event descriptions than the TONA respondents. The latter used Proclamations more for Attitudinal Appraisal than the LB respondents. This suggests that the evaluations made by the TONA respondents were presented as fulfilled expectations, as opposed to 'unfulfilled expectations' presented through Disclamations (Pagano 1994; Don 2017). LB respondents on the other hand less commonly presented their evaluations as shared between themselves and the interviewer, and instead

used Proclamations to evaluate their expectations of the reported news events. Proclamations

used to describe the news event seemed to function as high epistemic modality (Palmer 2001):

[9.20] 'I've never agreed with war and I think that the fact is (.) affecting people who don't really have any say they can't do anything about it and the U - **obviously** the UN is doing what they can but (.) like it says in the article the UN have something about 50,000 yeah the UN now supplies help to more than 50,000 Palestinians who sought shelter in schools in Palestine' (A13)

[9.21] 'it appears to be in like quite a small community (.) eh and **the fact that** (1) the eh (.) emergency services were there so quickly (.) and everyone kind of around knew about it kind of as soon as it happened' (A25)

[9.22] 'it looks like the whole city is flattened and peo- the fact that people have to wear masks and like looking like they're- and looking like a man's **clearly** injured it shows just how like (.) how far like eh how real this all has- like escalated' (LB12)

[9.23] '**the fact that** the sheriff refuses refused to identify the (.) the gunman when asked about who he was refuses to say his name because he didn't want to acknowledge what like (.) sort of give him publicity' (LB23)

Text Box 9.7: Proclamations by article respondents

Examples 9.20, 9.21, 9.22, and 9.23 all show instances of Proclamations used without

Attitudinal Appraisal. The respondents used Proclamations to express certainty about parts of

the news events by constructing the Proclamations to function as high epistemic modality.

Respondents A25 and LB23 used Pronouncements: 'the fact is'. Respondents A13 and LB12

used Concur: 'obviously' and 'clearly'. These constructions indicate a high level of certainty

about the news events as the respondents presented the events as perspectives that were

shared between themselves and the interviewer (Don 2017). As the respondents had

information about the news events from the news texts, I classify these constructions as

deductive epistemic modality, following Palmer's categorisation (2001). Respondent LB12

used an Affirmation, 'clearly', to discuss a news participant who was injured in the conflict. The

respondent provided evidence for their claim, stating that the news actors were 'clearly injured'

as they could see in the 'imagery', referring to pictures provided in the Gaza LB. Their use of

evidence to support the factuality of the statement can be classified as sensory evidential modality (Palmer 2001), with the visual aspects of the LB functioning as evidence. The LB respondents used Proclamations more often than the TONA respondents to describe the news events. The LB respondents presented their descriptions of the news events more often as an agreed perspective about which they were certain, while the TONA respondents more often used Proclamations for evaluations and projection of emotions.

As was discussed in section 9.3.2.2 and 9.3.2.3, both groups of respondents used Disclamations for Reaction and the LB respondents used Disclamations for the projection of emotions. In Proclamations, the TONA respondents used Disclamations more often for Reaction and projection than the LB respondents.

[9.24] 'I find the issue is a difficult one because I feel like I don't know enough about it to kind of have a (.) that much of a valid informed opinion about it eh (.) **obviously** with that kinda thing when it's civilians it's horrible' (A14)

[9.25] 'they seem to be shocked (1) **obviously** it's one of those things no one is gonna be happy about it' (A21)

[9.26] 'it's **obviously** really really bad (.) eh (.) yeah it's (.) it's shocking that like (.) the wor- (.) it's hard to like determine like which side to be on cause of like Hamas (.) eh (.) and then the Israeli soldiers' (LB15)

Text Box 9.8: Proclamations & Reaction evaluations and Projection of Emotional States

Each example in text box 9.8 shows an instance of Proclamation. Examples 9.24 and 9.26 show instances of Proclamations in combination with negative Quality evaluations. Example 9.25 shows an instance of Proclamation in combination with a projection of an emotion onto news actors, which in this case are unspecified as the respondent referenced 'no one'. Each example shows the use of 'obviously' which was commonly used among the respondents. The adverb functions as an 'appeal to an assumed consensus' (Recski 2005: 14), functioning similarly as Contractions do according to Pagano (1994) and Don (2017). The TONA respondents presented their evaluations and projections more often as shared perspectives than did the LB respondents. The LB respondents on the other hand presented

their projections more commonly as Disclamations, suggesting a shared expectation that was not met in the reported news events.

9.3.4 Summary of Contraction

The use of Contractions functioned similarly to high epistemic modality (Palmer 2001). Both Disclamations and Proclamations were used to present shared expectations and 'assumed consensus' (Recski 2005). Both groups of respondents used Contractions to describe the news event without Attitudinal Appraisal, to evaluate the news event using Reaction and to project emotions onto news actors. This suggests that these three types of content contain some implicit expectations that were either met by the news event and presented by the respondents through Proclamations, or not met by the news event and presented by the respondents through Disclamations.

The descriptions of the news events were presented as related to the information presented in the news texts. Through Disclamations, the respondents discussed the lack of knowledge they had about the news events, even after reading the news texts. This suggests an expected level of information to be presented in the news texts, or an expected level of knowledge that the respondents seemed to assume they had to have before being able to make a judgement about the news events. It therefore appears as if the respondents did not only have expectations of the news events and news media but also of themselves as news readers. A similar result was discussed in Chapter Seven, where respondents showed expectations about how much information should be included in the news texts. TONA respondents presented descriptions of the news event evenly between Disclamations (20 times) and Proclamations (21 times), while the LB respondents presented them more using Proclamations (46 times) than Disclamations (23 times). This suggests that LB respondents presented their perspectives on the news events more as having met shared perspectives than the TONA respondents.

Reaction was presented with both Disclamations and Proclamations by both groups of respondents. The TONA respondents used Proclamations more often in co-occurrence with Reaction than the LB respondents did, which suggests that the former's Attitudinal evaluations were presented as having met expectations more often than the latter's evaluations. Projections of emotions onto news actors showed a similar distinction, with LB respondents using Disclamations most often and TONA respondents using Proclamations most often. This again suggests that the LB respondents referred more often to unmet expectations, which were not explicitly stated, while the TONA respondents appeared more satisfied with the reported news events meeting their evaluative standards.

9.4 Expanding in event discussion

Dialogic Expansion is a type of Engagement that 'actively makes allowances for dialogically alternative positions and voices' (Martin & White 2005: 102). The types of reporting verbs and modality that are categorised as Expansion can also be analysed as being associated with lower levels of certainty and commitment to the statement made, such as 'it seems'. Therefore, when respondents used Expansion in this dataset, this would indicate a lower level of certainty about some aspect of the news events or a lack of alignment with the text, as acknowledgements allow the speaker to attribute the information to another speaker without carrying the burden themselves.

Thurman and Walters (2013) and Thurman and Newman (2014) showed that readers found LBs to be more trustworthy, which according to them was a result of the higher polyvocality of the LBs. Their reasoning was that since more voices were represented confirming the information, the information was more likely to be trusted by the news readers. If this were to be true, it would be expected that the LB respondents in this research used less Expansion, as this indicates lower levels of certainty, and more Contraction than the TONA respondents. However, it could also be possible that the use of Expansion in this data set might not necessarily indicate lower levels of certainty but that this Expansion is merely

mirroring the Heteroglossic nature of the LBs as consisting of a multitude of different voices and perspectives on the news event (Du Bois 2014).

Both groups of respondents used Expansions in co-occurrence with descriptions of the news events, using both Attribution and Entertainment. TONA respondents ascribed 74 per cent of Attributions to the news texts, while the LB respondents ascribed only 54 per cent of Attributions to the news texts. Additionally, the LB respondents attributed more Attitudinal evaluations to news actors than the TONA respondents did. This could have been due to the fact that the LBs included more individual news actors than the TONAs did, giving the LB respondents more access to a wider variety of news actors.

9.4.1 Frequencies of Expansion

Figure 9.5 shows the normalised frequencies of the two main sub-categories of Expansion: Acknowledgement and Entertain.
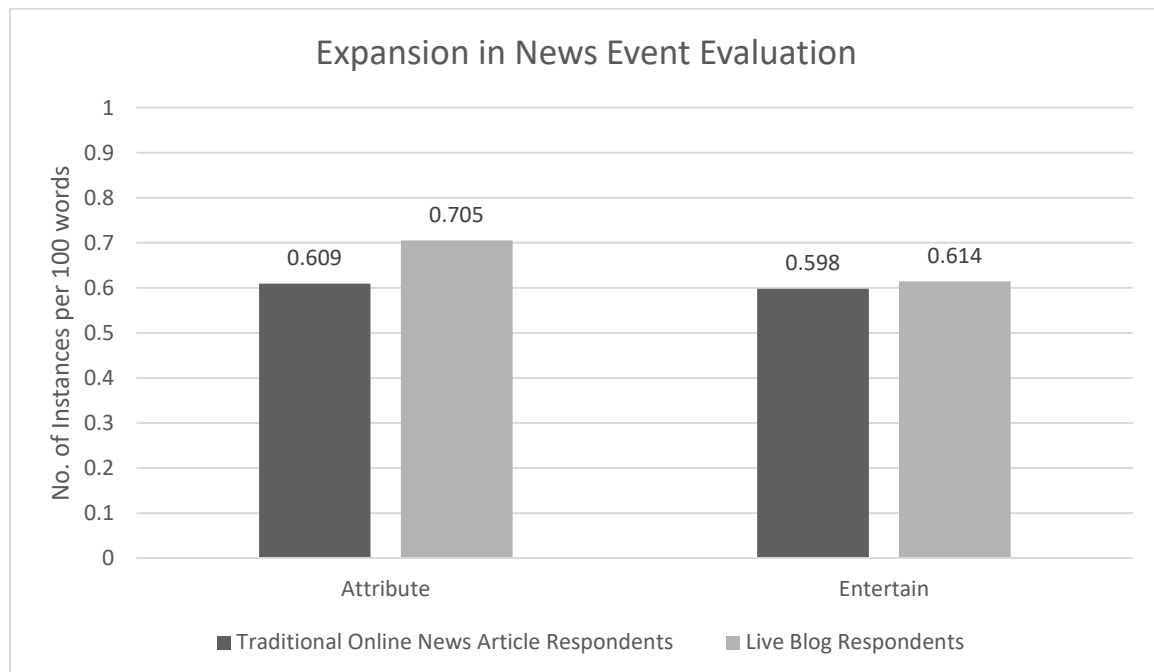
Figure 9.5 Normalised Frequencies of Expansion

The LB respondents used slightly more Acknowledgements than the TONA respondents, while both groups used a similar amount of Entertain. The raw frequencies show a larger difference in both categories as can be seen in table 9.8.

	Attribute	Entertain
TONA Respondents	113	111
LB Respondents	172	150

Table 9.8 Raw Frequencies of Entertain in News Event Evaluations

9.4.2 Attribute

There are two types of Attribution: Acknowledgement and Distancing (Martin & White 2005). There were no instances of Distancing in this data set, therefore this section will solely analyse the use of Acknowledgement by the TONA and LB respondents. Both groups of respondents primarily used Acknowledgement in descriptions of the news event without Attitudinal Appraisal. LB respondents also used 10 per cent of Acknowledgements in Reaction evaluations. Table 9.9 shows all content that co-occurred with Acknowledgements.

	TONA Respondents		LB Respondents	
	Raw Freq.	Percentage	Raw Freq.	Percentage
Descriptions of News Event	107	95 %	145	84 %
Impact +	2	2 %	17	10 %
Impact -	0	0	2	1 %
Quality -	1	1 %	6	3 %
Valuation +	1	1 %	1	1 %
Complexity	1	1 %	0	0
Projecting Emotion	1	1 %	1	1 %
Total	113	101 %	172	100 %

Table 9.9 Content Co-Occurring with Acknowledgements

Acknowledgement was used by all respondents in descriptions of the news events. Acknowledgements co-occurring with positive Impact were primarily found in one interview and were not found throughout the other interviews with LB respondents. While interesting in themselves, they do not contribute to the overall analysis and will therefore not be discussed here.

There was a distinction found in who the statements were Attributed to, which Becker (2011) stated is an important consideration as it determines with whom the speaker aligns themselves. The TONA respondents Attributed their descriptions to the news texts in 73 per cent of Acknowledgements, and Attributed descriptions to news actors in 27 per cent of Acknowledgements. The LB respondents had a more even distribution of attribution, with 54 per cent of Acknowledgements being attributed to the news texts and 46 per cent of Acknowledgements attributed to news actors.

[9.27] 'I think (.) in terms of numbers and **it made it sound** like it's quite eh (.) quite horrific event just the (.) eye witness report from the doctor the hospital and about the scenes that were going on' (A14)

[9.28] 'I think he went to the college or something something like I mean he **they weren't sure** if he was actually born (.) in the US (.) eh (.) and I think his intentions religious because he was questioning (.) the people he were about to shoot like (.) eh to state their religion' (A26)

[9.29] 'he's kind of (.) on a mission (.) that he won't stop (13) yeah (2) [start reading from screen] we will continue for as long as it takes [end reading from screen] **he adds** that to an apology for (.) the people lost their family members it doesn't really yeah (2) it doesn't give a very positive picture of him' (LB13)

[9.30] 'someone decided to (1) eh (1) just shoot people in a school eh (.) just **ask** them whether they believed in (.) if they were Christian and then (.) when **they if well asked** them to stand up and then (.) if they were (.) **he just said** to them (.) well you'll be seeing God in a few seconds' (LB21)

Text Box 9.9: Acknowledgements by article respondents

Examples 9.27 and 9.28 show news event descriptions Attributed to the news texts. In example 9.27, respondent A14 stated that 'it made it sound (..) quite horrific', with 'it' referring

to the news text. In example 9.28, respondent A26 seemed to refer more specifically to the journalists involved in writing the article as they stated: 'they weren't sure' with 'they' used as a third person plural pronoun which was demonstrated by the plural use of the verb: 'were'. These two methods of referencing the article were most commonly used by all respondents; either the Acknowledgement was made to the text using 'it' or to the journalists using 'they'. Examples 9.29 and 9.30 show Acknowledgements ascribed to news actors. In example 9.29, respondent LB13 read a quote directly from the article when talking about the Israeli prime minister. They then continued to use the reporting clause 'he adds' and paraphrased the prime minister using indirect speech (Leech & Short 2007). In example 9.30, respondent LB21 Attributed questions and statements to the shooter of the Oregon shooting. In the LB, this question was explicitly mentioned and Attributed to the shooter as well. Again the speech was presented in indirect speech, as most Acknowledgements were.

The LBs contained a wider range of sources as shown in Chapter Five, which could have led to the higher rate of Acknowledgement ascribed to news actors by LB respondents as compared to TONA respondents. The LB respondents not only had access to more news actors and their experiences, these sources were also foregrounded in the LBs (see Chapter Five). However, it should be acknowledged that while both the LB respondents and the TONA respondents Attributed information to news actors, the information was still retrieved from the news texts and not directly from the news actors. So while the LB respondents presented their news descriptions as coming directly from news actors (more often than the TONA respondents), the information was, nonetheless, filtered through the news texts. This could perhaps indicate a lower awareness of selectivity bias in LBs as readers appear to have more direct access to the news actors, resulting in higher rates of Acknowledgements ascribed to news actors.

9.4.3 Entertain

Both groups of respondents primarily used the reporting verbs 'think' and 'seem' when using Entertain in their evaluations of the news events. The respondents used Entertain for three

main purposes: (1) to describe the news events, (2) for Reaction evaluations, and (3) for projecting emotions onto news actors.

	TONA Respondents		LB Respondents	
	Raw Freq.	Percentage	Raw Freq.	Percentage
Descriptions of News Event	63	57 %	86	57 %
Reaction +	13	12 %	17	11 %
Reaction -	12	11 %	12	8 %
Projecting emotion with high modality	7	6 %	7	5 %
Projecting emotion with low modality	9	8 %	13	9 %
Complexity -	4	4 %	2	1 %
Valuation +	3	3 %	12	8 %
Valuation -	0	0	1	1 %
Total	111	101 %	150	100 %

Table 9.10 Topics Co-Occurring with Entertain in Evaluations of News Events

The majority of Entertain statements were attributed to the speaker through the use of first person pronouns and reporting clauses such as 'I think'. A minority of Entertain statements were voiceless. The percentages are presented in table 9.11 below.

	First person	Voiceless	News Text
TONA Respondents	54 %	42 %	3 %
LB Respondents	55 %	40 %	4 %

Table 9.11 Acknowledgement in Entertain Statements

The descriptions of the news event (example 9.31) and the Reaction evaluations (example 9.32) were presented with low modality, using reporting verbs such as 'seems' and 'think'. The projections of emotions was presented with a mix of high modality ('must', example

9.33) and low modality ('might', example 9.34), the percentages of each can be found in table 9.10.

[9.31] 'it **seems** that there's conflict between (2) two groups (.) like in the Gaza strip the Palestinians and the Israelis' (A12)

[9.32] "**I think** it's awful **I think** that it shouldn't be the case in America eh (.) **I think** that (.) Obama's reaction to it was good **I think** that he (.) eh (1) **probably** explained my point of view quite clearly' (LB22)

[9.33] 'obviously it does affect a lot of people this continued violence with it but eh (.) yeah (.) and it **must** be probably quite frustrating for (.) people living there who do want change to just be constantly hearing about these things that are happening in (.) yeah it just keeps occurring' (A24)

[9.34] '**I think** that certainly - like you know certainly brings like emotional response particularly to those people who would have like you know children of their own it's like - **might** give them like sense of - like heavy sense of perspective as well' (LB12)

Text box 9.10: Entertainment in News Event Evaluations

In example 9.31, respondent A12 gave a description of the news event using voiceless Entertain. They presented their description with low modality through the use of 'seem', which could also indicate an unwillingness to align with the perspective presented in the news texts. This Entertain instance therefore indicates a level of uncertainty about the news event as it alludes to a possibility that the news texts may be incorrect. This was exemplary of Entertain stances which co-occurred with descriptions of the news events in interviews with both groups of respondents.

In example 9.32, respondent LB12 evaluated the news event with negative Quality ('it's awful'), which they presented with an Entertain stance attributed to themselves. The respondents used Entertain for this purpose at similar quantities across the LB respondents and the TONA respondents. These Reaction evaluations were presented as the speaker's opinion, marking them clearly as evaluative rather than shared perspectives as found in Contractions.

In example 9.33, respondent A24 projected emotional states onto news actors with high modality through the use of the modal 'must'. Both groups of respondents used a similar amount of high modality when projecting emotions as they did low modality. An example of low modality can be seen in example 9.34, where respondent LB22 uses a voiceless Entertain stance to convey how they think parents might feel about the reported news event. There was no clear distinction found in the content of high modality and low modality projections and both groups of respondents used these Entertain stances in similar content and similar quantity.

9.4.4 Summary of Expansion

Both groups of respondents used Expansion primarily to describe the news event, for Reaction evaluations and to project emotional states onto news actors. Descriptions of the news event were mostly represented through Acknowledgement. The TONA respondents attributed these in 73 per cent of instances to the news texts, while the LB respondents only attributed 54 per cent to the news texts. These Acknowledgements were all presented neutrally, as endorsed or challenged statements would have been categorised as Proclamations or Distancing respectively. This suggests that both groups of respondents relied enough on the news texts not to question the presentation of the news events but instead to relay the information without passing judgement its authenticity and correctness.

Reaction evaluations and projections of emotions were mostly presented using Entertain. These instances were used for two purposes: (1) to label the evaluation as the speaker's opinion or (2) to highlight the level of certainty attached to the evaluation. The first purpose was identified in the Reaction evaluations by both groups of respondents. These Reaction evaluations were clearly labelled as evaluative as the respondents attributed these instances to themselves. The second purpose, to highlight the level of certainty, was identified in the projection of emotions onto news actors. Both groups of respondents used a range of modality, making it impossible to claim anything about the level of certainty of the respondents. However, it should be noted that even high modalities were still presented as possible

perspectives rather than singular perspectives, presenting the projection of emotions as possible interpretations of the news events rather than bare assertions.

9.5 Co-occurring Content with Engagement

As mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, each category of Engagement was used most commonly for the same content: (1) description of the news event, (2) negative Reaction evaluations, and (3) the projection of emotions onto news actors. Respondents also used Engagement in conjunction with the other Attitudinal Appraisal categories such as Balance and Complexity. However these were not common in news event evaluations as shown in Chapter Eight. This section summarises how each of these three types of content co-occurred with Engagement. I analyse what Engagement category was used most for each content and discuss the implications of the use of Engagement in these news event evaluations.

9.5.1 News Event Descriptions

Figure 9.6 shows the distribution of news event descriptions across Monoglossia, Contraction and Expansion.
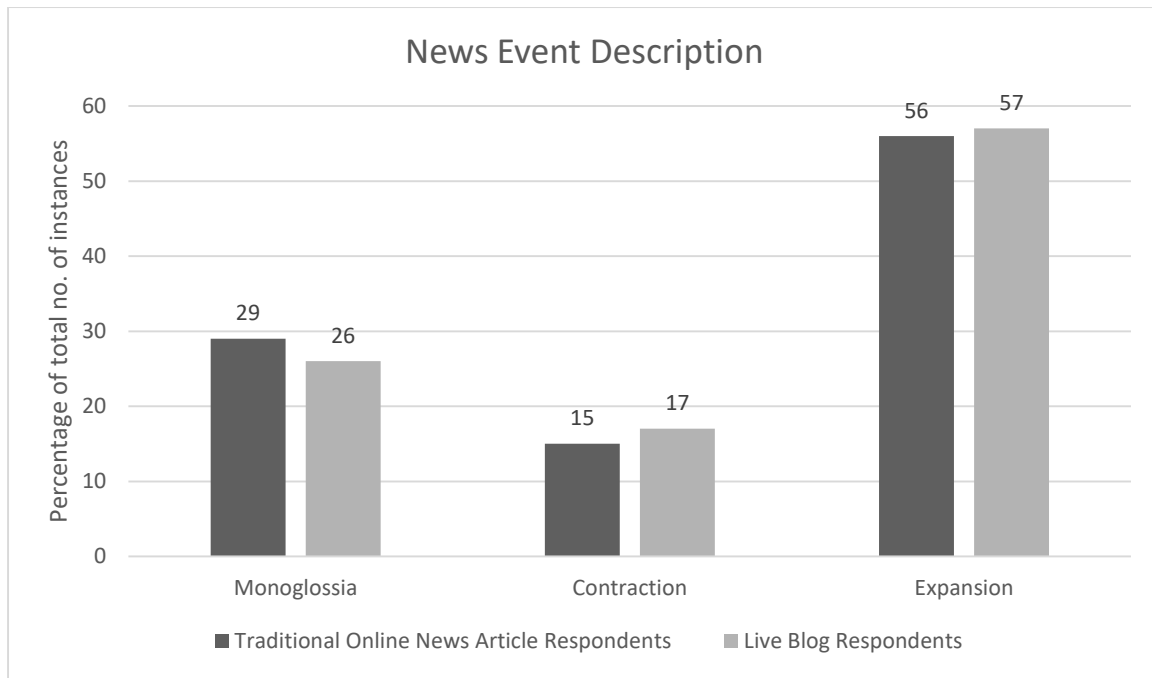
Figure 9.6 Engagement of News Event Descriptions

Both the TONA respondents and the LB respondents used Expansion the most in co-occurrence with news event descriptions. Both groups of respondents also used Contraction the least when describing the news event. This suggests that both groups of respondents did not present the news events as certain or without alternative perspectives but instead the respondents presented the news events as one of many perspectives. As shown in section 9.4, Acknowledgements contained more co-occurrences with news event descriptions than Entertain. TONA respondents attributed these descriptions to the news texts in more instances than the LB respondents, who attributed more to the news actors. This suggests that when news texts provide more access to news actors, as the LBs did, readers are more likely to attribute information to these news actors. Additionally the use of Acknowledgements for these attributions shows that the respondents took a neutral stance towards the news actors. This indicates some trust in the authenticity of these news actors, which, although the social media was directly embedded in the LBs, could not be confirmed.

9.5.2 Reaction Evaluations

Figure 9.7 shows the distribution of Reaction evaluations across the Engagement categories.
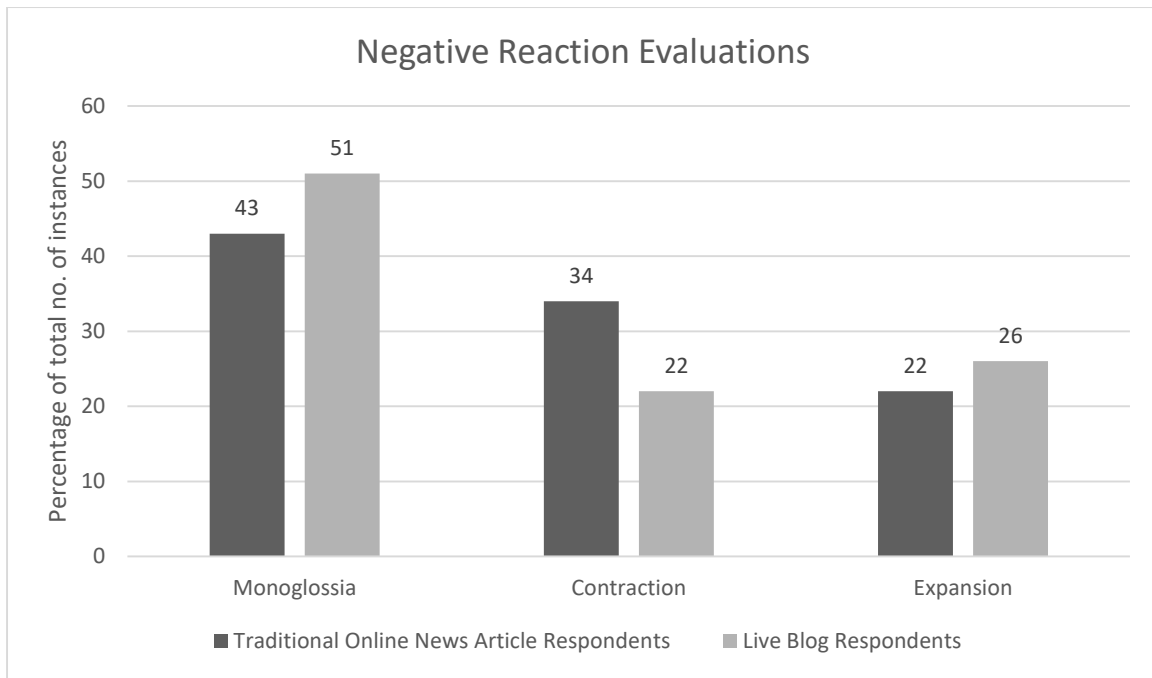
Figure 9.7 Engagement of Negative Reaction Evaluations of the News Events

Negative Reaction evaluations, which were more common than positive Reaction evaluations (see Chapter Eight), were mostly presented Monoglossically by both groups of respondents. As discussed in section 9.2, this means that the respondents presented their negative Reaction evaluations as the only possible perspective. This creates the illusion that the evaluations are not evaluative but instead are bare assertions. As this was consistent across both groups of respondents, this was not influenced by the news format. However, the LB respondents used more Monoglossia than the TONA respondents who presented their evaluations more often Heteroglossically. This is remarkable as the LBs contained more Heteroglossia and more Appraisal satellites, allowing the respondents to attribute more evaluations to news actors or for them to simply echo the Entertain stances which were taken by news actors. However, it appears that the LB respondents re-worked these Heteroglossic instances in the LBs to Monoglossic instances in their responses to the news events. This could signal trust from the LB respondents in the Tweets and quotations included in the LBs, at least more so than the TONA respondents seemed to have in the quotations included in the TONAs.

9.5.3 Projecting Emotions onto News Actors

Figure 9.8 shows the distribution across Engagement categories of the projection of emotions onto news actors.
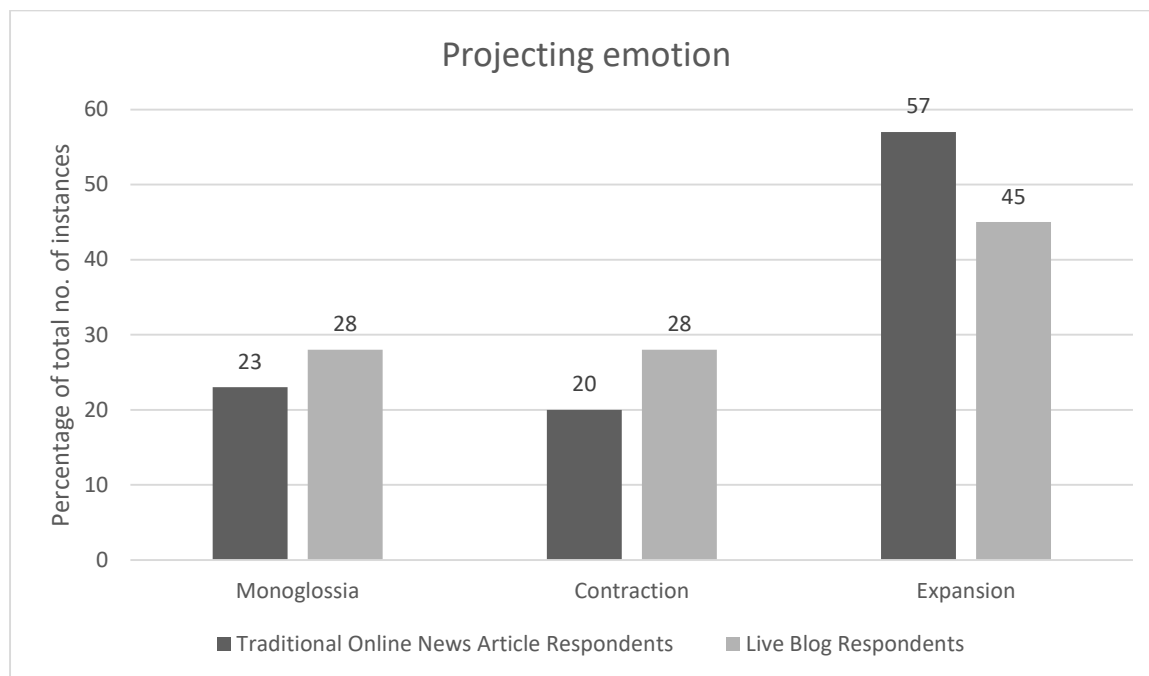
Figure 9.8 Engagement of Projecting emotion onto News Actors

Both groups of respondents primarily used Expansion, with respondents mainly using Entertain to present the projections with differing levels of certainty. This suggests that respondents were aware that the projection of emotions was their perspective on the news event and therefore one of many alternative opinions. The LB respondents also presented the projection of emotions slightly less as Heteroglossic (73 % of instances) than the TONA respondents (77 % of instances), as the LB respondents presented the emotions of news actors more often Monoglossically. Similarly to the implications of the Reaction presentations, this again shows that the LB respondents were more likely to convert Heteroglossic instances in the news texts to Monoglossic instances in their responses. The LB respondents therefore seem to have more trust in the authenticity of the quotations than the TONA respondents, who more often presented them as one possible perspective (Heteroglossia) as opposed to the only perspective (Monoglossia).

9.6 Summary

Overall, both groups of respondents primarily used Expansion in their evaluations of the news events. This shows that the news format had little influence on the stance-taking of the respondents when discussing and evaluating the news events. Respondents also presented their stances as one of many voices, showing an awareness of alternative perspectives even in news texts. Interestingly, when it came to Attitudinal evaluations, specifically negative Reaction, the LB respondents more often presented these Monoglossically. This meant that the evaluations were presented as bare assertions rather than the LB respondents' own perspectives. This suggests that the LB respondents presumed a consensus by everyone about the negative Quality and negative Impact of the news events, with negative Quality as the most common occurrence (see Chapter Eight).

Additionally, this chapter showed different approaches to stance-taking, such as modality, can be used to further Engagement analysis. Engagement has received less attention in both Appraisal research and stance-taking research (see Chapter Three), yet this analysis shows how Engagement can be used in conjunction with other stance-taking research and contribute to an Attitudinal Appraisal analysis. This approach is important as I have shown how utterances may not contain Attitudinal Appraisal but may still be evaluative through the stance taking employed by the speaker. By approaching evaluative language analysis from both Attitudinal Appraisal and Engagement, the analysis can account for different types of evaluation, and analyses can be used to constitute a more comprehensive overview of evaluative language.

Chapter 10 DISCUSSION

10.0 Introduction

This thesis has investigated reader responses to online hard news reporting, with a focus on LBs. It was concerned with investigating reader response through the analysis of readers' use of evaluative language in their discussions about both the news events and the news texts. Building on previous research, this thesis aimed to investigate if and how news format may influence readers' responses to the news events as well as the news texts. As the primary function of news is to inform, this thesis has argued that it is important to understand how news texts and news format may influence readers' opinions and understanding of news events.

This chapter summarises the findings of the preceding chapters and brings the analyses together to answer my research questions:

RQ1: How do LBs represent news events as compared to TONAs?

RQ2: How did readers evaluate the style and format of TONAs as compared to LBs?

RQ3: How did readers evaluate the reported news events in TONAs as compared to LBs?

RQ4: How far does the Appraisal system for Attitudinal evaluation and Engagement help illuminate reader response data?

Research question one will be answered throughout the chapter as I draw upon the representation of the news events in the news texts to analyse reader responses. Research question one will be answered in section 10.1. Research question two will be answered in section 10.2. Research question three will be answered in section 10.3 and 10.4. Research question four will be answered in the conclusion of this chapter and will be drawn upon in the shorter conclusions as the end of subsections.

10.1 How do LBs represent news events as compared to TONAs?

The TONAs follow a standard-to-news-media inverted-pyramid structure (Bell 1991; Zhang & Liu 2016). They consist of multiple satellites (White 1997), each of which provide more information about the headline. The LBs follow a reverse-chronological structure, consisting of small updates with the newest update at the top of the webpage. These updates can also be divided along White's (1997) satellite analysis. Appraisal satellites were most common in the TONAs, followed by elaboration, context and cause-and-effect satellites all appearing in similar numbers. The LBs on the other hand contained mostly elaboration satellites, followed by a larger number of appraisal satellites and fewer instances of context and cause-and-effect. As the LBs were published while the news events were developing, this explains the higher use of elaboration satellites compared to the TONAs, as the LB reporters added more information as it became available.

The LBs also contained more than double the amount of sources than the TONAs, more than triple the amount of photographs and more than double the amount of direct quotes, giving the LB readers not only more access to news actors but also more direct access as readers could 'hear' from the news actors without interference from the journalists. This direct access also resulted in higher frequencies of Affect in the LBs as compared to the TONAs. While all texts presented Affect Heteroglossically, the LBs contained more sources and therefore more Affect. The increased use of sources and the higher use of Affect in the LBs as compared to the TONAs, also resulted in the presentation of the news event as more socially close to the readers in the LBs than the TONAs. Appreciation and Judgement on the other hand were presented differently between the two text types. The LBs presented these evaluations mostly Heteroglossically, while the TONAs presented these evaluations mainly Monoglossically. The TONAs therefore positioned the Attitudinal Appraisal more often as 'factual' (White 2003) than the LBs.

10.2 How do readers evaluate the news texts?

This section analyses how the respondents evaluated the news texts. It focuses solely on the evaluation of the presentation, the language use and the specific features of the news texts. Section 10.2.1 and 10.2.2 concentrate on the consistencies in news text evaluations between the TONA respondents and the LB respondents. Section 10.2.3 and 10.2.4 concentrate on differences found in the evaluations of the news texts between the two groups of respondents.

10.2.1 Similarities in Attitudinal evaluation of the news texts

The normalised frequencies of each category of Appreciation showed relatively few consistencies between the TONA respondents and the LB respondents' evaluations. However, both groups of respondents evaluated the news texts generally positively. Each category in Appreciation showed a higher use of the positive side, apart from Balance which showed a higher use of negative Balance.
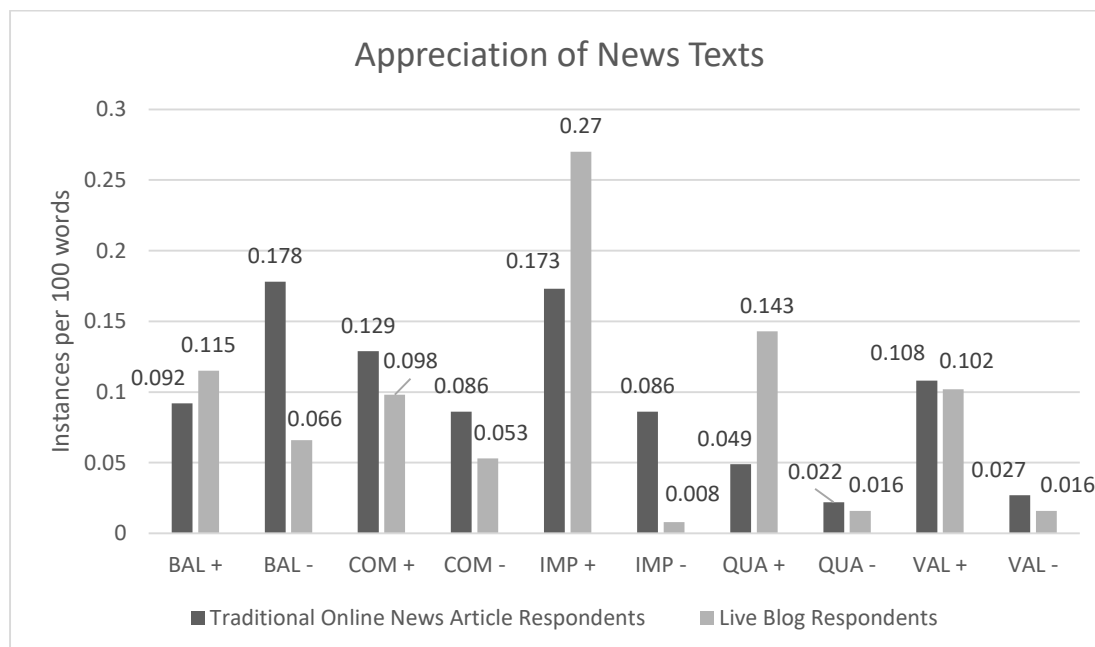
Figure 10.1 Appreciation of News Texts

The LB respondents used positive Impact most to evaluate the news texts and the TONA respondents used negative Balance most. Both groups of respondents used negative

Quality, negative Valuation and negative Impact least. While this indicates some quantitative similarities in the types of Appraisal used to evaluate news texts, I found fewer similarities in the evaluated content. Negative Impact, positive Balance, positive and negative Complexity in part, and positive Valuation were used by both groups of respondents to evaluate the same news text features. These features will be used to discuss these Appreciation categories in more detail.

The respondents used negative Impact to evaluate the style of the news texts. Both TONA and LB respondents evaluated the news texts as lacking personal style and being 'just factual'. These evaluations referred to a perceived lack of personal style from the reporters and a lack of storytelling in the news texts. The use of the term 'factual' might be considered positive, specifically in the evaluation of news texts. However, in these evaluations, the respondents used the term negatively. It suggests that 'factual' does not have a standard evaluative meaning, specifically as the respondents used 'factual' positively in other evaluations such as positive Valuation. Additionally, it suggests that respondents might carry expectations of the style of the news texts, and they may expect the news texts to construct the news events in an engaging way rather than only relay 'facts'. These evaluations were consistent across both groups of respondents and did not refer to any explicit characteristics of the news texts. The respondents seemed to rely on their own interpretation of the style and their own expectations of how 'emotive' or 'factual' they expected a news text to be.

Both the TONA respondents and the LB respondents used positive Balance to evaluate the use of different sources in the news texts. As can be seen in figure 10.1, the LB respondents used slightly more positive Balance, most likely due to the fact that the LBs contained more sources than the TONAs as shown in Chapter Five. This provided the LB respondents with more opportunities to evaluate the sources referenced in the LBs. This positive Balance was presented by both groups of respondents using Monoglossia showing certainty of the positivity of polyvocality of news texts. The positive evaluation of multiple

different sources within LBs was also found by Thurman and Walters (2013). My analysis indicates that this positive evaluation of multiple different sources is also applicable to TONAs.

Both groups of respondents also used positive Valuation similarly. I argued that Valuation of news texts was based on the trustworthiness of the news texts and their perceived bias. Negative Valuation was minimal and was used by respondents to discuss any bias that they perceived in the news texts, while positive Valuation was used for perceived lack of bias. Respondents provided different explanations depending on their read news format about why they perceived the texts to be or not to be biased. TONA respondents stated that the perceived lack of bias was due to the structure and presentation of the article. The LB respondents stated that the perceived lack of bias was due to the inclusion of a variety of sources within the LBs. It is unclear whether this difference was caused by the higher use of sources in the LBs, or due to the different, non-inverted pyramid, structure of the LBs. The structure of LBs has been found to confuse readers (Thurman & Walters 2013), and the polyvocality of LBs has been found to increase readers' trust of the reporting (Thurman & Newman 2014). While the reasoning for bias perception might differ, both groups of respondents used more positive Valuation than negative Valuation. This shows a general consensus in the positive Valuation of the news texts.

10.2.2 Similarities in Engagement evaluation of the news texts

Both groups primarily used Expansion in their evaluations of the news texts as can be seen in Figure 10.2.
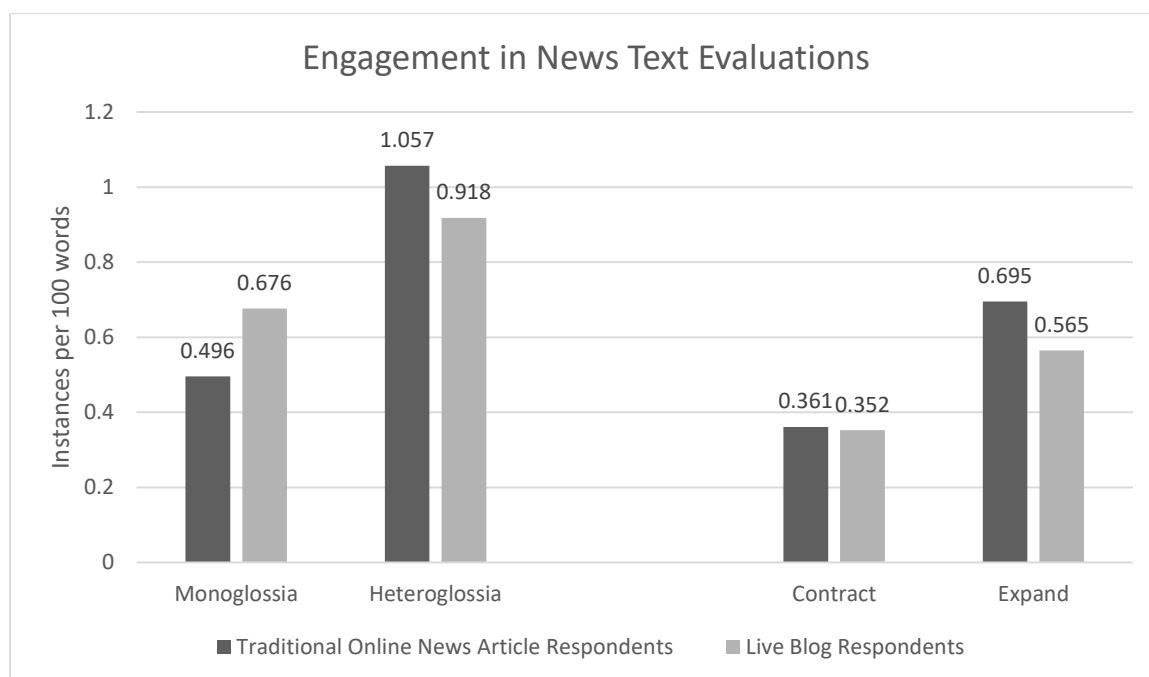
Figure 10.2 Engagement in News Text Evaluations

Within Expansion, both groups of respondents used more Entertain than Acknowledgements. This could have been due to the fact that the respondents did not have access to other evaluations of the news texts, therefore disallowing them to attribute any evaluations to other sources apart from themselves. Both the TONA respondents and the LB respondents used primarily 'I think' and 'it seems' in their evaluations of the news texts either attributing the following reported clause to themselves or using lower modality to hedge their evaluations. The content discussed using Entertainment was also similar between the two groups of respondents. Both used Entertain in co-occurrence with Valuation and Impact. In co-occurrences between Valuation and Entertain, respondents avoided committing to an assessment of the objectivity of the news texts by using low modality or attributing their evaluation to personal perceptions. Co-occurrences between Impact and Entertain could be due to the fact that Impact represents affective evaluations which may include personal feelings attributed to the respondents through 'I think'.

Both groups primarily used Monoglossia in Composition evaluations. Fifty-nine per cent of the Monoglossia statements made by TONA respondents evaluated the Composition

of the TONAs and 47 per cent of Monoglossia statements made by LB respondents focused on the Composition of the LBs. This was most likely due to the fact that respondents had the news texts in front of them during the interview. They were allowed to look at the news texts if they wanted to. This meant that they were able to confirm their evaluations and descriptions of the Composition. The respondents could use Monoglossia in co-occurrence with Composition to present their evaluations as the only possible evaluations. Interestingly, previous research (Thurman & Walters 2013) suggested that LB readers rated LB structure as confusing. Therefore, I argue that LB readers may self-report LBs as confusing but the analysis of Engagement suggests otherwise. Monoglossia also co-occurred with Valuation. The respondents constructed these evaluations as common knowledge, shared between themselves and me as the interviewer. Monoglossia therefore functioned to create solidarity between the different parties in the interviews. The respondents did not allow for any alternative perspective to be considered, strengthening their perception of bias in the news texts. Both of these uses of Monoglossia highlight the importance of qualitative analysis as it allowed for me to investigate how readers talk about LBs rather than rely on self-reporting which may not be reliable due to bias towards what respondents may perceive as 'desirable' answers.

As discussed in Chapter Seven, the analysis of Contractions can be used to establish expectations that the speaker carries by analysing the comparisons made by respondents. The use of Disclamations suggests that these expectations were not met, while the use of Proclamations suggests that they were met. Both groups of respondents used Proclamations for evaluations of Impact, polyvocality and perceived bias. In Impact, the respondents implied expectations of positive Impact: news texts that have an engaging style. The polyvocality expectations overlapped with the respondents' expectations of bias (Valuation). The respondents seemed to suggest an expectation that news texts include multiple sources but that these sources are selected by the reporters. Therefore the news texts may contain selectivity bias. Disclamations showed similar expectations for Valuation and personalisation;

the respondents seemed to expect multiple sources to confirm the reported news events and to provide personal stories about news actors' experiences. Additionally, the analysis of Disclamations suggested that the respondents may have individual expectations of how much detail should be provided in news texts, as each respondent referred to the news texts' detail slightly differently.

10.2.3 Differences in Attitudinal evaluation of the news texts

Respondents' evaluations of the news texts showed differences between TONA respondents and LB respondents, both quantitatively and qualitatively. The differences in the evaluations of the news texts seemed to stem from the news texts' structures, the polyvocality of LBs, and the use of multimedia within both formats of news texts. Within Appreciation, most categories showed differences in the content discussed by the respondents and most showed differences in the normalised frequencies.

Positive Impact was used most by the LB respondents in their news text evaluations and second most used by the TONA respondents. The TONA and the LB respondents used positive Impact to evaluate the inclusion of different sources in the news texts. Additionally, the LB respondents used positive Impact in co-occurrence with discussions of the perceived authenticity of the sources. While the TONAs included fewer sources than the LBs and the included sources were featured less prominently than they were in the LBs, the TONA respondents positively evaluated the inclusion of the sources similarly to the LB respondents. This suggests that sources, specifically a variety of sources, aid in the positive evaluation of a news text. Fairclough (1995: 48-9) argued that news texts are 'ultimately based' on 'source communicative events' and the final news text is a product of 'transformations' from private source to public news text. While the type of sources have changed over time, from the inclusion of social media to citizen witnesses (Allan 2016), the reliance of news media on sourcing remains. This thesis shows that this reliance is not only be located within the production cycle and within the news text but it is also positively evaluated by news readers.

The LB respondents also used positive Impact to evaluate the personalisation of the LBs through the inclusion of multimedia such as videos, Tweets and photographs. The positive response to personalisation in news texts could be linked to Papacharissi's (2014) ideas on 'affective news'. She stated that these modern news practices 'combine news reports with emotionally filled and opinionated reactions to the news' (Papacharissi 2014: 32). The use of personalised narratives within LBs creates a 'unique mix of fact, opinion, news, emotion, and drama' (Meraz & Papacharissi 2016: 98). The use of positive Impact specifically to evaluate personalisation of news suggests that respondents do not only engage more with LBs, they also evaluate personalised news more positively.

The TONA respondents used more negative than positive Balance, while the LB respondents used more positive Balance than negative Balance. This showed a more negative perception of Balance in the TONAs than in the LBs. Both groups of respondents used positive Balance to evaluate the mix of sources in the news texts. As the LBs contained more sources and a wider variety of sources as shown in Chapter Five, this may explain the quantitative difference in positive Balance. Negative Balance was used by the TONA respondents to evaluate the structure of the news texts, with respondents stating that the separate sections, or 'satellites' (White 1997; 2000) of the news texts were not cohesive. The LB respondents also used negative Balance to comment on the structure of the LB but focused on the lack of coherence between the Tweets and the rest of the LBs, finding the Tweets more personal and not cohesive with the other content. So while the Tweets create a more personalised narrative which is more engaging for the readers as shown in the discussion of Impact, the LB respondents did evaluate them as negatively affecting the Balance of the news texts.

The LB respondents used more positive and negative Complexity than the TONA respondents. The TONA and the LB respondents used both positive and negative Complexity to evaluate the amount of detail provided in the news texts. This appeared to be a personal preference, where some respondents felt there was not enough detail and context provided for them to understand the news events, others found the amount of detail provided sufficient.

This could be due to individual knowledge pertaining to the news events or due to the amount of knowledge deemed necessary per individual to understand the news events. Additionally, the LB respondents used positive and negative Complexity to evaluate the structure of the LBs. As opposed to the evaluation of structure in Balance, the LB respondents used negative Complexity to relate the structure of the LBs to their self-reported comprehension of the LBs. While the TONA respondents also negatively evaluated the structure of the TONAs, they used negative Balance instead of negative Complexity. It seemed that the structure of the TONAs affected the respondents' perception of the structure only, but did not influence their understanding of the news event or the news texts' perceived Complexity. This aligns with previous research showing that readers have specific expectations of the news article structure (Bell 1991). As LBs divert from this inverted-pyramid structure to a chronological structure, readers have been found to rate LBs as confusing in their structure (Thurman & Walters 2013). This result is echoed in the traditional online article respondents' use of negative Balance and the LB respondents' use of negative Complexity to evaluate the structures of the news texts.

10.2.4 Differences in Engagement evaluation of the news texts

The manner of Engagement with the news texts and the presentation of the respondents' evaluations also showed distinctions between both groups of respondents. The LB respondents used more Monoglossia and less Expansion for their evaluations than the TONA respondents, suggesting that the LB respondents presented their evaluations of the news texts more often as drawing on shared knowledge than the TONA respondents. While both groups of respondents used similar frequencies of Contraction, the TONA respondents used more Disclamations than the LB respondents who used more Proclamations. This quantitative difference suggests that TONAs were negatively compared to set standards, whereas LBs were positively appraised as having met the expected standards. Perhaps the novelty of the LB format could be related to this difference as the respondents might have had fewer

expectations from LBs than they might have had from TONAs which follow the familiar inverted pyramid structure.

10.2.5 Conclusion

The LBs were more positively evaluated than the TONAs, with most positive evaluations stemming from one key feature: sourcing. All news texts were positively evaluated for their inclusion of multiple sources and their use of personal narratives of news actors. As shown in Chapter Five, the LBs contained more sources from non-elite individuals than the TONAs and these sources were foregrounded within the LBs through the lay-out. This showed that respondents did not solely evaluate sourcing positively but more specifically the use of non-elite individual sources as opposed to sourcing from institutions. However it should be noted, as it was in Chapter Five, that while sources within the LBs were presented as individuals through embedded Tweets, most of these sources were journalists, members of news media institutions. Respondents treated these sources similarly to embedded Tweets from eye-witnesses to the news events, showing a level of trust in embedded Tweets as being truthful and 'real'. This indicates a need for the development of respondents' new media literacy which will be discussed at the end of Chapter Eleven.

The analysis of Attitudinal Appraisal showed that LBs were evaluated primarily through Impact and Quality, while TONAs were evaluated through Balance and Impact. TONAs were negatively evaluated for their lack of coherence between the different satellites, though the inverted pyramid structure was positively evaluated. LBs on the other hand were primarily positively evaluated, though their reverse chronological structure was negatively evaluated for causing difficulty for in understanding.

10.3 How do readers evaluate the news events without Attitudinal Appraisal?

This section explores how respondents evaluated the news events without Attitudinal Appraisal and to what extent these descriptions were similar to how the journalists reported the news events in the news texts. As most aspects of the Engagement analysis in Chapter Nine indicated large similarities between the description given by the TONA respondents and the description given by the LB respondents, section 10.3.1 will analyse these consistencies in the news event discussions. Section 10.3.2 will then analyse any distinctions found between the two news formats.

10.3.1 Consistent news event descriptions by respondents

One of the key findings from my research is that the analysis of Engagement was a rich addition to the analysis of Attitudinal Appraisal, in terms of elucidating the similarities and differences in reader response to LBs and TONAs. Given that most work on Appraisal to date has focused on Attitudinal Appraisal, I begin by reflecting on the importance of the Engagement system in both the readers' responses and the texts to which they responded. Engagement is particularly important within journalistic reporting and reader response, as it allows the researcher to identify and analyse evaluative instances that do not include Attitudinal Appraisal. I showed in Chapter Nine that many evaluations about the news events were presented without Attitudinal Appraisal. I analysed these instances with Engagement to show how both respondents (Chapter Nine) and the news texts (Chapter Five) took stances towards the news events which created evaluations of the factuality of the news events.

As discussed in Chapter Five, the TONAs used Monoglossia in elaboration satellites (White 2003) and for the key information relayed in the news texts' abstract. In contrast, the LBs used less Monoglossia than the TONAs. Where this did occur, Monoglossic statements in the LBs were confined to information about practical happenings within or around the news event, such as information about what time press conferences started. Both the TONA respondents and the LB respondents primarily used Expansion (60 percent for both groups)

in their descriptions of the news events. For both groups, Acknowledgements co-occurred more often with descriptions of the news events than Entertain. This suggests that while LB respondents used similar stances as were presented to them in the news texts, the TONA respondents shifted from Monoglossia in the news texts to Heteroglossic Expansion in their retellings. The use of Acknowledgements, while used by both groups of respondents, differed in the attributed source. When using Acknowledgements to describe the news events, the TONA respondents attributed the news texts in 71 percent of all instances, while the LB respondents attributed the news texts in only 57 percent. The remaining attributed sources were news actors mentioned in the news texts such as quoted journalists, politicians and eye-witnesses. This distinction and its implications will be further discussed in the following section concerning the differences in news event descriptions.

The news texts presented the news events using different verb tenses: the TONAs presented the news events as past, while the LBs presented the news events as present. This was most likely due to the fact that the TONAs were uploaded, and therefore perhaps also written and edited, after the news events had concluded. The LBs were updated, and therefore also written, as the news events were developing, making them more likely to use present tenses. As discussed in section 10.1, this decreases the social distance between the readers and the news event and could therefore increase the newsworthiness of the news event. However, there did not appear to be a relation between the verb tenses in the news texts and the use of verb tenses by the respondents. Both groups of respondents used a majority of present tenses in their descriptions, implying that the TONA respondents transformed the past tenses in the TONAs to present tenses in their retellings. The TONA respondents presented 86 percent of their Monoglossic news event descriptions in the present tense and the LB respondents presented 79 percent using the present tense. This suggests there was little relation between the news texts' temporal presentations of the news events and the respondents' presentations. Instead, both groups of respondents presented the news events

as temporally close to them, which could suggest that the respondents' use of present tenses may have been caused by other factors than the verb tenses used in the news texts.

10.3.2 Differences in news event discussion between TONA and LB

While the use of Engagement in news event descriptions was mostly similar between the TONA respondents and the LB respondents, there was one notable distinction. While both groups of respondents used Attributions in their descriptions of the news events, the TONA respondents attributed their information mainly to the news texts and the LB respondents did more so to the news actors. The differences are presented in Table 10.1. This suggests that the TONA respondents seemed to understand their news as a singular text, whilst the LB respondents saw their news texts more often as derived from the people quoted in that text. The sources presented in the LB therefore take on greater importance as 'producers' and disseminators of the news, than they did in the TONAs.

	TONA Respondents	LB Respondents
Attributed to News Texts	73 %	54 %
Attributed to News Actors	27 %	46 %
	TONAs (news texts)	LBs (news texts)
Total Number of Sources	37	115
Av. Number of Sources	18.5	57.5
Attributed to Non-Elite Individuals	0 %	17 %
Attributed Groups / Elites	100 %	83 %

Table 10.1 Sources in Attributions

The LB respondents attributed the information about the news events to the news texts in 54 percent of attributions used in describing the news events, while the TONA

respondents attributed the information to the news texts in 73 percent of attributions. The analysis in Chapter Five showed that a similar distinction was also present in the news texts. The LBs contained on average 206 percent more sources than the TONAs and more attributions to individual news actors. Seventeen percent of sources used for elaboration purposes (White 2003) were individual, non-elite sources, while the TONAs did not use any individual, non-elite sources in their elaboration satellites.

LB readers have been found to trust LBs because of their use of polyvocality in the news reporting (Thurman & Walters 2013). This current research shows that this polyvocality is replicated in the respondents' descriptions of the news events. Readers therefore not only have increased trust in the LBs (as compared to traditional online news reports) due to their inclusion of a multitude of sources, they also attribute their own descriptions of the news events to a wider variety of sources rather than the news text. Of course, it should be noted that while the LB respondents attributed the information to news actors more often than the TONA respondents, these attributed sources were received through the news texts. None of the respondents followed hyperlinks to other webpages including Twitter and were therefore solely reliant on the co-text and context created through the news texts.

10.4 How do readers evaluate the news events?

This section will draw on analyses presented in Chapter Eight and Chapter Nine concerned with the readers' responses to the news events and on the analysis of the news texts in Chapter Five. It is concerned with how readers evaluated the news event. I will discuss relevant Attitudinal categories and how respondents used these categories to evaluate the news events. I draw on news value analysis (Galtung & Ruge 1965; Bell 1991; Bednarek & Caple 2017), as the respondents' evaluations seemed to co-occur with specific news values in each Appreciation category. The analysis focuses on Attitudinal Appraisal, but will refer to some Engagement findings when relevant, to investigate how the TONA respondents and the

LB respondents evaluated the news events, starting with similarities found between the two groups before discussing differences in evaluation found.

10.4.1 Consistent news event evaluation between TONA and LB

The TONA respondents and the LB respondents showed large similarities in the frequencies of different Appraisal categories found in their news event evaluations. There were also consistencies in the evaluated content these categories were used for. Both groups of respondents did not use Affect or Judgement consistently throughout their evaluations of the news events. These two categories were therefore not analysed further in the chapters, and will not be discussed further here. Instead, the following section investigates how both groups of respondents used Appreciation in their news event evaluations. I conclude with a shorter section on Engagement categories not discussed throughout the Appreciation section.

10.4.1.1 Appreciation

Both groups of respondents primarily used negative Quality, positive Impact, and negative Impact to evaluate the news events, as can be seen in Figure 10.3.
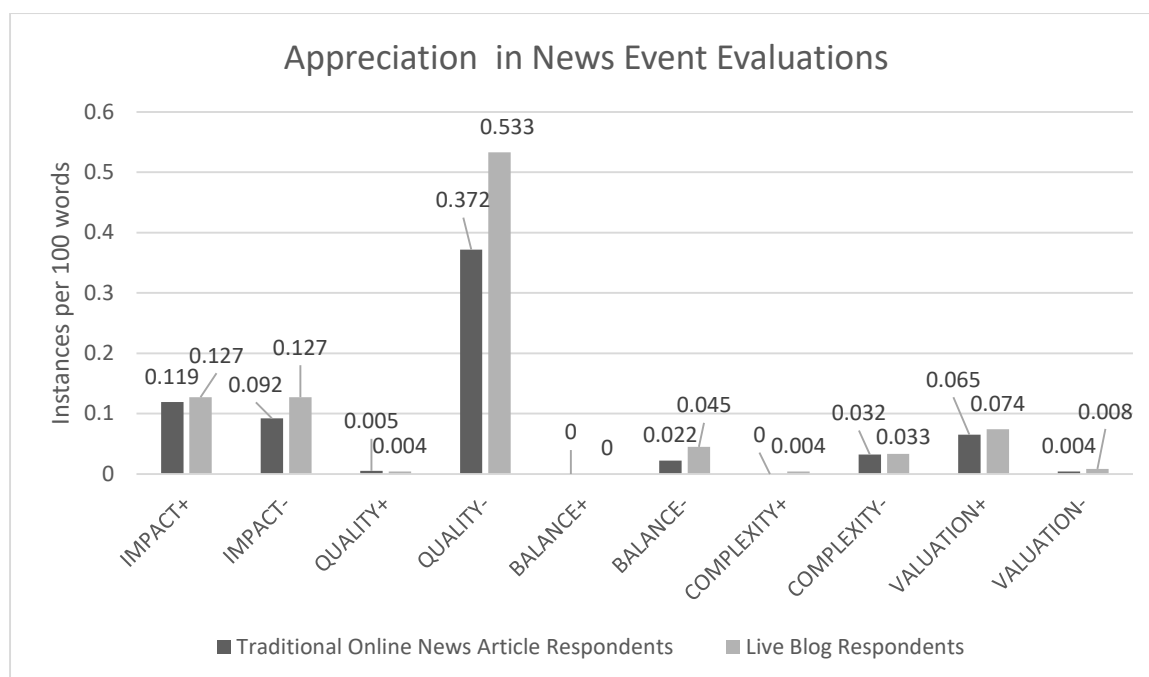
Figure 10.3 Appreciation categories used in news event evaluations

Although the overall ranking in terms of frequency is similar, there are some differences too. The use of negative Quality is proportionately greater for the LB respondents than for the TONA respondents, that pattern is not repeated for any other Appreciation category. The two most used categories, Quality and Impact, were also the most used categories in the news texts, showing a link between these two Appreciation categories and the evaluation of news events.

The respondents primarily used negative Appreciation when evaluating the news events. Most likely due to the nature of the news events, a conflict and a college shooting, both of which carry a strong news value of negativity. As negativity is an important news values in the construction of newsworthiness (Bell 1991), the use of negative Appreciation to evaluate other news events can be expected. This was also consistent with the use of negative Quality in the news texts. The content for which Attitudinal Appraisal was used in evaluating the news events also showed similarities across both the two news formats and the two news events. Negative Quality, Negative and Positive Impact and negative Balance each contained similar content across both groups of respondents and both news events.

Negative Quality seemed to align with the news values negativity, impact, consonance, and personalisation. The respondents constructed these news values in their negative Quality evaluations of the news events. The respondents used negative Quality for a variety of topics with most evaluations focused on impact, consonance and personalisation. Additionally, all negative Quality evaluations contained constructions of negativity, one of the news values by which newsworthiness is established (Galtung & Ruge 1965; Bell 1991; Bednarek & Caple 2017).

The news value impact was constructed in the news texts through references to the numbers of people affected which were more prominently featured in the TONAs. These news texts included quantified accounts of the number of victims in the lead and the first four paragraphs. The LBs contained the statistics in the lead but not in the first few updates shown, which are the most recent updates uploaded in the LBs. Negative Quality evaluations co-occurred with discussions about the number of victims in both news events. Both groups of respondents referred to specific numbers that were presented in the news texts and linked these to their negative Quality evaluations. This suggests that the news value impact may be constructed through negative Quality, which could present a new methodological approach to the analysis of news values. It also suggests that the negative Quality evaluations were related to the construction of impact in the news texts as respondents referred to specific numbers.

The news value consonance was only found in evaluations of the Oregon shooting, not the Gaza conflict. This news value was also heightened in the news texts about the Oregon shooting, as both the TONA and the LB reported on how many shootings had taken place in the past year. Additionally, sources in both news texts commented on how mass shootings should be stopped and suggested policy changes in the United States. The respondents linked their constructions of consonance to negative Quality evaluations. Most respondents boosted their negative Quality evaluations using the adverb 'more' and seemed to justify this with reference to consonance. Respondents evaluated the Oregon news event as 'more tragic' for instance because it was 'so common' in the United States. This suggests that consonance

can be constructed through negative Quality. Additionally, it suggests that consonance may be used as a justification to boost negative Quality as I found in my analysis.

The news value personalisation was constructed in the news texts through the inclusion of personal narratives in the TONAs and through the inclusion of Tweets from both civilian witnesses (non-professional) and professional witnesses (e.g. journalists) (Chouliaraki 2015). As discussed in Chapter Five, the LBs contained more sources than the TONAs and additionally the sources in the LBs were foregrounded through presentation and lay-out. Some respondents also commented on this foregrounding as they stated they did not read the entire LB but they read all the Tweets. Respondents from both groups used negative Quality in combination with discussions of experiences of news actors. These negative Quality evaluations based on the news values of personalisation were consistent across news events and news formats, therefore indicating a link between the construction of the news values of impact and personalisation and the use of positive Impact in respondents' evaluations. The TONA respondents referred to groups of news actors or projected emotional states onto news actors, while the LB respondents referred to specific individuals who were presented in the news texts. This difference in Attribution and the frequency difference between the use of negative Quality by the TONA respondents and by the LB respondents will be discussed further in section 10.4.2 where I analyse the difference between the evaluations made by the two groups of respondents.

Both groups of respondents also used negative Impact, negative Balance and negative Complexity for the same content. Both groups of respondents used negative Complexity to evaluate their own lack of understanding of the news event, which seemed to be attributed to the lack of background information in both news texts. Negative Impact was used on co-occurrence with constructions of unexpectedness. Respondents from both groups evaluated the news events as not interesting because they were 'typical' news events and were 'common occurrences'. I argue this is a construction of unexpectedness, more specifically a lack of unexpectedness. Respondents seemed to evaluate these news events as less newsworthy,

and with negative Impact, because they had heard about too many similar news events. Negative Balance was used to evaluate how the news events fitted into the respondents' knowledge of other, similar news events. This topic of evaluation is similar to the news value consonance, which states that news events' newsworthiness increases the more the news event fits into the readers' expectations of similar news events. As was found in the use of negative Quality, the use of negative Impact and negative Balance seemed to be linked to the construction of newsworthiness. The respondents constructed news values within their Attitudinal evaluations of the news events, judging the news events based on their newsworthiness.

10.4.1.2 Engagement

The news texts contained more Heteroglossia than Monoglossia, and both the TONAs and the LBs used mainly Expansion in the news reports. Affect was presented Heteroglossically by all texts, in line with Wahl-Jorgenson's (2012) ideas of 'emotional labour' being done by sources so the journalists can remain 'objective'. The LBs presented Appreciation and Judgement Heteroglossically in 85 percent of instances, while the TONAs presented these two categories Heteroglossically in only 42 percent of instances. The remaining instances, 15 percent in LBs and 58 percent in TONAs, were presented Monoglossically. As a result, the TONAs presented Attitudinal evaluations more often as 'bare assertions' than the LBs which attributed Attitudinal evaluations to news actors, both civilians and professionals.

The LB and TONA respondents used Engagement in similar frequencies as can be seen in Figure 10.4.
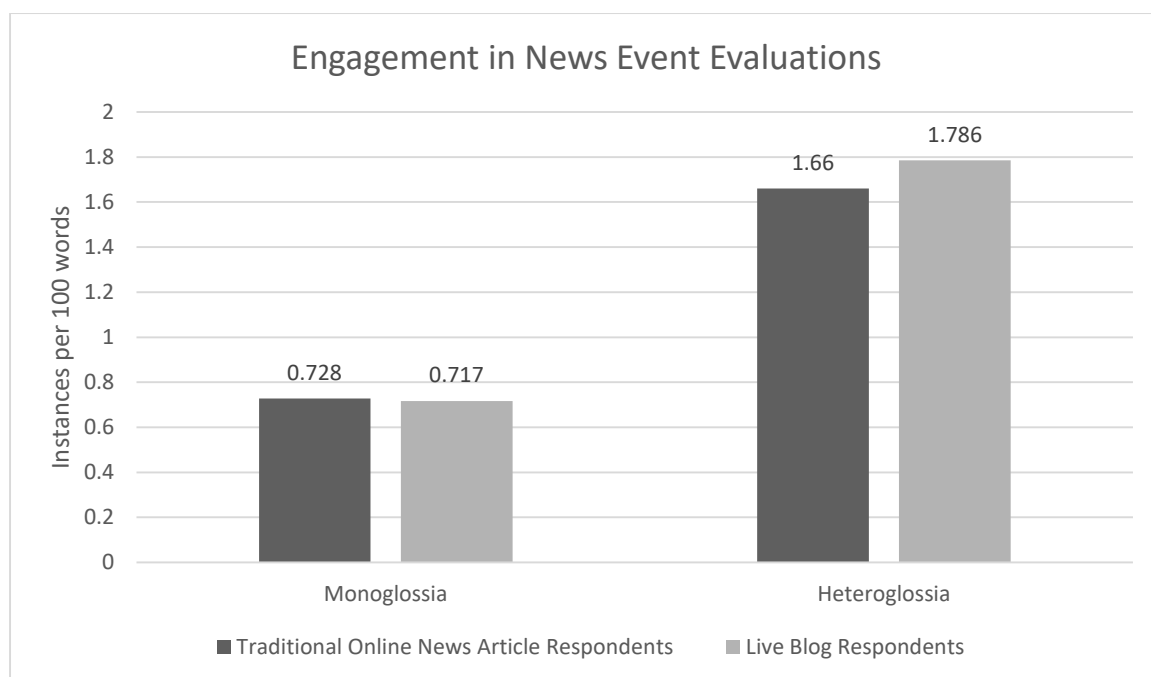
Figure 10.4 Engagement in news event evaluations

Both the TONA respondents and the LB respondents used more Heteroglossia than Monoglossia in their evaluations of the news events. Within Heteroglossia, the respondents also used more Expansion than Contraction as can be seen in Figure 10.5.
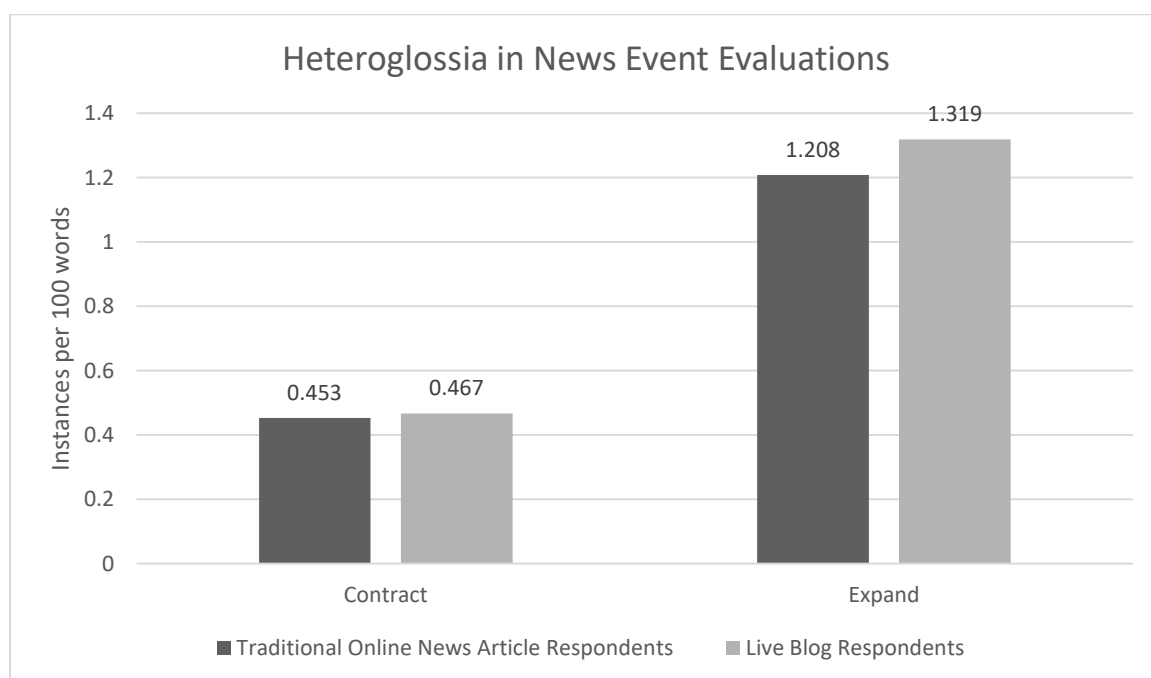
Figure 10.5 Heteroglossia in News Event Evaluations

This shows that the news format did not seem to have any impact on how respondents engaged with the evaluations of the news events. Both groups of respondents primarily evaluated the news event through Heteroglossic statements, acknowledging the existence of alternative perspectives. Interestingly, the TONA and LB respondents both used more Monoglossia in co-occurrence with Reaction evaluations. This suggests that the respondents seemed to assume that negative Quality and negative Impact evaluations of the news events were shared between themselves and me as the interviewer.

10.4.2 Differences in news event evaluation between TONA and LB

As stated before, the normalised frequencies of the different Appraisal categories were consistent between the TONA respondents and the LB respondents apart from the normalised frequencies of negative Quality. The LB respondents used 88 percent more negative Quality per 100 words than the TONA respondents. Differences were also found in the content evaluated using negative Impact and positive and negative Valuation. Overall, there were no differences found in how the respondents used Engagement when they evaluated the news events.

10.4.2.1 Appreciation

The quantitative difference in the use of negative Quality between the LB respondents and the TONA respondents seemed to be linked to the use of social media in the LBs. The LB respondents used negative Quality to refer to specific individual news actors, presented in the LBs through embedded tweets, while the TONA respondents used negative Quality to refer to groups of people and institutions or to project emotional states onto news actors. This difference was also found in the respondents' use of negative Impact, where TONA respondents evaluated the impact of the news event onto imagined news actors and LB respondents evaluated the impact of the news event onto news actors that were presented in the LBs. The higher frequency negative Quality in evaluations made by the LB respondents

than TONA respondents, creates an evaluation of LBs as containing more affective characteristics than TONAs. Considering that the LB respondents ascribed the negative Quality to the inclusion of social media within the LBs, it is worth considering how social media has been found to impact news presentation and news responses.

The inclusion of individual eye-witnesses, as found in both LBs, add 'liveness' to the news event (Chouliaraki 2010: 310). While most social media in both LBs comes from 'professional witnesses' such as journalists as opposed to 'civilian witnesses' (Chouliaraki 2015), they are still presented as witnesses to the news events in the same manner as civilian witnesses. As discussed in Chapter Five, the use of social media within the LBs also functions as embedded evaluation (Labov 1972), with the majority of the Appraisal satellites presented through social media inclusions. As the LBs contain more sources, and specifically more social media sources with more direct access to individual news actors, they also contain more Appraisal satellites, and more embedded evaluation. Because there were more Tweets, and more sources in the LBs, there was more content for this type of reporting likely to receive negative Quality evaluations, and more broadly Reaction evaluations. Secondly, the use of embedded Tweets provides direct access to the speaker without interference of the narrator, creating a type of direct speech closer to the original speaker than traditional direct speech. Direct speech, which can be found in both formats of news texts, has been suggested to 'engross the reader in the story world' (Bortolussi & Dixon 2003: 219) in fictional texts. The embedded Tweets seem to have a similar effect in the LBs as they 'grab' the respondents more, indicated by the higher use of positive Impact, than the quotations provided in the TONAs. This explains why the news events presented through LBs were evaluated with more Reaction than the news events presented through TONAs, suggesting a more affective response from the LB respondents than the TONA respondents.

The use of positive and negative Valuation was similar in normalised frequency between the LB respondents and the TONA respondents and showed overlap in its evaluated content. Both groups of respondents used Valuation for perceived bias, which was similar in

content between the TONA and LB respondents. Both groups of respondents also used Valuation to evaluate a perceived lack of proximity between themselves and the news events. The Valuation evaluations suggested that closer proximity made the news event more important, while more distance made the events less newsworthy. However, the type of proximity was different between the two groups of respondents. The TONA respondents used Valuation to evaluate the lack of social proximity between themselves and the news actors. Contrastingly, the LB respondents used Valuation to evaluate the lack of geographical proximity between themselves and the news event. There were no instances from the LB respondents of negative evaluations of social proximity, indicating that the LBs provided something to the respondents that decreased the social distance between the reader and the news event. In Chapter Five, I found that the LBs decreased the social distance by including more individual voices through embedded Tweets than the TONAs and using more present tenses than past tenses, which has been shown to decrease social proximity within controlled experiments (Carrera et al. 2014). Therefore, the LBs created a position for the reader closer to the news event and the news actors than the TONAs, which appears to have resulted in evaluations of the lack of geographical proximity between the respondents and the news events but no evaluations of lack of social proximity which was present in the evaluations made by TONA respondents.

10.4.3 Conclusion

The TONA respondents' and the LB respondents' evaluations showed a lot of consistencies in both the Attitudinal evaluations and the Engagement evaluations. Overall, the respondents evaluated the news events negatively, most likely due to the nature of the news events. Additionally, the respondents seemed to construct their Attitudinal evaluations around the newsworthiness of the news events. I identified the construction of news values by the respondents in their evaluations, suggesting that news values are not only constructed in the production of news but also in the evaluation of news. The news values most prevalent

throughout the Reaction evaluations in the responses were personalisation, negativity, consonance, impact and novelty, suggesting that these news values may be related to affective responses to news events. These news values were constructed in the TONAs and LBs through the inclusion of quotations, personalised stories, verb tenses and lexical choices. The LBs contained extra resources that might contribute to increased newsworthiness; foregrounded (individual) sources and a high use of present tense. These aspects of LBs combined to decrease social proximity and increase personalisation of the news events compared to the TONAs. This increased social proximity found in the LBs may explain the increased the use of Reaction by the LB respondents as opposed to the lower use of positive Impact by the TONA respondents.

The analysis of Engagement suggests that there was little relation between the Engagement in the reports of the news events (the news texts) to the Engagement in the respondents' evaluations of the news events. While there were differences in Monoglossia and Heteroglossia between the TONAs and the LBs, the TONA and the LB respondents both used primarily Heteroglossia in their evaluations of the news events. As discussed, it is interesting to note that Reaction more commonly co-occurred with Monoglossia than Heteroglossia in evaluations made by TONA and LB respondents. This suggests that the respondents may have seen the affective characteristics of the news events as common knowledge rather than individual evaluations.

10.5 Conclusion

The use of Appraisal, both Attitudinal and Engagement, across both groups of respondents seems to indicate that respondents had expectations of what a news text should provide and what makes an event newsworthy. News texts seem to be expected to provide direct access, through direct quotations or embedded social media, to individual news actors and unspecified levels of information, which seemed to be dependent on the respondents' self-reported knowledge of the news events. Interestingly, while direct quotations may be similar to

embedded Tweets in that they both provide the exact words as said by the original source, Tweets seemed to be evaluated as more engaging and authentic than direct quotations. This suggests that the presentation of direct quotations may influence the perceived authenticity as Tweets are presented in their original format and contain hyperlinks to the original context.

News events were evaluated through Impact, Quality and Balance, which when analysed through news value analysis is consistent with newsworthiness construction. Though readers might not be actively aware of news values in the sense that they may not be able to list them if prompted, their news event evaluations related to news values of impact, personalisation, novelty, consonance, proximity, and negativity. This suggests that while so far research has focused on the construction of newsworthiness in the production of news (Bell 1991; Cotter 2010) and in news texts (Galtung & Ruge 1965; Bednarek & Caple 2017), newsworthiness is also constructed in readers' evaluations of news events. In the comparison between LBs and TONAs, the news value of particular interest was personalisation. The personalisation in the LBs, such as sourcing and social proximity, increased respondents' engagement with the news events as they used more Reaction in their evaluations than TONA respondents. This suggests that the use of present tenses and the inclusion of direct access to news actors via embedded social media may increase reader engagement with news events. It also suggests a need for further development of readers' media literacy. If a change in format to the inclusion of social media increases reader engagement, then this requires more attention within the field of research and within the public. I make further suggestions on this in Chapter Eleven.

Finally, I have shown how Attitudinal Appraisal analysis can and should be used in conjunction with Engagement analysis. Where Attitudinal Appraisal is used to analyse one type of evaluation, Engagement complements this analysis by focusing on stance-taking. By approaching evaluative language from these two perspectives, I was able to identify instances of stance-taking through Engagement analysis which did not include Attitudinal Appraisal. Additionally, the analysis of Heteroglossia can be used to establish whether speakers used

comparators (Labov 1972) which imply expectations of the evaluated object. In news evaluation, this analysis can then be used to establish what makes a good news text and what makes an event newsworthy.

Chapter 11 CONCLUSION

11.0 Introduction

This thesis has investigated reader responses to online hard news reporting, with a focus on LBs. It explored reader response through the analysis of evaluative language by readers in their discussions about both the news events and the news texts. Firstly, I summarise my findings in section 11.1. These will be presented following my research questions. Section 11.2 discusses the implications of my research and its significance in three parts. The empirical implications concentrate on readers' evaluations of online news texts and the related news events. These implications are of particular relevance to journalists and media scholars. The methodological implications concentrate on how Appraisal can be used in reader response studies. These implications are particularly relevant for reader response scholars and scholars of evaluative language and Appraisal studies. Finally, I present the theoretical implications. These focus on the values along which readers evaluate news media. These findings are of particular relevance to news media scholars.

Previous research into news media reader response concentrated within media and digital journalism studies and took a quantitative approach. Building on this previous research, I have investigated the relationship between readers' evaluation, online news reports and the news events. As the primary function of news is to inform, I have argued that it is crucial to understand how news texts and news format may relate to readers' opinions and understanding of news events. As outlined in Chapter Two, interest in reader response studies has steadily grown since the 1980s, with a more recent focus on 'real' readers (Thomas 2007; Neurauter-Kessels 2011; Peplow & Carter 2014; Nuttall 2017). I analysed readers' evaluations of news events and news texts through the application of Appraisal theory to reader interviews. As the Appraisal framework as developed by Martin and White (2005) is considered the most thorough framework for evaluative language evaluation (Goźdź-Roszkowski & Hunston 2016) and it approaches evaluation from an ideational aspect (Attitude) and an interpersonal aspect (Engagement), I used this framework to analyse both the news texts and the reader response

data. The space for further development of the framework and its adaptability to different fields of texts allowed me to use it for two types of text and adapt it to reader response data.

11.1 Summary of Findings

This thesis addressed four main research questions, as discussed in Chapter One. These questions are re-stated here:

> **RQ1:** How do LBs represent news events as compared to TONAs?
>
> **RQ2:** How did readers evaluate the style and format of TONAs as compared to LBs?
>
> **RQ3:** How did readers evaluate the reported news events in TONAs as compared to LBs?
>
> **RQ4:** How far does the Appraisal system for Attitudinal evaluation and Engagement help illuminate reader response data?

The following sections will address each question in turn.

11.1.1 How do LBs represent news events as compared to TONAs?

The overall presentation of the news events was similar across both formats of news texts. Both the LBs and the TONAs presented the news events primarily through negative Appraisal categories. This was most likely due to the nature of the news events, as both news events dealt with deadly events. Additionally, negativity is a key news value (Bell 1991; Bednarek and Caple 2017). There were smaller differences in how this negativity was presented with Appraisal.

The two LBs combined contained proportionately more Affect and Judgement than the TONAs, while the latter contained proportionately more Appreciation. This was true for Affect and Judgement regardless of the news event or the news outlet. For Appreciation, *The Guardian* LB contained proportionately slightly more Appreciation instances than *The*

Guardian TONA, while the *BBC* TONA contained proportionately more Appreciation than the *BBC* LB. Additionally, the evaluation in the LBs was mostly presented Heteroglossically, while the TONAs presented the evaluation mostly Monoglossically. The LBs contained more sources and presented those sources through the embedding of Tweets into the LBs. This provided the LB readers with direct access to news actors, or supposed news actors (authenticity could not be verified), and increased the social proximity of the news events. The journalists creating the LBs performed the role of 'curators' (Thurman & Walters 2013: 12), combining a variety of sources into one news text. The TONAs on the other hand were written after the news events had taken place, and could therefore have been edited by multiple persons such as reporters and editors before publication. They contained more Appreciation, which was mostly presented Monoglossically, foregrounding the factual nature of reporting.

11.1.2 How did readers evaluate the style and format of TONAs as compared to LBs?

LBs divert from traditional structure, tone and presentation found in printed news and TONAs. This thesis has shown that this not only leads to a more engaged audience for LBs, but the readers also evaluate LBs in terms of their format differently from TONAs. LBs were more positively evaluated by respondents for their polyvocality which, while present and positively evaluated in TONAs, was featured more prominently in the presentation of LBs. The longer length of LBs compared to TONAs leads to the inclusion of more sources. The differing presentation of LBs leads to the foregrounding of these sources as Tweets are embedded into the text and hyperlinked to Twitter, making the original context easily traceable for the audience. Respondents demonstrated an inherent trust in these Tweets as authored by eye-witnesses, though most Tweets came from institutional sources such as journalists. This level of trust was not present in TONA respondents' evaluations of sourcing, though these evaluations were generally positive in other respects.

LBs were negatively evaluated for their structure as respondents found it confusing and attributed their lack of understanding of the news event to the structure of the LBs. In

contrast, TONAs were negatively evaluated for their structure but this did not result in perceived complexity of the news events. It appears that readers' schema of news structure, the inverted-pyramid, resulted in them reporting that the news text was easier to understand, while the LB respondents found their understanding impeded by the reversed-chronological structure.

11.1.3 How did readers evaluate the reported news events in TONAs as compared to LBs?

Readers evaluated the news events in very similar ways, regardless of the format in which the news was presented. Their evaluations of the news events were primarily negative and appeared to be based on the construction of newsworthiness within the news texts. LBs constructed the news events as more personal and individualised through the inclusion of Tweets, more temporally close through the high use of the present tense and more as a singular event, with a lower percentage of context and cause-and-effect satellites compared to the TONAs. TONA respondents referred to the inclusion of narratives of individual news actors and quantified representation of affected groups, presenting the event as personal and impactful, yet socially distant. This difference in news format did not influence readers' evaluations of the news events through the use of Quality, Balance, Valuation, and Complexity. Readers of LBs and readers of TONAs used these categories of Attitudinal Appraisal similarly.

The use of negative Quality suggested a relation between respondents' evaluations and the news values personalisation and proximity. News events in the LBs are not only constructed as more personal and socially close than in TONAs, readers also evaluated the news events as such. This resulted in a higher frequency of negative Quality use by the LB respondents than TONA respondents. As Quality is part of Reaction, it is more concerned with readers' affective engagement with the text than any other Attitude category, I argue that LBs

may create a more engaged reader who evaluates the reported news events as more personal than TONA readers.

11.1.4 How far does the Appraisal system for Attitudinal evaluation and Engagement help illuminate reader response data?

I have shown that the Appraisal system for Attitude and Engagement can be used effectively in the analysis of reader response data. This method of analysis hinges on the assumption that reading is an interpretive act, and is therefore inherently evaluative. As the TONA and LB respondents' evaluations of the news events were broadly similar, with the exception of negative Quality, this thesis has shown that Appraisal analysis can provide not only consistent results but also a useful framework to illuminate reader response data. For the analysis of text evaluation, Appreciation showed the most applicability as it is concerned with the evaluation of objects. Attitude's other two categories, Affect and Judgement, showed potential for the analysis of reader evaluation of news actors (Judgement) and analysis of readers' emotional responses to the story (Affect). I have also shown the importance of a full Engagement analysis in addition to an Attitudinal Appraisal analysis, as it allows for the investigation of evaluative instances without Attitudinal Appraisal. These instances would mostly be considered as stance-taking instances and the use of Engagement allows for a full analysis of Attitudinal evaluation and stance-taking.

My analysis showed that the Appraisal framework is adaptable to different text types such as news texts and interviews, as the analysis of evaluative language helped identify news values in reader responses and cross-reference each news value with the type of Appraisal used by respondents. This pointed to the discursive construction of the news values (personalisation and proximity) which increased readers' affective engagement (Reaction) with the news text in contrast with news values (timeliness, negativity, impact) which were linked with more compositional evaluations (Balance, Valuation, Complexity).

11.2 Implications

These results lead to wider empirical, methodological and theoretical implications in the fields of reader response, news media and Appraisal.

11.2.1 Empirical Implications

I have shown that the construction of a personalised news event in LBs relates to readers' evaluations of the news events, constructing potential for a more engaged audience. LBs are often the first source of institutionalised information in a breaking news event. In a personal interview, Gert-Jaap Hoekman (2014), editor-in-chief of the largest news website in the Netherlands, stated that he believes LB use will grow in the future as the technology used continues to develop. It is therefore crucial to understand this news format's effects on readers as this thesis has begun to do.

This thesis has shown that LBs construct a more personal and affective version of news events than TONAs. Both these characteristics relate primarily to the inclusion of more reported sources in the LBs, and the foregrounding of those sources. The empirical results in this thesis are therefore in line with earlier work in the field, which documented readers spending more time on LBs than other news pages and readers evaluating LBs as more balanced due to their amount of sources available (Thurman & Walters 2013; Thurman & Newman 2014). The results of this thesis also add to a growing field of research into the use of Tweets in news reporting and its effects (Hermida 2010; 2017; Chouliaraki 2010; Broersma & Graham 2013; Papacharissi 2014). However, this research is the first to investigate these effects through reader response analysis.

Finally, this research also indicates that readers are not, as yet, used to this format of news reporting as respondents commented on the confusing structure of the LBs. The use of negative Complexity to evaluate the LBs' structure in addition to negative Balance which the TONA respondents used, suggests that readers may struggle with interpreting news events

when presented through a reverse-chronological structure instead of an inverted-pyramid structure.

As I have shown, the Tweets embedded in the LBs were not questioned by the respondents, suggesting a level of trust in the authenticity of the Tweets. Additionally, these Tweets increase the affective engagement of the readers with the news event. Therefore it is crucial that journalists make careful considerations of which Tweets and which Twitter accounts to include in LBs. Media scholars may use my findings to further investigate why readers seem to trust the authenticity of Tweets in LBs. My findings also indicate a need to focus less on the difference between LBs and traditional online news texts, as they only differ in personalisation and social proximity, and a need to consider how news texts in general influence readers' evaluations of news events. Additionally, I have shown that media studies can benefit from a more qualitative approach, as it helped illuminate which aspects of LBs influence reader evaluations.

11.2.2 Methodological Implications

As discussed, this research has shown how the Appraisal framework can be used to analyse reader response data, specifically interview data. It could also be applied to other qualitative data such as book group discussions or online book reviews. As the Attitudinal part of the Appraisal framework differentiates between evaluations of things (Appreciation), evaluation of people (Judgement) and affective evaluations (Affect), it provides a broad framework for analysis of data which contains different evaluations of different evaluated topics. In addition, the Engagement category combines different approaches to stance-taking, such as modality and reporting verbs. Though Attitude has received more attention in the field of Appraisal, this thesis has shown that Engagement should be equally considered as both function together to create the evaluator's stance. As was shown in Chapter Ten, most Attitudinal evaluation was presented Heteroglossically, reiterating White's (2011: 14) standpoint that Appraisal is

concerned not solely with how speakers 'express their feelings' but also how they 'align and dis-align themselves with the social subjects who hold to these positions'.

This thesis has also been one of the first studies to analyse the original text (the news texts) and the evaluations (the reader response interviews) using Appraisal. Whereas previous Appraisal research focused on the evaluative texts only such as wine reviews (Hommerberg & Don 2015), company apology letters (Fuoli & Paradis 2014), reader letters in news texts (Coffin & O'Halloran 2005), I was able to compare and contrast the Appraisal analysis of the original texts with the Appraisal analysis of the reader response interviews. This is a novel approach to investigating how evaluations may be influenced by the original texts and, while perhaps not appropriate for every research topic, it can widen the approach to Appraisal research including comparisons between the presentation of Appraisal in the original text and the presentation of Appraisal in the response text.

Methodological implications are of particular relevance to reader response scholars and Appraisal scholars. Firstly, I have demonstrated how Appraisal can be used to analyse reader response data. Scholars in this field may adapt Appraisal to the types of texts they choose to study. As discussed, Appraisal also allows for the dual study of both the original text and the reader response text, which allows scholars to identify commonalities between the two. Appraisal scholars may find my findings useful as I have shown that Engagement can be used to identify other forms of evaluation that Attitudinal Appraisal does not uncover. In Chapter Eight I showed how descriptions of the news events were not Attitudinal in nature but were still evaluative through the respondents' stance-taking. The application of Engagement alongside Attitude can broaden Appraisal research to include these evaluative speech acts.

11.2.3 Theoretical Implications

This thesis has shown that news values are not only constructed in news texts (Bednarek & Caple 2017) but also in reader evaluations of news events. Respondents referred implicitly to

news values in their Attitudinal Appraisal responses, with most news values identified within Reaction. This suggests that while readers may not explicitly be aware of news values, they evaluate news events based on these news values. I believe that this is due to an overlap via the notion of evaluation. News values drive the tellability of news text narratives, with the construction of news values increasing the newsworthiness of an event (Bednarek & Caple 2017). The Appraisal analysis of reader responses to news events uncovers this newsworthiness as readers evaluate the news events based on previous news events. As news events have long been constructed following news values (Galtung & Ruge 1965; Bell 1991; Bednarek & Caple 2017), respondents seem to have internalised these values and evaluate news events accordingly. Additionally, this suggests that the construction of newsworthiness has an influence on reader engagement (Reaction) with news events. Increased prevalence of news values, and therefore increased newsworthiness, resulted in a higher use of affective evaluations. This effect of newsworthiness construction will need further studies to be confirmed.

News values have been analysed using critical discourse analysis (Van Dijk 1988a) and corpus-assisted discourse analysis (Bednarek & Caple 2017) but I have shown that an analysis of evaluative language can also help identify news values in news texts, news events and reader responses. An Appraisal approach to news value analysis does require further development of the Appraisal framework, as most news values I identified were located within the Reaction categories. When developed, this approach could not only identify news values but also analyse how these values construct the positive evaluation of what makes an event, a news event.

11.3 Recommendations for Further Research

This thesis opens up a number of avenues of inquiry for scholarship in reader response studies and news media studies. Firstly, a larger sample of news texts can be used to test how far the patterns observed in this dataset hold true for other kinds of news reports or other events. This

thesis examined reader responses to four 'hard news' news texts. Other news events covered by LBs, such as sports, may be used differently both by producers and consumers. Specifically considering sports, some LBs are now automated. This lack of personal input from journalists could also affect reader responses as readers may lack similar personal connection as they had access to in the LBs used in this thesis. Additionally, I did not research the influence of images, videos, and other instances of multimodality on reader response. Future research may consider how these multimodal resources may influence reader responses to both the news texts and the news events.

A study that included respondents of different age ranges may also provide more insight into reader response to online news. As internet accessibility is growing globally including social media access, the use of social media in news reporting may be more normalised for younger than for older generations who might be less accustomed to Twitter. This is especially interesting considering that the 18 to 30 years old respondents did not question the authenticity of embedded Tweets. Cross-generational research would help in finding whether this trust is based in the respondents' age range or in the presentation and incorporation of Twitter.

The method of analysis could be improved by introducing inter-coder reliability as described by Fuoli and Hommerberg (2015). As coding is inherently subjective, the use of two coders and inter-coder standardisation can help create coding which is more reliable and replicable. This analysis could then also be tested by being applied to other reader response data. This research specifically analysed interviews collected with selected respondents in an experimental setting. To further develop the use of the Appraisal framework in reader response, the framework could be applied to more natural reader response data such as data recorded from book group discussions as used by Peplow (2011) and Whiteley (2010) or to online reader data as used by Nuttall (2017).

11.4 Summary

My research has shown the importance of investigating emerging mediated news forms. I have shown how the analysis of evaluative language can be used to investigate reader response by applying to the original text and the response text. I have also shown how the inclusion of social media in news reporting can influence reader evaluations of the news text and the news event. This creates implications for news audiences' media literacy, which may not be developed enough to withstand influence from news presentation. Specifically, the assumption of authenticity of the embedded Tweets in the LBs suggests that readers may need to become more aware of selection bias by journalists. This is in line with Lazer et al.'s (2018) suggestions that educating news readers and improving their media literacy may help develop the toolkit with which news audiences can critically assess news texts. This could be done for example by teaching young people in schools how different types of news affect them differently, and teaching children how to be aware of their emotional responses to different forms of news.

It also brings up questions about the difference in influence on reader response between the presentation of direct quotations in TONAs, which did not seem to be as impactful as the Tweets, and the presentation of social media in LBs. This suggests a need for further research into why Tweets seem to create a more affective response than direct quotations. Whether the distinction is simply in the presentation and lay-out of the embedded Tweets or if there is an influence of Twitter specifically on readers' trust and affective responses cannot be concluded based on this thesis. It is therefore crucial that the field of reader response and the field of digital journalism continues to develop its investigations into media developments to ensure audiences can be educated on media biases and their own vulnerabilities to affective news.

Chapter 13 REFERENCES

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