

UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI

# “A very European crisis”

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A corpus study of linguistic differences in  
the reporting of the Greek debt crisis

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August 2013

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## **1 Introduction**

The media holds considerable sway over our everyday lives. There are places in the world we may never visit and people we may never meet, but we may still hold strong opinions about them and the politics and culture that they represent. This is in great part due to mass media bombarding us with sounds and images from all over the globe.

Not everyone can be expected to be an expert in the field of finance or international politics. For that, we have different types of publications that gather information concerning recent events and then present them to us in a neat and easily consumable package. In order to stay up to date on current events, we read, watch, and listen to others telling us about what is happening around us. In other words, we are all in one way or another dependent on second hand information. Whether it's a question of social issues, the environment, or international politics, we have to trust the news media to report on these topics at least somewhat truthfully.

However, when we look at the stories that different news sources publish, it becomes apparent that there are several sides to every story, to the extent that it sometimes seems like different publications are reporting on wholly different events. What one reports as a positive phenomenon, another may present as a negative one, and the different publications may focus on entirely different issues. Some publications may overlook details that others consider the news story's most relevant point.

In recent years, Europe and the world at large have been shocked by an economic crisis that has caused a powerful rift in European relations and shows few signs of abating. The crisis has taken new forms that are no longer strictly related to finance or the economy. For example, as the crisis in Greece has unfolded and spread across Europe, issues of nationalism and xenophobia have emerged, and there has been frank discussion about who should chiefly bear the responsibility for the financial mismanagement. This has led to finger pointing and shifting of blame. When I began working on this paper, the topics of blame and responsibility were what I was originally interested in studying. Who is ultimately responsible for the financial crisis, according to the media? Who is guilty and who is innocent? These questions in

turn raised the broader topic of how news publications attempt to affect people's attitudes and opinions. In other words, this will not be a study on the financial or political events that have occurred, but rather on the language used by the publications reporting on these events. My research questions are:

1. What kind of linguistic differences can be found in different types of news publications in the reporting of the Greek debt crisis?
2. How do these linguistic differences demonstrate attitudes in the various publications?

I will answer these questions through a corpus study of different types of news publications: tabloids, financial publications, and more general mainstream publications. My goal is to provide a thorough examination of the linguistic differences in the corpus and analyse their significance in terms of media bias. Due to their differing demographics and fields of focus, I expect the most noticeable differences to be between the tabloid publications and the finance publications.

The topic of media bias has already been extensively studied in the past with various methods, such as the comparison of the sources that different publications choose to cite (Grosseclose & Milyo, 2005) or the attention allotted to representatives of different political parties (Excellence in Journalism & Shorenstein Center, 2007).

Similar approaches will also be used in this study and I will look at my research questions from a number of different perspectives, examining features of register variation and the frequency of core linguistic features, as well as the use of different rhetorical methods and the appearance of stance-related structures. While in the end the variation in the occurrence of most parts of speech did not lead to any particularly startling breakthroughs, I did discover significant differences in the way the various text types are constructed and the ways in which they might try to influence their audience. In the following chapters I will discuss the various linguistic phenomena generally related to language used in newspapers, as well as economic and political discourse. In chapter 4 I will then analyse how these phenomena come through in the texts I have gathered.

## 2 Theory

This chapter will cover the theoretical concepts related to register variation, media bias, and language in the news media, as well as some defining characteristics of economical and political discourse.

### 2.1 Media and language

Since this study deals with texts in the news media, we shall begin by looking at some of the stylistic and aesthetic characteristics of news texts. Language in the news media is affected by a variety of factors. These range from the perceived audience of the publication and the publication's ideological bias, to the textual conventions and traditions of the news genre. For example, while modern news sites on the Internet have no such limitations, printed news publications have always had a very limited amount of space. This is partly why information in news stories is generally very tightly packed. This tight packing of information can also lead to some very complex sentence structures, similar to those found in academic texts (Ni, 2003:161-162). Physical and time-related constraints also mean that publications have to choose which stories they find interesting enough to report on. There are some core values that make certain events more newsworthy to news publications:

1. *Negativity*: bad news makes the headlines more often than good news
2. *Consonance*: how well a story fits together with existing preconceptions and 'scripts'
3. *Unambiguity*: how clear a story's facts are, and how reputable the cited sources are
4. *Relevance*: how likely the audience is to relate to the story on an emotional level
5. *Quality of attribution*: a story with an established institution as a source is more convincing
6. *Facticity*: the story's use of specific factual information, figures, names and locations  
(Galtung and Ruge, 1965 cited in Bell, 1991:156-158)

The stories the media presents are in other words chosen carefully to paint a very specific picture. Because of the nature of these stories, and also due to space and time constraints, some details may also be simplified or even omitted. Some examples of how these phenomena manifest themselves in the corpus are also presented below:

1. *Deletion of information*- for example 'protests in Greece' as opposed to 'protests in Athens outside parliament'
2. *Generalization*: for example, 'German, French, British' becomes 'European'

3. *Construction*: several actions laid under one umbrella term: for example 'tighten ... belts', instead of 'freeze pensions, cut public sector pay, increase sales tax, raise taxes on fuel cigarettes, alcohol and luxury goods' (van Dijk, 1985:85 cited in Bell 1991:162)

Mainstream news texts are typically written for the general public, not for experts of any specific field. In face-to-face communication it is always possible to modify the message according to who the addressee is and who else might be listening, but as Bell (1991:90-92) states, in mass media this is not the case. While publications can make surveys about their readership, it is basically impossible for mass media publications to ever truly know their audience. Additionally, one might argue that publicly funded organisations, such as the BBC, are obligated to serve and inform the public in a manner that the public will understand. This may set its own limitations on the kind of language the writers can employ in mainstream news texts, whereas some other more specialised publications with more particular audiences can use some less common terminology.

Of course, the Internet allows news publications to provide a wider array of news services to a more heterogeneous audience. The nature of internet news reporting is no longer unidirectional, like the mass media of old that Bell (1991:85-87) speaks of. While online news texts take their form from print media, they are also experimenting with various styles, such as those from broadcast news (Lewis, 2003:96). Online news sites allow hyper-linking from one article to another related one, which has led to news stories on the web becoming shorter and more contextualised as parts of bigger narratives and because news articles on the web also do not need to worry about the length constraints of physical newspapers or magazines, they can also delve deeper into the details of a story (Lewis, 2003:97-99). This also means that the individual stories can vary greatly in length and that a news website can have several versions of a particular news story on its servers, each of them differing slightly in their focus to better suit different demographics.

## **2.2 Media bias and stance**

This chapter will deal with the ways bias can come across in some of the methods news publications employ to influence their readership. The question of bias in news texts is a complicated one. While news texts as a rule aim for at least an appearance



of objectivity, publications also have editorials and opinion pieces that allow editors, publishers, and journalists to express their own opinions on a given topic more freely. However, if a news story does not show the name of the writer in a byline, it can be difficult to know whether the story has been written by the publication itself or whether it has simply been bought from a major news agency, such as the Associated Press or Reuters, which also play major roles in the production of news stories (Bell, 1991:16). This can lead to confusion about whose biases are actually on display. Sometimes it also leads to near-identical stories appearing in several different publications. There are of course certain stylistic choices that different publications can make to differentiate themselves from others and create their own 'house style' (Bell, 1991:82).

In general, it is wise for a publication to remain objective so as not to anger any potential readers. Of course, when a publication knows it already has an audience of like-minded readers, it is also more free to express its own ideology. Indeed, while the various media outlets would like to portray themselves as unbiased or objective, and while that may be a fine goal to strive towards per se, one must remember that all the stories in the media are still written by people with opinions and ideologies. These people may in turn enforce existing mental models or stereotypes, which we may not even be aware of. This is something that has been studied in the field of photojournalism (see Lester & Ross, 2003), but it is equally important to acknowledge in written texts as well. Indeed, the concepts of consonance and scripts mentioned above are a major way in which publications not only reveal their own conceptions but also reinforce them by selectively reporting on them.

This type of selective reporting is represented in van Dijk's so-called ideological square, shown here as a list:

1. emphasize our good properties/actions (specified in detail)
2. emphasize their bad properties/actions (specified in detail)
3. mitigate our bad properties/actions (presented very generally, distanced)
4. mitigate their good properties/actions (presented very generally, distanced)

(van Dijk, 1995:33)

In essence, the point is to show 'us' in as good a light as possible, and to vilify 'the other'. These biases in publications come through in various ways. At its simplest this bias can take the form of specific word choices. Adjectives can be roughly divided

into two classes: experiential and attitudinal epithets, where the former is a more objective and general type of description – such as 'purple' or 'small'– and the latter a more subjective and value-laden description – such as 'commendable' or 'obnoxious' (Ni, 2003:164). Adjectives and adverbs can in other words be used to convey value judgements, by describing some as 'good' and 'just', and others as 'bad' or 'unfair'. It has in fact been found that attitude signifying adjectives are quite common in printed news texts, and even more so in editorials (Zhou, 2001 cited in Ni, 2003:164).

Language is indeed much more than just an exchange of information. It carries with it judgements and evaluations, and it can be used to express emotion and solidarity to others. These functions all fall under the umbrella term of appraisal (Martin, 2000: 143-144). Appraisal can be classified into three distinct categories according to its intended function: 'Affect', 'judgement' and 'appreciation'.

### **Affect**

'Affect' encompasses emotional expressions, which can be further categorised in the following manner:

1. Positive vs. negative
2. behavioural surge (laughed) vs. mental disposition (liked)
3. reaction to other (liked the cake) vs. undirected mood (was happy)
4. grading of feelings (liked vs. loved vs. adored)
5. Intention (irrealis) vs. reaction (realis) (Divides into (dis)inclination, behavioural surge, and disposition)
6. (un)happiness (sad, happy) vs. (in)security (anxious, confident) vs. (dis)satisfaction (fed up, absorbed)

(Martin, 2000: 148-150)

Emotional words can in other words be classified as either positive or negative, as either physical actions or internal feelings, as well as reactions to specific external stimuli or as general states of mind. The feelings can be graded on a scale where some words describe a more intense feeling than others. Affect also makes a distinction between intentions or desires to do something in the future and the reactions to something happening in the present. The expressions also fall into one of the three groups denoting feelings of (un)happiness, (in)security and (dis)satisfaction. While Martin's system of classification can seem quite complicated, it does help in defining affect and understanding how the different words of affect relate to each

other, especially words that belong to different word classes.

### Judgement

'Judgement', on the other hand, is the normative moral framework that determines how people in a society should feel about various things. This in turn is divided into the social esteem and social sanction categories (Martin, 2000: 155-156):

*Table 1: Categories of judgement (Martin, 2000: 155-156)*

Social esteem 'venial', "you may need therapy"	Positive (admire)	Negative (criticise)
Normality (fate) (usuality)	Lucky, fortunate, charmed normal, average, everyday in, fashionable, avant-garde	Unfortunate, pitiful, tragic odd, peculiar, eccentric dated, daggy, retrograde
Capacity (ability)	Powerful, vigorous, robust insightful, clever, gifted balanced, together, sane	Mild, weak, wimpy slow, stupid, thick flaky, neurotic, insane
Tenacity (resolve) (inclination)	Plucky, brave, heroic dependable tireless, persevering, resolute	Rash, cowardly, despondent unreliable, undependable weak, distracted, dissolute
Social sanction 'mortal', "you may need a lawyer"	Positive (praise)	Negative (condemn)
Veracity (truth) (probability)	Truthful, honest, credible real, authentic, genuine frank, direct	Dishonest, deceitful glitzy, bogus, fake deceptive, manipulative
Propriety (ethics) (obligation)	Good, moral, ethical law-abiding, fair, just sensitive, kind, caring	Bad, immoral, evil corrupt, unfair, unjust insensitive, mean, cruel

The social esteem category comprises of 'normality', describing luck and adherence to social norms, 'capacity', describing an individual's abilities and skills, and 'tenacity', describing a person's willingness, or lack thereof, to succeed. People and acts are in effect admired and praised for fitting the norm, being clever or brave, or for being honest and law-abiding. The negative social esteem characteristics are personal traits that are not desirable, but are still in some way forgivable. Martin quite poignantly dubs them 'venial' sins as opposed to the 'mortal' sins in the social sanction category. Traits in this category - cowardice, dishonesty and immorality - are on the other hand clearly negative traits with all the unambiguously negative connotations they entail.

### Appreciation

'Appreciation', is the framework that pertains to the way people in a society should regard the aesthetic value of something, such as that of a work of art for example

(Martin, 2000: 159-160):

*Table 2: Categories of appreciation (Martin, 2000: 159-160)*

	Positive	Negative
Reaction: impact	Arresting, captivating, engaging fascinating, exciting, moving	Dull, boring, tedious, staid Dry, ascetic, uninviting
Reaction: quality	Lovely, beautiful, splendid, appealing, enchanting, welcome	Plain, ugly repulsive, revolting
Composition: balance	Balanced, harmonious, unified symmetrical, proportional	Unbalanced, discordant contorted, distorted
Composition: complexity	Simple, elegant intricate, rich, detailed, precise	Ornamental, extravagant monolithic, simplistic
Valuation	Challenging, profound, deep innovative, original, unique	Shallow, insignificant conservative, reactionary

The words presented above show how subjective aesthetic appraisal can sometimes be. What might appear to someone as simple and elegant, may seem simplistic and plain to another. The words Martin gives in his categorisation serve as examples of the ways many words have inherent socially motivated connotations. Studying these words and the contexts they appear in gives us an insight into the beliefs held by the writer.

Adjectives are of course not the only word class that can demonstrate stance. For example, many nouns carry equally strong connotations. There is after all a major difference whether an event is described as 'a protest' or 'a riot', for example. Making lists of good and bad words of course only gives us a piece of the puzzle. In order for a reader to understand a word's underlying connotation they must also be aware of the word's intertextual context (Hunston, 2000: 177). There are many words that may on the surface appear neutral or even positive, but have acquired a negative connotation in a specific context that does not even show up in dictionaries (Channell, 2000: 46-47). Sooner or later a word may be entirely stripped of its original meaning as it gains more and more negative connotations. Even professional writers may sometimes use words with negative connotations that they are unaware of (Channell, 2000: 53), which may lead to a case where a writer inadvertently presents a stance that is contrary to the one they personally hold. Negative connotations are also generally more frequent and easier to see than positive ones, partly because words with negative connotations are often used together with other similar words for added effect (Channell, 2000: 55, 44).

Bias becomes even more apparent in more complex structures. For example, necessity modalities - such as “he had to” or “it was necessary to” - can be used to justify the actions of one person, or imply the guilt of another. Active and passive voice constructions can be used to draw attention to the actions of a particular group of people, or to draw it away from the actions of another.

The writer's bias can also come across in the rhetorical methods he or she employs:

- Generalization: the writer can express a certain type of behaviour as typical for a certain group, for example by using the phrase 'as usual' or 'of course' when describing an event.
- Specification: the writer may refer to the nationality, ethnicity or political affiliation of certain people, while avoiding such specifics when speaking of others.
- Contrast: the writer can compare two different groups as polar opposites of each other.
- Example: the writer can provide anecdotal evidence to support their own position.

(van Dijk, 1995:37)

Using the above methods can often seem openly hostile. To soften their message the writer can also employ various semantic moves to essentially avoid being viewed as a bigot. These include the following, with added examples from the corpus used in the study:

- Apparent denial: for example: *'I obviously do not wish for new economic tribulations in either Europe or Britain. But if those problems brought with them the eventual end of the euro ... would that not be a welcome silver lining?'* (Daily Mail, 27 May 2010)
- Apparent concession: such as 'They're not all like that, but...'
- Apparent empathy: as in "I completely understand the Greek populations anger"... "But Greeks must also understand..." (Mirror, 5 May 2010)

(van Dijk, 1995:39)

The use of these semantic moves demonstrates that the writer – or speaker – is aware that the things they are saying are in some ways controversial and that they need to be counteracted.

Sometimes a single text may contain the voices of several people, for example in the case of interviews or quotations from experts. This means that the stances or biases presented in the text are no longer necessarily those of the writer. This is where attribution and averral become relevant. Averral refers to the writer stating something that he or she believes to be true, whereas when they employ attribution the responsibility for the veracity of a claim lies on the source being referenced. Concessions made in a text can also be seen as a form of attribution, for example in a phrase such as '...although anecdotal evidence suggests...'. In such cases however, the actual sources often remain unclear (Hunston 179). Of course, as the writer is often free to choose the quotations that best suit their own agenda, attributions can sometimes be just as clear indicators of stance as averrals.

### **2.3 Rhetoric and metaphor**

The features pointed out by van Dijk in the previous section are good examples of rhetoric. Language not only limits the ways in which we can perceive or think of things, but the different ways in which these issues are presented also affect our perceptions of the topics in question, as well as of the people who speak of them. People often judge the persuasiveness of an argument not on its demonstrable merits, but rather on the rhetoric of the person making the argument. This makes it all the more important to look at these methods of persuasion (McCloskey, 1994:15-17).

Different rhetorical methods are used in different types of texts and for different audiences. While the rhetoric of economics is not the same rhetoric used in economic reporting (Klamer & McCloskey, 1989:15), the very specific nature of the field is bound to affect the way the world of finance is presented to the layman in the media. But what exactly do we mean by economics? As a word, it has a variety of meanings, but the 'economics' we shall be discussing is the one that the Oxford English Dictionary defines as:

“The branch of knowledge (now regarded as one of the social sciences) that deals with the production, distribution, consumption, and transfer of wealth; the application of this discipline to a particular sphere” (OED, 2008)

Economics is in other words a science, and as any other field of science, it has its own jargon and stylistic conventions that are upheld. Economics as a field has also often been criticised for its coldly logical and mathematical representation of vast and complex systems (see McCloskey, 1986; Klamer & McCloskey, 1989). McCloskey

(1986:4) states that this purely logical approach to such a vast field can lead to a type of fanaticism, which makes its followers blind to different views and possibilities. On the other hand, economics has also been criticised for its inability to follow its own rules of scientific principles (Solow, 1989:32). While empirical evidence and statistically derived data should always override personal beliefs and opinions, it often does not. This is because language has a great deal of influence in the way we think, and the language and rhetoric used in the field of economics is no exception.

One major rhetorical method is the use of metaphors. Unlike many other linguistic phenomena, metaphors can not be identified by any lexical feature, but need to be individually interpreted and identified. The task cannot in other words be relegated to a computer, at least not yet. This makes studying them in a corpus challenging. While most people have ample experience in identifying analogies and metaphors, even people can often have trouble deciding what kind of expressions should be actually considered metaphorical. However, there are ways to make this easier. For example, metaphor analysis can be divided into three levels:

- Individual: How people use and create metaphors in actual communication
- Supraindividual: Conventionalised and possibly language- or culture-specific metaphors
- Subindividual: “Experiential grounding” of very basic yet abstract concepts (Kövecses, 2002 cited in Musolff, 2004, 8-9)

These groupings help to classify metaphor into conceptual domains connected by a central conceptual mapping, such as metaphor related to nature, family or parts of the body, for example. McCloskey (1994:18) states that even the key economic concept of 'markets' is in essence metaphorical. Generally it has been thought that while powerful literary metaphors ought to be surprising and unexpected, good scientific metaphors should aim for consistency and even a degree of overuse (McCloskey, 1994:18). This however would not only be limiting in terms of linguistic innovation, but would also render the discourse itself boring and unengaging, and thus not very rhetorically persuasive. Consequently, McCloskey states that good literary metaphors can in fact over time become good scientific metaphors (1994:18). A good scientific metaphor, according to Solow (1989:34) is one that produces new information instead of simply retelling what is already

known. Along this same line of thought, as metaphors are essentially simplified models used for describing real life phenomena, one could say that good metaphors are basically new and more accurate models for these phenomena.

Metaphors are also very prevalent in the language of politics, which is inevitably another facet of international news reporting. The political rhetoric employed by politicians is also often aimed at convincing the public at large, i.e. the voters. People need to be able to relate to it and it needs to touch people on a personal level. This is probably why so many popular political metaphors include those related to family and relationships (Musolff, 2004, 14-16). Indeed, a fundamental metaphor regarding a nation or society is one where the political leaders are the heads of family, who set the rules, and the citizens are expected to act like obedient children (Musolff, 2004, 2-7). In the case of the EU, individual nation states are also often presented as parties in a relationship or marriage (Musolff, 2004, 21-23). Other popular conceptual domains for politically motivated metaphors that Musolff lists include '*movement*', '*war*', as well as '*life and health*' (Musolff, 2004, 12).

Political metaphors have a surprisingly powerful effect on popular opinion. If the metaphor of the government as a strict parent has been employed, it is only natural that people should respect the government in the same way as a parental authority ought to be respected. Different parties use different metaphors and they are often carefully chosen to appeal to existing values and mental connections. For example, when it is viewed as a family with parents and children, the EU is generally presented in a positive light. However, when a love-marriage metaphor is employed, negative words denoting a failed relationship, such as '*divorce*', may be used to attack it (Musolff, 2004, 28-29). Because of this, political debate can often become a battle over rhetoric, rather than the actual issues at hand, and sometimes politicians need to undermine and argue against an opponent's rhetorical devices as well their implied meanings. Apt metaphors also have a tendency to spread in the media and also spawn new related metaphors (Musolff, 2004, 93-94).

There are of course many other rhetorical means of making one's argument more credible. For example, in economics, science in general, as well as news stories, there is a tendency to avoid the use of the first-person 'I' pronoun, which can give texts an air of subjectivity and is often deemed unscientific. By leaving it out, the writer can



present their claims as universal facts, rather than as the personal opinions or anecdotal experiences that they are (McCloskey, 1994:20). However, what we say still conveys our values as individuals (Heilbroner, 1989:40), and trying to hide this can be misleading and might be seen as intellectual dishonesty. Sometimes using the pronoun 'I' can be an intentional move to bring the writer and audience closer to each other, as we shall see in the following section.

#### **2.4 Metadiscourse markers**

The audience of a given text always needs some degree of guidance in interpreting the text. This can be achieved through the use of metadiscourse. It is an essential part of any well constructed text, motivating and guiding the reader through the text.

Hyland (2005) divides metadiscourse into two parts: the interactive dimension, which encompasses the various meta-textual elements a writer can employ to accommodate the reader and their needs, and the interactional dimension, which involves the ways in which the writer seeks to involve the reader and address them personally. To further familiarize ourselves with these elements, we can study the lists that Hyland has compiled of words and expressions that serve as metadiscourse markers. These include the following interactive discourse markers:

- code glosses, such as 'as a matter of fact', used for specifying
- endophoric markers, such as '(in) this section', used for guiding a reader through a text
- evidentials, such as 'according to X', used in citations
- Frame markers for sequencing, such as '(in) this section', stage labelling, such as 'all in all', announcing goals, such as '(in) this section' , and topic shifting, such as 'in regard to'
- Transition markers, such as 'accordingly', used for moving from one section to another  
(Hyland, 2005: 218-220)

They structure the text and are essential for a text's cohesion, linking one part of a text to the next. Interactional discourse, on the other hand, can often display clear signs of stance, and is composed of the following types of textual markers:

- Attitude markers, such as 'admittedly'
- boosters, such as 'beyond doubt'
- self mention, such as 'the author'
- engagement markers, such as '(the) reader's'
- hedges, such as 'typically'

(Hyland, 2005: 220-224)

Of course, different types of markers can serve multiple purposes. Markers of interactionality also serve an important role in making texts more accessible as many texts actually rely on the reader at least understanding a writer's point of view even if they don't necessarily agree with it. Additionally, while hedges can be used to express uncertainty, they are often used more for reasons of politeness (Hunston & Thompson, 2000:10). Similarly, disjuncts, such as '*admittedly*' or '*certainly*', serve several purposes. While disjuncts have generally been thought to only show the writer's attitude, they also serve an essential role to maintain cohesion and coherence in a text (Thompson & Zhou, 2000:123-127). They are especially useful in marking concessions and contrasting sentences that might otherwise come across as confusing (128-133). If the reader does not understand the values of the writer, he or she also can not understand the connections drawn from them.

## **2.5 Register variation**

As this paper will deal with the linguistic variance found in different types of texts, it is appropriate to also discuss the topic of register variation. Register, as used by Biber (1995), refers to language that is used in a specific kind of situation. These situations can vary from the general classifications of spoken and written language, to much more specific types of texts, which are defined by a number of factors, such as their intended audience, the subject matter, and the circumstances in which they are produced (Biber 1995: 8-9). The subject matter and intended audience are quite relevant factors in this paper, as the former was used to select the texts, while the latter was used to categorise the publications into distinct registers or publication types. While Biber prefers the term 'register', he concedes that there is no general agreement about its specific meaning (1995:8), and the words style and genre are also often used in similar contexts.

There have been numerous studies into the variation of register. Biber (1995: 6-7) divides these studies into four main types:

1. synchronic descriptions of a single register
2. diachronic descriptions tracking the evolution of a single register
3. synchronic descriptions of the patterns of variation among multiple registers

4. diachronic descriptions tracing changes in the patterns of variation among multiple registers

Biber emphasises that register variation is present in all languages and that the study of vast amounts of text material could be used to discover certain universal differences in the occurrence of certain linguistic features between distinct registers.

These linguistic features can be classified into two different categories: register markers and register features (Biber 1995: 28-29). An example of a register marker might be a rare lexical item that only appears in a very limited set of contexts, and can thus often be used to classify texts into different registers (Biber 1995: 29). However, they are not always completely reliable indicators of register. For example, while in the context of this corpus study, the word 'index' only appears in connection with the stock market, in a wider set of texts it might appear in a number of other contexts as well. The word 'index' also appears in all of the publication types in this study, and thus can't be used to distinguish between tabloid and finance publications, for example. Longer or more complex linguistic structures, or 'grammatical routines', such as the announcement of scores in a sports game (Biber 1995: 29), can serve as more reliable register markers. Such routines are rare, however, and most registers can't be reliably classified using register markers.

Another method to study a text's register is through the appearance of register features (Biber 1995:29). Unlike register markers, register features appear in nearly all types of texts, and their presence alone is not indicative of any single register. They cannot, in other words, be simply studied using qualitative methods. However, register features can display significant variance in their patterns of frequency between different registers. This variance can be studied quantitatively using a corpus tool, for example, to reveal potentially universal differences between different registers. Even so, features should not be studied in isolation, but as a part of a larger whole (Biber, 1995:29-30).

While Biber talks of universal phenomena that show similar patterns of occurrence across different languages, this paper will only involve the linguistic features of different registers in English. For example, verbs and pronouns in English occur much more frequently in spoken communication and fiction than in academic prose or news texts, whereas for nouns and prepositions the opposite is true; they are

most frequent in news and academic texts (Biber, 1995:60,77; Biber, Conrad & Leech, 2002:32,93,105).

Of course, in order for these distinctive linguistic features to be properly identified in a study, there should be a clear system of classification for the different types of texts (Biber 1995: 27). In addition, Biber states that a comprehensive analytical framework for studies of register variation should present a “full range of registers [...], representing the range of situational variation”, “a representative sampling of texts from each register”, and “a wide range of linguistic features [to] be analyzed” (1995: 27). These are the goals that this paper has strived for.

This paper could be described as a synchronic description of the pattern variations among multiple, somewhat similar registers. The texts in this study have been taken from 12 different news publications, which can all be seen as representing the common register of news texts. These 12 publications have been further classified into three sub-categories, or registers, of news language: mainstream, tabloid and finance. The linguistic features under observation in this study range from type-token ratios, frequency patterns of different parts of speech, and various expressions and structures. While some of the results in this study may correspond with those presented by Biber, this is a case study and will not claim to present any universal features of tabloid, mainstream or finance publications in general. The following chapter will go into more detail regarding the methods employed in the study.

### **3 Methods and materials**

For the purposes of studying the stance-marking structures, metadiscourse markers, and various rhetorical means discussed in the previous chapters, I conducted a corpus study of several online news publications. The corpus study comprised of several stages: compiling the corpus from online news publications, tagging the individual words in the texts with an online tagging tool, counting the frequencies of words, word classes and expressions in a freeware concordance and corpus tool, and finally gathering and analysing the results in a spreadsheet programme with various statistical tools. At the beginning of this study it was not immediately clear what linguistic features I should expect to find, and so a great deal of time was spent studying the corpus from a variety of perspectives.

### 3.1 Compiling the corpus

The corpus for this study was composed of news articles dealing with the Greek debt-crisis from 12 different news publications: *The Mirror*, CNN, *New York Daily News*, *The New York Post*, the BBC, Deutsche Welle, *The Economist*, *Forbes*, *The Daily Mail*, *The Guardian*, *The New York Times*, and *The Financial Times*. While they are all news publications, they represent different kinds of news reporting and fall roughly into one of three categories: financial, mainstream or tabloid news.

*The Economist*, *Forbes* and *The Financial Times* all deal with economic and financial issues, and while they also cover more general topics, their focus is on the financial implications of world events.

On the other hand, mainstream publications, the CNN, the BBC, the Deutsche Welle, *The Guardian*, and *The New York Times*, largely give a more general view of the world to a broader audience. Their scope is on the whole much wider than that of financial publications, but some of them also cover financial stories in great detail.

The British *Mirror* and *The Daily Mail*, as well as the American *New York Daily News* and *The New York Post*, can all be safely classified under the title of tabloid publications; their respective web pages are littered with pictures of celebrities and the latest celebrity gossip, as well as stories of grisly murders, and they don't generally seem to be considered very trustworthy (see Trichter & Paige, 2004; ). Their viewpoint could also be described as somewhat provincial.

When speaking of these three categories in this paper I will refer to the groups of tabloid, mainstream, and finance publications as publication types.

The compiling process was greatly facilitated by modern online search engines and news websites. I collected the texts with the help of Google News (Google, 2012) as well as the search tools on the websites of the different publications using the search words: 'Greek debt Crisis'. I wanted to limit the scope of my study to a certain time frame to ensure that the articles would deal with roughly the same issues, so I only searched for news articles between January and December of 2010, as by this time, the debt crisis was already well under way, and I had plenty of news articles to choose from.

I did not include every article that came up in the search results, but tried to only include texts that had the Greek Crisis as the focal point of the text. I also tried to cut down on the large number of duplicate articles that showed up in the listings. Despite

my efforts there may be some articles that only deal with Greece tangentially as well as some duplicate articles that may slightly skew the results.

I copied the articles into text files, where I edited them further. Firstly, as my analysis was to focus on textual differences, all pictures and their accompanying captions were removed. While the captions could have also been analysed, I found that they offered little to no value by themselves out of their visual context. Also, because I wanted to study the different texts as traditional news texts, the more interactive elements of the internet-era - such as slide-shows with additional info, reader comments and feedback forms - were removed as well. All of these could no doubt also provide interesting research topics in the field of sociolinguistics, but they were not what I wanted to focus on.

### **3.2 Corpus description**

The different news sites each had their own peculiarities, which is understandable as the corpus represents 12 publications from different sub-categories of news reporting, all with differing cultures. Details of the resulting corpus are presented in the table below:

Table 3: Overview of corpus

	# of stories	Words/story	# of types	# of tokens	Types/tokens	Genre
Economist	74	872.0**	5535	64525	8.58%	Financial
Forbes	103	642.2	6055	66150	9.15%	Financial
FT	560**	570.9	10735**	319686**	3.36%*	Financial
<b>CNN</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>641.2</b>	<b>1613</b>	<b>8336</b>	<b>19.35%</b>	<b>Mainstream</b>
<b>BBC</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>529.3</b>	<b>3966</b>	<b>44463</b>	<b>8.92%</b>	<b>Mainstream</b>
<b>DW</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>526.5</b>	<b>4316</b>	<b>49487</b>	<b>8.72%</b>	<b>Mainstream</b>
<b>Guardian</b>	<b>158</b>	<b>722.6</b>	<b>7486</b>	<b>114164</b>	<b>6.56%</b>	<b>Mainstream</b>
<b>NY Times</b>	<b>212</b>	<b>816.6</b>	<b>8398</b>	<b>173112</b>	<b>4.85%</b>	<b>Mainstream</b>
<i>Mirror</i>	6*	349.8*	744*	2099*	35.45%**	Tabloid
<i>NY Daily</i>	18	686.1	2258	12350	18.28%	Tabloid
<i>NY Post</i>	41	519.1	3387	21282	15.91%	Tabloid
<i>Daily Mail</i>	141	654.4	6434	92274	6.97%	Tabloid
	# of stories	Words/story	# of types	# of tokens	Types/tokens	Stories/publication
Financial	737**	611.1*	11530**	450361**	2.56%*	245.7**
<b>Mainstream</b>	<b>561</b>	<b>694.4**</b>	<b>10581</b>	<b>389562</b>	<b>2.72%</b>	<b>112.2</b>
Tabloid	206*	621.4	6750*	128005*	5.27%**	51.5*
<b>All publications</b>	<b>1504</b>	<b>643.6</b>	<b>21986</b>	<b>967928</b>	<b>2.27%</b>	<b>125.3</b>

\* marks the lowest value, \*\* the highest

Looking at all the stories from every publication, the average length of a news story was about 643 words. The financial set of texts had the most word types, while the tabloids had the least. The type counts of the three publication types, along with the overall type count of the entire corpus, shows that there was quite a bit of variation between the different texts, in spite of the common topic. While the type-token ratio could be used to compare the range of vocabulary in the publications, it would require the corpora to be of similar sizes. As the largest sub-corpora is roughly 150 times bigger than the smallest sub-corpora, I will not be making such comparisons. The large variance in the type-token ratios does however show quite well how the different publications in the corpus differed from one another in scale.

*The Financial Times* had the most stories relating to the topic, and also the most types and tokens while *The Economist* had on average the longest stories. *The Mirror*, on the other hand, had the least stories relating to the topic and also the shortest stories on average, as well as the least amount of types and the highest type-token ratio.

### 3.2.1 Mainstream publications

The mainstream publications are generally well known and international, and have a wide readership. It would thus be fair to assume that their approach would be more international than that of tabloid publications for example. Some of the publications, namely the BBC and Deutsche Welle, are publicly funded (BBC, 2011; Deutsche Welle, 2012), while the others, *The Guardian*, CNN, and *The New York Times*, are privately owned. Such corporate links can often lead to accusations of bias and partisanship. For example, CNN, in addition to being a subsidiary of the TimeWarner corporation, has apparently also tended to side with democrats in its reporting (PEJ, 2007). This may also affect the way it presents news about Europe. There were, however, relatively few stories on CNN about the Greek crisis and they were generally quite short.

The BBC on the other hand provides both a European and British view on the crisis. It has been commonly held to be trustworthy and even prestigious, any recent PR-problems notwithstanding.

The Deutsche Welle was interesting due to Germany's close role in the mediation of the crisis, and it was also the only publication to provide a point of view from Continental Europe. The articles from the website were fairly brief in nature; the average story length was clearly shorter than in the other mainstream news publications.

*The Guardian* had quite a bit of reporting on the crisis and may have gone more in to the 'why' and 'how' of the story than the others. It is a generally left-leaning publication (Guardian, 2011) and I was interested in seeing whether this would be somehow reflected in the results. The articles in *the Guardian* were also longer and there were more of them than in most other mainstream publications.

The only mainstream publication to have longer articles was *the New York Times*, which also had significantly more articles. Its stories were also longer than in the other American publications. It is also a well-respected American newspaper with over a 100 Pulitzer prizes (*The New York Times Company*, 2013).

### 3.2.2 Tabloid publications

As already mentioned, the British Mirror had the smallest token count, and also the smallest type count and the highest type-token ratios.



*New York Daily News* had roughly three times as many stories and roughly six times as many words as *The Mirror*, but many of the stories appeared to be from Reuters or the Associated Press.

*The New York Post* again had roughly twice as many news stories and words as *New York Daily News*.

The other British tabloid, *The Daily Mail*, had significantly more words and stories, and was the fourth largest sub-corpus of the 12 publications.

### 3.2.3 Financial publications

The financial publications had their own defining characteristics, such as more talk of stock market developments. The American *Forbes* even had stock quotes placed in various parts of the articles. These and links to related stories were removed for the corpus, as they would serve little use in the actual analysis of the texts, and would likely only make it more difficult or even affect the results in unexpected ways. The publishing of the writers' names is an interesting and defining feature of the texts, which resembled opinion pieces. There were some texts which were excluded because it was difficult to ascertain whether they were simply opinion piece-like articles or more akin to readers' letters to the editor.

*The Economist* on the other hand has a different approach; its editorial philosophy refrains from using bylines. Its articles are presented 'anonymously because it is a paper whose collective voice and personality matter more than the identities of individual journalists' (*Economist* Group, 2012). This policy is apparently intended to represent objectivity, forcing the reader to judge an article on its own merits, rather by those of its author.

The owner of *the Financial Times*, the FT Group, also owns half of *the Economist*. In spite of this connection, *the Financial Times* does not seem to have a similar editorial philosophy; bylines are employed in practically all of the articles.

### 3.3 Word class tagging

Next, in order to study the linguistic phenomena in more detail, I needed to tag the words in the corpus according to word class. For this, I used the *Constituent Likelihood Automatic Word-tagging System*, or *CLAWS*, developed by the *University Centre for Computer Corpus Research on Language* at Lancaster University. *CLAWS* has a free online trial service, which was sufficient for the corpus I was working

with. For my study I decided to employ the C7 tagset. The tags allowed me to study the frequencies of different parts of speech, which could then be analysed as register features. In some cases the tagging system also effectively differentiated between certain homonyms, which made their later analysis more convenient.

The CLAWS website states that the tagging system is 96-97% accurate (UCREL, 2011). The tagging is by no means perfect, but it is considerably faster than tagging all the words by hand, which would not only be slow and tedious, but would also enter yet another factor of human error into the equation. After the initial automated tagging, the resulting tags were analysed and any clear mistakes were corrected. Proper nouns, especially Greek names, were often misinterpreted by the tagging system and needed to be assigned with the correct tags by hand. There were no doubt some individual words that remained incorrectly tagged, especially some less common ones, but overall the resulting tags should be fairly accurate.

### **3.4 Statistical significance and analysis**

After the tagging of the words, I ran several corpus and concordance searches in AntConc. The resulting numbers were copied to a spreadsheet in OpenOffice Calc. To determine the statistical significance of the corpus findings I calculated the chi-square values of the individual items I studied. While a confidence level of 5% might have also sufficed, I chose a confidence level of 1%, meaning that there is a 99% chance that the results deemed significant have not occurred by chance.

Statistically significant results are presented in the text using the formula shown below:

$$(\chi^2=AA \text{ (df=BB)}, p<CC)$$

The variable 'AA' is the chi-square value, 'BB' is the number of degrees of freedom, and CC expresses the confidence level in decimal form. When word frequency results are presented in tables, results demonstrating significant differences in frequency distributions are marked with asterisks, with '\*\*' denoting the publication or register with the highest word frequencies, and '\*' denoting those with the lowest frequencies. In other words, they do not represent different confidence levels.

## **4 Results and analysis**

The tagged text files allowed the further study of the word frequencies in the AntConc corpus tool. The results in this chapter were derived from AntConc as well as a purpose built Python script used for counting words.

In the following chapters I will present word frequencies in tables arranged by publication and genre. The numbers represent occurrences of a word or phrase per 1000 words. In cases where there is a statistically significant difference between different publication types, the publications with the highest word frequencies are marked with '\*\*', whereas the lowest frequencies are marked with '\*'. If there are no markings in a given column in a table it means that the results themselves were not found to be statistically significant.

### **4.1 Word classes**

#### **4.1.1 Nouns**

Nouns are an essential part of the news reports. They mark the subject matter, events and major actors in the stories, and they are generally speaking also significantly more frequent in news texts than in other registers. It is thus not surprising that they are also the most frequent word class in the corpus.

Table 4: Occurrence of nouns in corpus

	Singular common nouns	Plural common nouns	Common noun, neutral number	<b>All common nouns</b>	Singular proper nouns	Plural proper nouns	Proper nouns denoting days	<b>All proper nouns</b>	<b>All nouns</b>
Economist	152.53	70.98	1.60	<b>234.31</b>	44.85	0.05	0.42	<b>48.76</b>	<b>283.32</b>
Forbes	165.09	70.31	2.09	<b>250.37</b>	57.23	0.56	3.75	<b>64.08</b>	<b>314.59</b>
FT	168.32	67.03	1.75	<b>258.83</b>	56.27	0.18	2.58	<b>62.96</b>	<b>321.97</b>
<b>CNN</b>	167.47	70.18	2.16	<b>254.20</b>	66.82	0.00	5.40	<b>75.70</b>	<b>329.89</b>
<b>BBC</b>	160.47	67.07	2.41	<b>242.47</b>	60.70	0.00	3.96	<b>68.21</b>	<b>311.07</b>
<b>DW</b>	169.28	62.02	2.51	<b>244.19</b>	70.42	0.04	4.77	<b>77.35</b>	<b>321.74</b>
<b>Guardian</b>	164.81	64.71	2.07	<b>240.04</b>	52.30	0.09	2.44	<b>59.53</b>	<b>299.82</b>
<b>NY Times</b>	158.89	69.89	1.78	<b>245.89</b>	62.14	0.32	4.36	<b>69.71</b>	<b>315.86</b>
<i>Mirror</i>	177.23	79.56	5.72	<b>267.75</b>	67.17	0.48	1.43	<b>71.94</b>	<b>339.69</b>
<i>NY Daily</i>	165.34	82.02	3.08	<b>266.72</b>	65.83	0.00	7.94	<b>80.00</b>	<b>346.72</b>
<i>NY Post</i>	160.04	68.74	2.49	<b>246.78</b>	65.97	0.05	1.50	<b>72.78</b>	<b>319.80</b>
<i>Daily Mail</i>	168.83	66.87	1.72	<b>249.91</b>	57.78	0.21	1.51	<b>62.25</b>	<b>312.37</b>
Financial	165.58	68.07	1.78	<b>254.07</b>	54.78*	0.21	2.44	<b>61.09*</b>	<b>315.35</b>
<b>Mainstream</b>	162.31	67.05	2.04	<b>243.75</b>	60.24**	0.17	3.82**	<b>67.66**</b>	<b>311.66</b>
<i>Tabloid</i>	167.17	68.85	2.05	<b>251.30</b>	60.08	0.16	2.12*	<b>65.87</b>	<b>317.37</b>
<b>All publications</b>	<b>164.48</b>	<b>67.77</b>	<b>1.92</b>	<b>249.55</b>	<b>57.68</b>	<b>0.19</b>	<b>2.96</b>	<b>64.36</b>	<b>314.13</b>

Numbers indicate frequency as occurrences per 1000 words.  
In cases of statistical significance, \* marks the lowest frequency, \*\* the highest

The table above shows, that while there were no significant differences in the use of common nouns, there was a significant difference in the use of proper nouns ( $\chi^2=145.26$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ), especially those in the singular ( $\chi^2=122.90$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ). Mainstream publications used them the most while finance publications used them the least. Especially the use of weekdays showed a significant difference ( $\chi^2=168.98$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ), appearing the least frequently in the tabloids. This can be partly attributed to differences in the ways publications mark the date in each published article, but it may also be a demonstration of differences in reporting. While mainstream publications talk of imminent or recent events, tabloids might not go into such detail as to mention dates, while finance publications may offer a retrospective analysis of past events over a longer time frame where specific days of the week are largely irrelevant. There was no such significant difference in the frequency of proper nouns denoting months, however. The differences in the overall frequency of nouns were not significant either.

As proper nouns are usually used to refer to people and places, based on the data, one could draw the conclusion that the mainstream publications may talk about specific people and recent or upcoming events more than the other publication types.

This may also imply a stylistic choice of using nouns instead of pronouns.

#### 4.1.2 Pronouns

Pronouns, as their name suggests, are used in place of nouns, for example to avoid repetition of names in a text. One might expect a publication with low usage of nouns to instead use more pronouns in their place as a stylistic choice. Pronouns can also be used to refer to the author of the text or to the intended audience, for example to build up or maintain a relationship to the reader. As mentioned in chapter 2.1.1, they are also commonly more frequent in spoken and informal texts.

*Table 5: Occurrence of first and second person pronouns in the corpus*

	1st person singular subjective (I)	1st person singular objective (me)	1st person plural subjective (we)	1st person plural objective (us)	2nd person (you)	<b>All personal pronouns</b>	<b>All pronouns</b>
Economist	1.29	0.28	1.70	0.11	1.02	<b>20.05</b>	<b>23.63</b>
Forbes	2.51	0.24	2.36	0.35	2.12	<b>21.72</b>	<b>24.31</b>
FT	0.78	0.09	1.94	0.20	0.55	<b>16.79</b>	<b>18.72</b>
CNN	1.68	0.00	3.24	0.36	2.16	<b>23.63</b>	<b>25.79</b>
BBC	1.71	0.16	3.04	0.16	0.74	<b>23.39</b>	<b>26.16</b>
DW	1.48	0.12	3.56	0.44	0.81	<b>22.51</b>	<b>25.20</b>
Guardian	1.37	0.19	3.19	0.53	0.74	<b>21.50</b>	<b>25.17</b>
NY Times	0.73	0.09	2.18	0.28	0.76	<b>19.11</b>	<b>22.14</b>
Mirror	0.48	0.00	4.76	0.48	1.43	<b>19.53</b>	<b>22.87</b>
NY Daily	0.40	0.08	2.11	0.32	0.57	<b>14.41</b>	<b>17.81</b>
NY Post	0.42	0.05	3.01	0.56	1.08	<b>21.90</b>	<b>26.08</b>
Daily Mail	1.00	0.22	2.17	0.60	0.88	<b>20.61</b>	<b>23.02</b>
Financial	1.10	0.14	1.97*	0.21*	0.85	<b>17.99*</b>	<b>20.25*</b>
Mainstream	1.14	0.13	2.77**	0.36	0.79	<b>20.83**</b>	<b>23.95**</b>
Tabloid	0.84	0.17	2.34	0.56**	0.89	<b>20.21</b>	<b>23.02</b>
<b>All publications</b>	<b>1.08</b>	<b>0.14</b>	<b>2.34</b>	<b>0.32</b>	<b>0.83</b>	<b>19.42</b>	<b>22.10</b>

The table above shows the usage of the first and second person pronouns in the different publications in the corpus. There is a clear significant difference in the use of pronouns overall ( $\chi^2=135.28$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ) as well as personal pronouns ( $\chi^2=91.61$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ). The specific forms that show significant differences in their use are the first person plural forms 'we' ( $\chi^2=57.83$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ) and 'us' ( $\chi^2=43.45$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ). Neither the first person singular forms, nor the second person forms show any significant differences in their appearance in the different

publication types.

In the mainstream publications, the use of the first person plural subjective 'we' is significantly more frequent than in the other publication types. It is least frequent in the finance publications. The tabloids however show a clear tendency to use the first person plural objective pronoun 'us' much more often than the other publications.

This can mean many things. As 'we' is the subjective form, showing the speaker in an active role, it can be used to emphasize strength of will or resolve, as in the examples of direct quotations below:

"...the actions taken today...proves that we shall defend the euro whatever it takes." (CNN, 19 May, 2010)

" We have a very serious plan of ... deficit reduction . " (BBC, 28 April, 2010)

" The stability of the euro is at stake - we will defend it , " (*Mirror*, 29 April 2010)

'["...I 'm confident we will succeed to turn things around concerning Greece .["'] (Daily Mail, 5 May, 2010)

'Us' on the other hand is the objective form, in other words, it represents the recipient or target of an action. It can be used to highlight the perceived innocent nature of a group, but also a degree of helplessness or, in some cases, outright incompetence:

"We have many problems here , but with the economy in such a state , I doubt he can help us." (*New York Post*, 25 April, 2010)

"Will we let the speculators strangle us , or will we take our fate in our own hands ?" (*Daily Mail*, 27 February, 2010)

" We Greeks do not expect the Germans to 'save' us , " (Deutsche Welle, 3 March 2010)

' ...[T]he media likes to paint us all with a broad brush.' (*Financial Times*, 21 August 2010)

'Us' can also be used in comparisons, such as the one below:

'The UK Government is keen to stress the difference between us and them.' (*Mirror*, 30 April 2010)

As can be seen in the quotes above, both the subjective and the objective forms often appear in quotes presenting different groups of people with differing levels of agency, from the politicians making the policy decisions to the ordinary people trying to get by. The first person plural forms can also be used by the writers to refer to themselves and the audience, such as in the following:

'New Yorkers should pay special heed -- because we could be in the same boat.' (*New York Post*, 10 March, 2010)

'Had we become members , we would have lost our financial independence and would now be under the supervision of the European Central Bank .' (*Daily Mail*, 12 February, 2010)

Unfortunately, making any valid conclusions about the intended meanings of the words 'us' and 'we' is quite difficult without their proper contexts.

*Table 6: Occurrence of 3rd person pronouns in the corpus*

	3rd person sing. subjective (he, she)	3rd person sing. objective (him, her)	3rd person plural subjective (they)	3rd person plural objective (them)	3rd person sing. neuter (it)	<b>All personal pronouns</b>	<b>All pronouns</b>
<b>Economist</b>	1.44	0.20	3.44	0.76	8.79	<b>20.05</b>	<b>23.63</b>
Forbes	1.51	0.05	3.08	0.71	7.98	<b>21.72</b>	<b>24.31</b>
FT	2.29	0.07	2.44	0.48	7.42	<b>16.79</b>	<b>18.72</b>
<b>CNN</b>	4.92	0.00	2.28	0.60	8.04	<b>23.63</b>	<b>25.79</b>
<b>BBC</b>	4.43	0.02	3.46	0.74	8.34	<b>23.39</b>	<b>26.16</b>
<b>DW</b>	4.97	0.08	3.01	0.57	6.63	<b>22.51</b>	<b>25.20</b>
<b>Guardian</b>	3.13	0.26	2.79	0.55	8.00	<b>21.50</b>	<b>25.17</b>
<b>NY Times</b>	4.12	0.14	2.83	0.69	6.62	<b>19.11</b>	<b>22.14</b>
<i>Mirror</i>	0.95	0.00	1.43	0.48	9.53	<b>19.53</b>	<b>22.87</b>
<i>NY Daily</i>	2.67	0.16	1.78	0.32	5.75	<b>14.41</b>	<b>17.81</b>
<i>NY Post</i>	2.58	0.47	3.34	0.85	8.46	<b>21.90</b>	<b>26.08</b>
<i>Daily Mail</i>	3.39	0.20	3.01	0.70	8.02	<b>20.61</b>	<b>23.02</b>
Financial	2.05*	0.08	2.68	0.56	7.70	<b>17.99*</b>	<b>20.25*</b>
<b>Mainstream</b>	3.99**	0.15	2.90	0.64	7.25	<b>20.83**</b>	<b>23.95**</b>
<i>Tabloid</i>	3.15	0.23	2.92	0.69	7.90	<b>20.21</b>	<b>23.02</b>
<b>All publications</b>	<b>7.55</b>	<b>0.13</b>	<b>0.61</b>	<b>2.98</b>	<b>2.80</b>	<b>19.42</b>	<b>22.10</b>

In the table above we can also see that there is a significant difference in the use of the third person singular subjective ( $\chi^2=264.88$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ), which seem to be most frequent in the mainstream publications. So, in addition to using the most proper nouns, which include names of countries, politicians and companies, mainstream publications also seem to use the most pronouns. The financial publications again appeared to use these pronouns the least. That, together with the fact that they employed the least proper nouns, might imply that the focus in their stories is on the issues rather than the people.

Another facet of pronouns is the use of gender-specific third person pronouns, presented in the table below:

Table 7: Occurrence of gender-specific pronouns in the corpus

	'he'	'his'	'him'	<b>Masculine overall</b>	'she'	'her'	<b>Feminine overall</b>	<b>All personal pronouns</b>
Economist	1.02	1.15	0.15	2.32	0.42	0.31	0.73	<b>20.05</b>
Forbes	1.30	0.54	0.02	1.86	0.21	0.06	0.27	<b>21.72</b>
FT	1.98	0.96	0.05	2.99	0.31	0.17	0.48	<b>16.79</b>
<b>CNN</b>	<b>3.72</b>	<b>1.08</b>	<b>0.00</b>	<b>4.80</b>	<b>1.20</b>	<b>0.36</b>	<b>1.56</b>	<b>23.63</b>
<b>BBC</b>	<b>3.64</b>	<b>0.88</b>	<b>0.02</b>	<b>4.54</b>	<b>0.79</b>	<b>0.27</b>	<b>1.06</b>	<b>23.39</b>
<b>DW</b>	<b>3.84</b>	<b>1.27</b>	<b>0.08</b>	<b>5.19</b>	<b>1.13</b>	<b>0.57</b>	<b>1.70</b>	<b>22.51</b>
<b>Guardian</b>	<b>2.65</b>	<b>1.31</b>	<b>0.22</b>	<b>4.18</b>	<b>0.48</b>	<b>0.35</b>	<b>0.83</b>	<b>21.50</b>
<b>NY Times</b>	<b>3.61</b>	<b>0.96</b>	<b>0.12</b>	<b>4.69</b>	<b>0.51</b>	<b>0.39</b>	<b>0.91</b>	<b>19.11</b>
<i>Mirror</i>	0.95	0.48	0.00	1.43	0.00	0.00	0.00	<b>19.53</b>
<i>NY Daily</i>	2.35	0.57	0.16	3.08	0.32	0.00	0.32	<b>14.41</b>
<i>NY Post</i>	2.35	1.32	0.42	4.09	0.23	0.19	0.42	<b>21.90</b>
<i>Daily Mail</i>	2.70	0.98	0.11	3.78	0.68	0.51	1.19	<b>20.61</b>
Financial	1.74*	0.92	0.06	2.73*	0.31*	0.17*	0.48*	<b>17.99*</b>
<b>Mainstream</b>	<b>3.36**</b>	<b>1.10</b>	<b>0.13</b>	<b>4.59**</b>	<b>0.63**</b>	<b>0.39</b>	<b>1.02**</b>	<b>20.83**</b>
<i>Tabloid</i>	2.58	0.98	0.16	3.73	0.56	0.40**	0.96	<b>20.21</b>
<b>All publications</b>	<b>2.51</b>	<b>1.00</b>	<b>0.10</b>	<b>3.61</b>	<b>0.47</b>	<b>0.29</b>	<b>0.76</b>	<b>19.42</b>

The table above shows that the use of the masculine personal pronouns is considerably more frequent than that of the feminine pronouns, the vast majority of which seem to refer to one specific person, the German Chancellor Angela Merkel. There were also references to Christine Lagarde, the French minister of Finance at that time. In all the publication types, the ratio of male/female gender specific pronouns was roughly 4/1, meaning that references to males were roughly four times as frequent. Whether the lack of a female presence in the news says something about the debt crisis, the world of international politics, or the news media, is up for debate.

### 4.1.3 Verbs

Verbs form the syntactic core of a clause and are subsequently also the second most frequent word class in the corpus. Together with the nouns and pronouns they construct a news story's narrative, describing what has occurred and the actions taken by individuals. As mentioned before in chapter 2.1.1, they are also generally more frequent in the registers of conversation and fiction and occur less frequently in academic and news registers.



Table 8: Occurrence of verbs in the corpus

	S-form of lexical verb	Modal verbs	Past tense of lexical verb	Past participle of lexical verb	-ing participle of lexical verb	Infinitive of lexical verb	Base form of lexical verb	Forms of verb 'be'	TO Infinitive marker	<b>All verbs</b>
Economist	11.24	19.54	11.55	20.43	15.00	33.48	13.24	38.20	21.73	<b>177.62</b>
Forbes	11.93	16.30	17.37	17.48	17.60	27.30	14.23	35.33	17.22	<b>171.41</b>
FT	9.79	15.10	23.94	21.02	15.91	28.23	9.21	30.55	19.03	<b>166.74</b>
CNN	13.80	13.32	25.55	21.11	16.67	32.27	10.80	33.59	21.71	<b>184.74</b>
BBC	11.49	18.33	20.17	25.68	15.95	34.37	11.16	36.01	23.17	<b>191.91</b>
DW	11.13	15.03	21.58	22.03	15.88	32.07	11.15	33.20	22.47	<b>177.16</b>
Guardian	11.42	15.77	18.36	24.46	17.38	30.58	11.07	34.14	20.41	<b>180.49</b>
NY Times	9.23	15.08	25.92	20.33	17.11	29.86	12.26	29.07	20.10	<b>173.75</b>
Mirror	13.34	14.29	29.54	20.49	17.63	28.59	11.91	33.35	16.20	<b>178.18</b>
NY Daily	10.04	13.36	31.17	20.81	21.30	29.39	10.04	27.77	19.76	<b>175.63</b>
NY Post	10.29	15.37	29.84	20.53	20.35	30.97	11.79	30.17	18.84	<b>182.41</b>
Daily Mail	8.43	17.32	25.49	22.31	17.79	30.92	11.78	34.33	20.24	<b>183.67</b>
Financial	10.31	15.91	21.20*	20.41*	16.03*	28.84*	10.52*	32.35	19.15*	<b>168.98*</b>
Mainstream	10.47	15.61	22.49	22.38**	16.89	30.92**	11.61	31.97	20.87**	<b>178.47</b>
Tabloid	8.98	16.56	26.83**	21.84	18.55**	30.74	11.62**	32.99	19.90	<b>182.59**</b>
<b>All publications</b>	<b>10.20</b>	<b>15.88</b>	<b>22.46</b>	<b>21.40</b>	<b>16.71</b>	<b>29.93</b>	<b>11.11</b>	<b>32.28</b>	<b>19.94</b>	<b>174.60</b>

Interestingly, tabloid publications showed a significantly higher frequency of verbs ( $\chi^2=161.56$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ), while finance publications showed the lowest frequencies. This might suggest that the tabloids have a more informal, conversational style than the other text types. It might also suggest that finance publications have longer clauses and sentences containing other linguistic material. However, tabloids also seem to have slightly higher frequencies of infinitive markers ( $\chi^2=31.21$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ) and base forms of lexical verbs ( $\chi^2=25.82$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ). This together with their slightly more frequent use of modal auxiliaries might mean that tabloids use more complex verb constructions, which would result in more verbs in a single sentence.

In order to see whether the frequency of verbs in the different types of publications is affected by the average length of sentences and clauses, we can look at the use of punctuation in the corpus. The more punctuation marks there are for every 1000 words, the shorter the sentences should consequently be.

Table 9: Occurrence of punctuation in the corpus

	Full stop (.)	Comma (,)	Colon (:)	Semicolon (;)	Question mark (?)	Exclamation mark (!)	All punctuation
Economist	45.56	0.73	0.20	0.02	1.39	0.02	<b>47.92</b>
Forbes	45.08	4.05	0.30	0.09	2.46	0.00	<b>51.99</b>
FT	41.61	2.91	0.22	0.01	1.97	0.01	<b>46.72</b>
CNN	40.19	8.40	0.00	0.00	2.64	0.00	<b>51.22</b>
BBC	46.31	4.68	0.76	0.67	1.80	0.02	<b>54.25</b>
DW	42.07	5.92	0.16	0.00	1.94	0.06	<b>50.15</b>
Guardian	39.78	3.81	0.88	0.00	2.36	0.04	<b>46.86</b>
NY Times	42.58	2.92	0.08	0.00	1.38	0.01	<b>46.97</b>
Mirror	46.69	3.33	3.33	0.00	9.05	0.00	<b>62.41</b>
NY Daily	42.83	8.58	0.16	0.00	2.27	0.32	<b>54.17</b>
NY Post	44.54	7.94	4.32	0.00	2.82	0.23	<b>59.86</b>
Daily Mail	41.86	3.50	3.07	0.01	2.86	0.18	<b>51.49</b>
Financial	42.68	2.76*	0.23	0.02	1.96	0.01*	<b>47.67*</b>
Mainstream	42.07	3.88	0.40*	0.08	1.81*	0.03	<b>48.26</b>
Tabloid	42.48	4.73**	3.00**	0.01	2.90**	0.20**	<b>53.32**</b>
All publications	<b>42.41</b>	<b>3.47</b>	<b>0.66</b>	<b>0.04</b>	<b>2.03</b>	<b>0.04</b>	<b>48.65</b>

As the above table shows, there seem to be no significant differences in the occurrence of full stops, but the tabloids do appear to employ significantly more commas ( $\chi^2=141.69$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ), colons ( $\chi^2=1226.49$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ), as well as question marks ( $\chi^2=57.75$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ) and exclamation marks ( $\chi^2=91.85$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ). The overall frequency of punctuation is highest in tabloids and lowest in the finance publications. This seems to imply that sentences and clauses are indeed shorter in the tabloids and longer in the other publication types, especially finance publications.

Another aspect of verbs is their use of active and passive constructions. This is a major factor in terms of the assignment of blame. The use of passive voice constructions allows the writer to conceal the roles of the different actors in the news story and to draw the audience's attention to something else instead. The passive voice is formed by combining different forms of the verb 'be' and the past participle of a lexical verb, making it somewhat easy to gauge the prevalence of the construction in the different text types.

Table 10: Occurrence of passive voice constructions in the corpus

	'Be' + past participle	'Been' + past participle	'Is' + past participle	'Was' + past participle	'Are' + past participle	'Were' + past participle	'Being' + past participle	<b>All passive voice forms</b>
<b>Economist</b>	2.63	0.90	1.49	0.93	0.64	0.45	0.74	<b>7.78</b>
Forbes	1.77	0.44	1.03	0.86	0.70	0.50	0.36	<b>5.65</b>
FT	2.74	0.83	1.24	1.13	0.63	0.65	0.46	<b>7.67</b>
<b>CNN</b>	1.32	1.20	1.44	0.72	0.72	0.84	0.48	<b>6.72</b>
<b>BBC</b>	2.79	1.57	1.03	1.24	0.76	0.63	0.74	<b>8.77</b>
<b>DW</b>	2.81	0.69	1.37	1.25	0.89	0.69	0.44	<b>8.14</b>
<b>Guardian</b>	2.29	1.56	1.34	1.35	0.53	0.40	0.84	<b>8.32</b>
<b>NY Times</b>	2.27	0.81	0.92	1.10	0.59	0.58	0.38	<b>6.65</b>
<i>Mirror</i>	2.86	0.48	0.00	3.33	0.48	1.43	0.48	<b>9.05</b>
<i>NY Daily</i>	1.38	0.49	1.30	0.81	0.49	1.54	0.65	<b>6.64</b>
<i>NY Post</i>	1.64	0.66	0.61	1.69	0.38	1.08	0.42	<b>6.48</b>
<i>Daily Mail</i>	2.58	1.25	1.22	1.19	0.73	0.73	0.57	<b>8.27</b>
Financial	2.58	0.78*	1.24	1.06	0.64	0.60	0.49	<b>7.39</b>
<b>Mainstream</b>	2.38	1.11**	1.13	1.20	0.64	0.55	0.56	<b>7.58</b>
<i>Tabloid</i>	2.31	1.06	1.11	1.27	0.64	0.87	0.55	<b>7.83</b>
<b>All publications</b>	<b>2.47</b>	<b>0.95</b>	<b>1.18</b>	<b>1.14</b>	<b>0.64</b>	<b>0.62</b>	<b>0.53</b>	<b>7.52</b>

As the table above shows, there were few significant differences in the use of these constructions. Only the passive form featuring the word 'been', the past participle of 'be', showed a significant difference between the different types of publications, occurring slightly more often in the mainstream publications ( $\chi^2=25.11$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ). This result seems to indicate that there was no readily apparent trend in any particular publication type to try and obfuscate active roles in the crisis. As can be seen below, the passive voice was used in all manner of contexts:

'Three bank workers , one of them pregnant , were killed yesterday as protests by up to 100,000 Greeks against spending cuts turned deadly.' (*Daily Mail*, 6 May, 2010)

'That recommendation was rebuffed because finance ministers did not want anyone looking over their shoulders.' (*Guardian*, 2 April 2010)

'But its success in raising money from bond sales was darkened by the continuing high interest rates markets were demanding to hold Greek debt.' (*New York Times*, 20 March 2010)

'Greece was condemned by the European Commission yesterday for falsifying data about its public finances and allowing political pressures to obstruct the collection of accurate statistics.' (*Financial Times*, 13 January, 2010)

Yet another way to shift blame is through the use of necessity modalities, which can be used by a writer to present someone as an unwilling participant or even a victim.

*Table 11: Occurrence of necessity modalities in the corpus*

	[have] to	[be] forced to	[have] no choice	must	[be] necessary to	All necessity modalities
Economist	1.4	0.1	0.0	0.8	0.1	<b>2.4</b>
Forbes	0.7	0.1	0.0	0.4	0.1	<b>1.3</b>
FT	0.9	0.1	0.0	0.5	0.0	<b>1.6</b>
<b>CNN</b>	0.6	0.2	0.0	0.5	0.1	<b>1.4</b>
<b>BBC</b>	1.2	0.3	0.0	1.0	0.1	<b>2.6</b>
<b>DW</b>	1.3	0.2	0.0	0.9	0.0	<b>2.4</b>
<b>Guardian</b>	1.0	0.2	0.0	0.5	0.1	<b>1.8</b>
<b>NY Times</b>	1.0	0.2	0.0	0.6	0.1	<b>1.9</b>
<i>Mirror</i>	0.0	0.5	0.0	1.4	0.0	<b>1.9</b>
<i>NY Daily</i>	0.9	0.2	0.1	1.0	0.1	<b>2.3</b>
<i>NY Post</i>	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.0	<b>1.3</b>
<i>Daily Mail</i>	0.9	0.2	0.0	0.7	0.1	<b>1.8</b>
Financial	0.9	0.1	0.0	0.5	0.1	<b>1.7</b>
<b>Mainstream</b>	1.1	0.2	0.0	0.6	0.1	<b>2.0</b>
<i>Tabloid</i>	0.8	0.2	0.0	0.7	0.1	<b>1.8</b>
<b>All publications</b>	<b>0.96</b>	<b>0.17</b>	<b>0.01</b>	<b>0.60</b>	<b>0.06</b>	<b>1.81</b>

Again, as the table above shows, there were no significant differences in their use between the different publication types. Of course, the context in which these phrases occur is much more relevant than the frequency of the phrases themselves. I will be looking at their use in context in greater detail in chapter 4.3.1.

#### 4.1.4 Prepositions

Prepositions are a closed word class and are used as function words. They were the third most frequent class of words in the corpus, after nouns and verbs. Unlike lexical words, they have seemingly very little to do with expressing stance, but they are used in many complex structures and, as mentioned in chapter 2.1, traditionally appear much more frequently in academic prose and editorials, which makes them yet another register feature worth investigating.

CLAWS automatically provides tags for some of the most common English prepositions, namely 'for', 'of', and 'with' or 'without'. Other prepositions were tagged under the category of general prepositions.

Table 12: Occurrence of prepositions tagged by CLAWS in the corpus

	General preposition	Preposition 'for'	Preposition 'of'	Prepositions 'with'/'without'	All prepositions
Economist	63.79	9.93	26.90	5.63	<b>106.25</b>
Forbes	71.93	8.87	24.44	5.47	<b>110.72</b>
FT	75.46	9.17	24.81	5.65	<b>115.09</b>
<b>CNN</b>	64.66	8.52	22.79	5.28	<b>101.25</b>
<b>BBC</b>	69.27	8.73	22.00	5.02	<b>105.01</b>
<b>DW</b>	67.78	10.59	21.82	5.21	<b>105.40</b>
<b>Guardian</b>	68.35	8.43	25.72	6.72	<b>109.21</b>
<b>NY Times</b>	72.31	9.71	26.03	5.46	<b>113.50</b>
<i>Mirror</i>	76.23	5.24	24.77	6.19	<b>112.43</b>
<i>NY Daily</i>	72.71	9.15	22.11	5.43	<b>109.39</b>
<i>NY Post</i>	65.69	8.18	23.07	6.06	<b>103.00</b>
<i>Daily Mail</i>	71.18	8.13	24.55	5.55	<b>109.40</b>
Financial	73.27**	9.24	25.05	5.62	<b>113.18**</b>
<b>Mainstream</b>	70.06*	9.31	24.87	5.74	<b>109.99</b>
<i>Tabloid</i>	70.50	8.19	24.07	5.63	<b>108.39*</b>
<b>All publications</b>	<b>71.61</b>	<b>9.13</b>	<b>24.85</b>	<b>5.67</b>	<b>111.26</b>

The occurrences of the prepositions 'for', 'of' and 'with'/'without' was for the most part quite similar in all publication types. The significant differences lay in the overall use of prepositions ( $\chi^2=30.19$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ), especially in the group of general prepositions ( $\chi^2=32.65$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ). Overall, the financial publications employed prepositions most frequently, while tabloids employed them the least. On the other hand, general prepositions were used least by the mainstream publications. To find out where these differences come from, we can look at some of the most frequent general prepositions, which are presented below:

Table 13: Occurrence of 10 most frequent general prepositions

	General preposition 'in'	General preposition 'to'	General preposition 'on'	General preposition 'by'	General preposition 'from'	General preposition 'at'	General preposition 'as'	General preposition 'about'	General preposition 'of'	General preposition 'over'
Economist	18.43	11.42	7.66	7.04	4.56	3.61	2.08	1.77	1.22	1.08
Forbes	20.70	13.86	9.48	4.34	4.99	4.40	2.21	1.21	1.51	1.45
FT	21.04	13.54	9.71	7.63	4.67	5.10	2.83	1.67	1.60	1.72
CNN	18.47	9.60	7.32	6.84	5.04	4.44	3.48	1.32	1.68	0.72
BBC	17.68	11.36	10.48	6.36	4.30	5.92	2.18	1.78	1.35	1.28
DW	19.40	11.19	11.72	5.07	4.59	3.66	2.51	1.39	2.04	0.83
Guardian	19.23	12.39	7.86	6.31	4.62	4.40	2.53	1.36	1.55	1.66
NY Times	21.04	12.20	9.62	6.10	5.25	4.55	1.95	1.93	1.58	1.21
Mirror	12.86	14.77	5.24	7.15	6.19	6.67	4.29	1.91	1.43	2.38
NY Daily	18.38	12.55	10.12	5.99	5.43	4.45	2.11	1.46	1.62	1.38
NY Post	17.10	13.25	6.53	6.16	4.65	4.09	1.97	1.22	1.55	1.03
Daily Mail	18.25	13.08	7.65	6.69	4.44	5.07	2.75	1.22	1.45	1.83
Financial	20.62**	13.28**	9.38	7.06**	4.70	4.79	2.63	1.62	1.53	1.59
Mainstream	19.86	11.97*	9.42**	6.08*	4.86	4.54	2.25	1.66	1.61	1.29
Tabloid	17.98*	13.09	7.66*	6.54	4.60	4.87	2.59	1.26	1.48	1.66
All publications	19.96	12.73	9.17	6.59	4.75	4.70	2.47	1.59	1.56	1.48

The first four general preposition on the list show significant differences in their frequency between the different publication types: the prepositions 'in' ( $\chi^2=34.97$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ), 'to' ( $\chi^2=29.44$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ), and 'by' ( $\chi^2=30.66$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ) are all most frequently used in the finance publications. The preposition 'on' ( $\chi^2=36.58$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ) appears most often in the mainstream and finance publications.

Why these particular general prepositions show such a distinct difference is not immediately clear. They might be used in phrases such as 'in addition', 'according to', or 'based on', which were all quite frequent in the corpus. Whether there are significant differences in the use of such metadiscourse markers will be further dealt with in chapter 4.4.

#### 4.1.5 Adverbs

Adverbs, as words denoting how and in what way things are done, are a word class that is particularly suited for expressing stance. For example, attitude markers, such as 'admittedly', boosters, such as 'actually' or 'clearly', or hedges, such as 'typically' are all examples of adverbs. They can also be used by a writer to state their opinion about a situation that has been handled 'very poorly' or 'fairly well', for example.

Table 14: Occurrence of adverbs in the corpus

	Adverb after nominal head (‘else’, ‘galore’)	Degree adverbs (‘very’, ‘more’, ‘least’)	Locative adverb (‘alongside’, ‘forward’)	Prepositional adverb, particle (‘about’, ‘in’)	General adverbs	Quasi-nominal adverb of time (‘now’, ‘tomorrow’)	<b>All adverbs</b>
Economist	0.31	7.78	1.95	6.21	37.68	3.78	<b>58.88</b>
Forbes	1.12	6.03	2.03	6.64	32.55	3.25	<b>52.43</b>
FT	2.11	5.58	1.30	5.38	27.24	2.96	<b>44.99</b>
<b>CNN</b>	1.32	4.44	1.92	6.48	26.27	1.32	<b>41.99</b>
<b>BBC</b>	1.91	6.21	1.73	6.03	27.71	3.13	<b>46.89</b>
<b>DW</b>	0.24	5.33	1.50	5.11	24.92	2.47	<b>40.05</b>
<b>Guardian</b>	1.83	5.77	1.88	5.82	28.14	4.85	<b>48.56</b>
<b>NY Times</b>	0.66	6.47	1.68	5.14	28.25	2.67	<b>45.39</b>
<i>Mirror</i>	0.00	5.24	1.91	7.15	20.96	8.10	<b>43.35</b>
<i>NY Daily</i>	0.89	5.34	1.30	5.99	22.27	2.83	<b>38.62</b>
<i>NY Post</i>	3.81	5.64	1.64	7.19	28.85	5.54	<b>53.00</b>
<i>Daily Mail</i>	1.87	5.65	1.78	7.10	26.54	5.74	<b>48.94</b>
Financial	1.71	5.96	1.50	5.68	29.51**	3.12*	<b>48.07</b>
<b>Mainstream</b>	1.11*	6.05	1.73	5.47*	27.69	3.31	<b>45.74*</b>
<i>Tabloid</i>	2.07**	5.61	1.71	7.01**	26.42*	5.47**	<b>48.53**</b>
<b>All publications</b>	1.51	5.95	1.62	5.77	28.37	3.51	<b>47.19</b>

As can be seen in the table above, there were significant differences in the occurrence of adverbs after a nominal head ( $\chi^2=79.88$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ), prepositional adverb particles ( $\chi^2=40.82$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ), general adverbs ( $\chi^2=44.14$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ), quasi-nominal adverbs of time ( $\chi^2=164.35$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ), and adverbs overall ( $\chi^2=29.72$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ). The general adverbs include words denoting quantity, such as ‘much’ and ‘less’, the manner of doing things, such as ‘peacefully’ and ‘simply’, as well as words denoting time, such as ‘soon’ or ‘earlier’. Many of them are derived from adjectives and as the table above shows, they covered over half of all the adverbs in the corpus.

The general adverbs were most prevalent in finance and least prevalent in the tabloids, whereas the other types of adverbs showed higher frequencies in the tabloid publications. Especially the more frequent use of adverbs such as ‘now’ or ‘tomorrow’ in the tabloids is interesting, and suggests that tabloid publications may emphasize the here and now, whereas the finance publications, and even the mainstream publications, may view events over a longer timespan.

#### 4.1.6 Adjectives

Like adverbs, adjectives, such as 'noble' or 'immoral', can be used to show social approval and disapproval and thus the writer's stance. While not all adjectives are necessarily attitudinal, descriptive language with a high occurrence of adjectives might still be indicative of a higher frequency of expressions of stance.

*Table 15: Occurrence of adjectives in the corpus*

	General Adjectives	Comparative	Superlative	All adjectives	Comparative after determiner	Superlative after determiner
Economist	89.93	4.85	1.22	<b>98.47</b>	2.03	0.43
Forbes	85.68	3.75	1.45	<b>93.11</b>	1.78	0.44
FT	90.44	3.60	1.99	<b>97.86</b>	1.51	0.31
CNN	84.57	3.00	1.20	<b>90.57</b>	1.32	0.48
BBC	77.28	2.86	1.64	<b>83.73</b>	1.62	0.34
DW	85.21	2.40	1.43	<b>90.71</b>	1.45	0.20
Guardian	83.01	3.03	2.05	<b>90.06</b>	1.63	0.34
NY Times	86.93	3.19	1.62	<b>93.53</b>	1.47	0.33
Mirror	64.32	0.95	2.38	<b>68.60</b>	0.95	0.00
NY Daily	81.94	3.24	2.35	<b>89.07</b>	1.46	0.08
NY Post	79.55	2.87	1.74	<b>86.65</b>	2.21	0.28
Daily Mail	83.43	2.22	2.23	<b>89.44</b>	1.39	0.17
Financial	89.67**	3.80**	1.80	<b>97.25**</b>	1.63	0.35
Mainstream	84.41	3.00	1.71	<b>90.98</b>	1.53	0.32
Tabloid	82.32*	2.41*	2.16	<b>88.60*</b>	1.52	0.18
All publications	<b>86.58</b>	<b>3.30</b>	<b>1.82</b>	<b>93.58</b>	<b>1.57</b>	<b>0.32</b>

The table above shows that there were significant differences in the occurrence of adjectives overall ( $\chi^2=127.09$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ), but especially the general adjectives ( $\chi^2=97.70$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ) as well as the comparative forms ( $\chi^2=76.27$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ). The financial publications employed significantly more adjectives than the other publication types and that the tabloids employed them the least. The superlative, as well as 'after determiners', such as 'more' and 'less', or 'most' and 'least', do not show any significant difference in their occurrences between the different publication types.

Some of the most frequent adjectives, such as 'Greek' ( $\chi^2=40.12$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ), 'private' ( $\chi^2=26.10$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ), 'fiscal' ( $\chi^2=121.24$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ), and 'sovereign' ( $\chi^2=106.29$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ), seem to be used significantly more often in the finance publications. However, none of these words seem like attitudinal



adjectives and as such do not imply any kind of stance, but seem to be mainly used to specify the topics of discussion. Whether a similar distribution can still be seen in more value-laden adjectives will be studied further in chapter 4.2, which will deal with the use of positive and negative words.

Another matter related to adjective use is the occurrence of the words 'than' and 'as', which are generally conjunctions used in comparisons, such as in the sentences below:

'Greece's national debt is now bigger than the country's economy'. (CNN, 26 March 2010)

'Greece, which has spent half its existence as an independent nation in default, magically becomes almost as creditworthy as Germany.' (*Financial Times*, 28 June 2010)

Table 16: Occurrence of conjunctions 'than' and 'as' in the corpus

	'than'	'as'	Comparison conjunctions overall
Economist	3.02	2.93	<b>5.95</b>
Forbes	2.27	2.60	<b>4.87</b>
FT	2.01	3.43	<b>5.44</b>
<b>CNN</b>	2.64	3.36	<b>6.00</b>
<b>BBC</b>	2.29	2.41	<b>4.70</b>
<b>DW</b>	1.64	2.75	<b>4.38</b>
<b>Guardian</b>	1.80	3.52	<b>5.33</b>
<b>NY Times</b>	1.79	3.18	<b>4.97</b>
<i>Mirror</i>	1.43	3.81	<b>5.24</b>
<i>NY Daily</i>	1.54	2.83	<b>4.37</b>
<i>NY Post</i>	2.30	3.20	<b>5.50</b>
<i>Daily Mail</i>	1.60	3.90	<b>5.51</b>
Financial	2.20	3.24	<b>5.43</b>
<b>Mainstream</b>	1.85	3.14	<b>4.99</b>
<i>Tabloid</i>	1.71	3.68	<b>5.39</b>
<b>All publications</b>	<b>1.99</b>	<b>3.26</b>	<b>5.25</b>

The above table does not show any significant differences between the publication types in the use of either of these words or in their use overall. However, as we can see in the example sentences below, these comparison words often co-occur with numbers and percentages:

'GDP grew by an annual average of less than 1% between 2001 and 2008...'  
(Economist, 29 April, 2010)

'The Norwegian company 's shares have surged more than 430 per cent since January 2009 .' (*Financial Times*, 5 May 2010)

Looking at the occurrence of percentages we do get some results:

Table 17: Words and symbols denoting percentages in the corpus

	'per cent'	'percent'	'percentage'	'%'	All forms
Economist	0.05	0.14	0.40	4.08	<b>4.66</b>
Forbes	0.00	0.44	0.21	7.89	<b>8.54</b>
FT	7.19	0.03	0.44	0.02	<b>7.68</b>
CNN	0.12	3.24	0.36	0.24	<b>3.96</b>
BBC	0.00	0.00	0.07	6.39	<b>6.45</b>
DW	0.04	2.61	0.06	0.00	<b>2.71</b>
Guardian	0.02	0.02	0.18	3.98	<b>4.19</b>
NY Times	0.01	4.48	0.44	0.01	<b>4.93</b>
Mirror	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.43	<b>1.43</b>
NY Daily	0.00	4.70	0.65	0.24	<b>5.59</b>
NY Post	0.00	4.09	0.14	0.23	<b>4.46</b>
Daily Mail	1.81	0.29	0.18	1.50	<b>3.78</b>
Financial	5.11**	0.10*	0.40**	1.75	<b>7.38**</b>
Mainstream	0.02*	2.39**	0.27	1.90**	<b>4.58</b>
Tabloid	1.30	1.34	0.22*	1.16*	<b>4.03*</b>
All publications	<b>2.6</b>	<b>1.2</b>	<b>0.3</b>	<b>1.7</b>	<b>5.8</b>

The table above displays significant differences in the use of 'per cent' ( $\chi^2=4,448,905.67$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ), 'percent' ( $\chi^2=17,142,117.41$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ), 'percentage' ( $\chi^2=238961.29$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ) and the percent sign '%' ( $\chi^2=9,816,940.31$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ). There was also a significant difference in the overall use of all these forms ( $\chi^2=76,761,693.02$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ).

The tabloids used 'per cent' and 'percent' in almost equal measure. The British *Mirror* had no occurrences of either form, but the other UK publication, *The Daily Mail*, favoured 'per cent'. The American *New York Daily News* and *the New York Post* employed 'percent'.

The mainstream publications were slightly different, in that neither *the Guardian* nor the BBC used either one of the word forms, instead opting for the use of the percent sign '%', while the CNN, Deutsche Welle and *New York Times* all employed 'percent'.

Looking at all the individual financial publications shows that while *the Financial Times* did employ 'per cent' significantly more than all the other publications, neither the *Economist* or *Forbes* did. Instead, they too use the percent sign '%'

There is a lot of variety in the different notations, but the overall use of the words and symbols denoting percentages is highest in the financial publications, implying that the financial publications discuss financial and economic developments, such as stock prices, in greater detail or more frequently than the other publications on average, which is not terribly surprising.

#### **4.2 Stance taking and word choices**

As made quite apparent in the previous sections, word classes by themselves say very little about the actual content or views presented in the articles. They do not show whether the words used in the articles are negative or positive, nor do they show what or who they refer to. To get more relevant results we need to look at the actual word choices in the texts. Traditionally, corpus linguistic studies have concentrated on just a few different, possibly synonymous words and the ways in which a writer chooses to use one or the other in any given situation, but for this study the frequencies of thousands of different words and phrases were documented and then categorised into various semantic and functional groups.

As mentioned before, bad news are generally more likely to make the headlines than good news. Even when reporting on a global crisis, it is still up to the news publications to choose whether to focus on the negative or the positive aspects of a news story. The word choices the publications employ can thus be very revealing.

For example, when talking of the unrest in Greece, as well as in other countries touched by the crisis, the publications could choose to use a number of different words. As an example, we can compare the use of the words 'protest', 'riot', and 'demonstration' and their various lemmas and related verbs and nouns in the different publications. The words 'protest' and 'demonstration', are fairly neutral and may even be used interchangeably, whereas 'riot' generally has a more negative connotation, implying illegal acts and scenes of carnage and destruction. Of the two more neutral words, 'demonstration' is the more generic one, and can also be used in a number of other contexts not related to dissent or citizen unrest.

Table 18: Occurrence of 'demonstrate' and related word forms

	'demonstrate(-s, -d)'	'demonstrating'	'demonstration(s)'	'demonstrator(s)'	<b>All related forms</b>
Economist	0.05	0.00	0.05	0.05	<b>0.14</b>
Forbes	0.09	0.00	0.09	0.03	<b>0.21</b>
FT	0.07	0.02	0.10	0.03	<b>0.22</b>
CNN	0.00	0.12	0.84	0.12	<b>1.08</b>
<b>BBC</b>	0.07	0.04	0.22	0.13	<b>0.47</b>
<b>DW</b>	0.06	0.00	0.18	0.14	<b>0.38</b>
<b>Guardian</b>	0.06	0.00	0.25	0.11	<b>0.42</b>
<b>NY Times</b>	0.06	0.01	0.10	0.10	<b>0.27</b>
<i>Mirror</i>	0.00	0.00	0.48	0.48	<b>0.95</b>
<i>NY Daily</i>	0.16	0.00	0.73	0.49	<b>1.38</b>
<i>NY Post</i>	0.19	0.00	0.19	0.28	<b>0.66</b>
<i>Daily Mail</i>	0.13	0.01	0.17	0.05	<b>0.37</b>
Financial	0.07	0.01	0.09	0.03	<b>0.21*</b>
<b>Mainstream</b>	0.06	0.01	0.18	0.11	<b>0.37</b>
<i>Tabloid</i>	0.14	0.01	0.23	0.14	<b>0.52**</b>
<b>All publications</b>	<b>0.08</b>	<b>0.01</b>	<b>0.15</b>	<b>0.08</b>	<b>0.31</b>

As can be seen in the table above, there were no noticeable differences in any of the individual words by themselves, but there was a significant difference in their use overall ( $\chi^2=38.06$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ). 'Demonstration' and its related word forms were used most by the tabloids, while in the financial publications they were much less frequent. The form that appeared most often was the noun form 'demonstration', such as in the sentences below:

'The program has led to widespread demonstrations and strikes across Greece.'  
(Deutsche Welle, 7 May, 2010)

'They also saw the pictures of the violent demonstrations in Athens....' (Deutsche Welle, 24 June, 2010)

This and other related word forms also appeared in more general contexts, such as those below:

'Agreement on rescue for Greece " will be a demonstration of Europe 's force...'"  
(*New York Daily News*, 7 May, 2010)

'...it does at least demonstrate that Greece is prepared...'  
(*Guardian*, 24 June, 2010)

Table 19: Occurrence of 'protest' and related word forms

	'protest(s)' VERB	'protested'	'protesting'	'protest(s)' NOUN	'Protestor(s)' / 'protester(s)'	All related forms
Economist	0.03	0.02	0.00	0.20	0.06	<b>0.31</b>
Forbes	0.11	0.02	0.06	0.11	0.03	<b>0.33</b>
FT	0.07	0.01	0.02	0.19	0.07	<b>0.36</b>
CNN	0.12	0.12	0.36	1.68	0.36	<b>2.76</b>
<b>BBC</b>	0.09	0.00	0.02	0.81	0.29	<b>1.28</b>
<b>DW</b>	0.30	0.04	0.08	0.55	0.30	<b>1.35</b>
<b>Guardian</b>	0.12	0.04	0.06	0.64	0.25	<b>1.16</b>
<b>NY Times</b>	0.05	0.02	0.05	0.21	0.09	<b>0.47</b>
<i>Mirror</i>	0.95	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.48	<b>1.91</b>
<i>NY Daily</i>	0.65	0.00	0.16	1.54	0.73	<b>3.08</b>
<i>NY Post</i>	0.19	0.00	0.05	0.66	0.33	<b>1.32</b>
<i>Daily Mail</i>	0.10	0.03	0.02	0.63	0.39	<b>1.20</b>
Financial	0.07	0.01	0.02	0.18*	0.06*	<b>0.35*</b>
<b>Mainstream</b>	0.11	0.03	0.06	0.48	0.20	<b>0.93</b>
<i>Tabloid</i>	0.18	0.02	0.04	0.71**	0.41**	<b>1.41**</b>
<b>All publications</b>	<b>0.10</b>	<b>0.02</b>	<b>0.04</b>	<b>0.37</b>	<b>0.16</b>	<b>0.72</b>

The table above shows the use of the word 'protest' and its related forms. There were significant differences in the overall use of the word forms ( $\chi^2=195.74$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ), but also the individual word and lemma of 'protest(s)' ( $\chi^2=95.43$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ) and 'protestor(s)'/ 'protester(s)' ( $\chi^2=82.20$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ). Words related to 'protest' were again most frequent in the tabloids and least frequent in the finance publications. The words mainly appeared in the specific context of mobs of people taking to the streets, and not in the broader sense of general objection. Out of the three groups of words, 'protest' and its related forms were also the most frequent word choice in the corpus overall. Some examples of their use are presented below:

"Protests are a way of life here. It 's the way people vent[.]'" (CNN, 13 May, 2010)

'Leftist protesters roughed up Panagopoulos as he addressed a rally.' (*New York Daily News*, 11 March, 2010)

'Trade unions plan noisy protests this week , which could damage the cross-party consensus and voter support that Mr Papandreou has enjoyed so far.' (*Financial Times*, 7 February, 2010)

Table 20: Occurrence of 'riot' and related word forms

	'riot(s)' VERB	'rioted'	'rioting'	'riot(s)' NOUN	'rioter(s)'	All related forms
Economist	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.17	0.00	<b>0.17</b>
Forbes	0.03	0.00	0.02	0.11	0.02	<b>0.17</b>
FT	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.07	0.00	<b>0.08</b>
CNN	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.12	<b>0.12</b>
<b>BBC</b>	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.22	0.04	<b>0.27</b>
<b>DW</b>	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.24	0.10	<b>0.36</b>
<b>Guardian</b>	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.22	0.02	<b>0.20</b>
<b>NY Times</b>	0.01	0.00	0.01	0.07	0.02	<b>0.08</b>
<i>Mirror</i>	0.48	0.00	0.95	0.95	0.00	<b>2.38</b>
<i>NY Daily</i>	0.08	0.24	0.00	0.65	0.08	<b>1.05</b>
<i>NY Post</i>	0.00	0.05	0.09	0.38	0.28	<b>0.80</b>
<i>Daily Mail</i>	0.05	0.00	0.08	0.37	0.15	<b>0.65</b>
Financial	0.00	0.00	0.01*	0.09*	0.00*	<b>0.10*</b>
<b>Mainstream</b>	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.15	0.04	<b>0.17</b>
<i>Tabloid</i>	0.05**	0.03**	0.09**	0.41**	0.16**	<b>0.74**</b>
<b>All publications</b>	<b>0.01</b>	<b>0.00</b>	<b>0.02</b>	<b>0.16</b>	<b>0.04</b>	<b>0.21</b>

As the above table shows, all the words related to 'riot' showed significant differences, including the word 'riot(s)' used as a verb ( $\chi^2=28.16$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ), its past tense form 'rioted' ( $\chi^2=26.25$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ), 'rioting' ( $\chi^2=33.06$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ), 'riot(s)' in its noun form ( $\chi^2=64.46$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ), and 'rioter' ( $\chi^2=66.52$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ). The occurrences of all the word forms related to rioting are again most frequent in the tabloids and least frequent in the financial publications. The examples below show different aspects of the use of the word:

'They choked to death in the inferno caused by a rioter 's petrol bomb.' (BBC, 6 May, 2010)

"The riots are part of the game , its part of the process." (Deutsche Welle, 31 March, 2010)

'...anti-austerity riots ... have dealt a blow to the country's biggest industry at a time when its contribution to the economy is more important than ever.' (*Financial Times*, 2 August, 2010)

The different publications naturally have different areas of emphasis and judging from the figures in this chapter, the tabloids seem to have devoted comparatively much more space to covering the unrest, while the financial publications seem to have dedicated their time and space to different facets of the crisis. All three groups of words are most frequent in the tabloids and least frequent in the finance publications. All the publication types preferred the use of the term 'protest' and its

related forms over the two other possibilities, but out of the two remaining sets of words, the finance and mainstream publications opted for the use of the more neutral 'demonstration' and its related forms, while the tabloids preferred the words related to 'riot'.

One could draw the conclusion that compared to the other publication types, the tabloids have focused on the the more violent and shocking aspects of the ongoing crisis, and have used the words that most underline these aspects. This would be in a way understandable, as rioting on the streets is the most noticeable aspect of the story to the reading public and provides good solid facts, eye witness accounts, casualties and property damage to report on.

To find out whether this was just an individual case, or whether there was a clear trend to use more negativity in tabloid publications, I compiled a list of words, some with distinctly negative connotations and others with positive ones, and counted their occurrences in the different publications.

Many of the connotations are strictly context-bound and may mean very different things in different situations, so the usage of a certain single word might not necessarily imply a more negative or positive outlook.

As the word types were also picked by hand out of the thousands of word types present in the texts, the list is by no means conclusive, but it should give some interesting results in any case. For the grouping of the words I used Martin's (2000) existing classification of words relating to affect and appraisal. A comprehensive list of the search words used is provided in the appendix.

#### **4.2.1 Affect**

Affect relates to the expression of emotions, and the classification into the negative and the positive is generally quite clear. 'Satisfaction', 'happiness' and 'confidence' are positive emotions, while 'anger', 'sadness' and 'fear' are negative. In the same way, the acts of 'laughing' and 'loving' are expressions of positive emotions, while the acts 'crying' and 'hating' are manifestations of emotions on the negative side of the scale.

Table 21: Occurrence of positive affect in the corpus

	Positive surge (‘laugh’)	Positive disposition (‘like’, ‘love’)	Happiness (‘happy’)	Satisfaction (‘gratified’)	Security (‘confident’)	Positive overall	Affect overall
<i>Economist</i>	0.03	3.32	0.70	2.06	2.53	<b>8.63</b>	<b>21.84</b>
<i>Forbes</i>	0.12	3.96	0.60	2.77	2.45	<b>9.90</b>	<b>22.93</b>
<i>FT</i>	0.03	2.61	0.68	2.66	1.65	<b>7.62</b>	<b>19.22</b>
<b>CNN</b>	0.12	3.36	0.24	0.84	1.56	<b>6.12</b>	<b>18.59</b>
<b>BBC</b>	0.04	2.27	0.61	2.41	1.62	<b>6.95</b>	<b>19.90</b>
<b>DW</b>	0.00	3.23	0.97	2.10	1.45	<b>7.76</b>	<b>18.02</b>
<b>Guardian</b>	0.17	2.63	0.52	2.32	1.70	<b>7.33</b>	<b>19.45</b>
<b>NY Times</b>	0.07	3.56	0.48	1.98	1.82	<b>7.90</b>	<b>19.65</b>
<i>Mirror</i>	0.00	2.38	0.00	2.38	1.43	<b>6.19</b>	<b>24.77</b>
<i>NY Daily</i>	0.16	3.16	0.16	2.35	1.13	<b>6.96</b>	<b>23.00</b>
<i>NY Post</i>	0.09	3.05	0.42	1.79	2.07	<b>7.42</b>	<b>20.58</b>
<i>Daily Mail</i>	0.10	2.49	0.53	2.50	2.02	<b>7.64</b>	<b>22.30</b>
<i>Financial</i>	0.04	2.91	0.67	2.59	1.89	<b>8.10</b>	<b>20.14</b>
<b>Mainstream</b>	0.09	3.09	0.56	2.12	1.71	<b>7.57</b>	<b>19.39*</b>
<i>Tabloid</i>	0.10	2.65	0.47	2.37	1.93	<b>7.52</b>	<b>22.12**</b>
<b>All publications</b>	<b>0.07</b>	<b>2.95</b>	<b>0.60</b>	<b>2.37</b>	<b>1.82</b>	<b>7.81</b>	<b>20.10</b>

The table above shows that while there were significant differences in the occurrence of affect-related words overall ( $\chi^2=35.80$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ), there were no significant differences between the different publication types in the occurrence of any of the positive affect-related word categories. The appearance of positive affect-related words was in other words quite similar all across the board.



Table 22: Occurrence of negative affect-related words in the corpus

	Negative surge (‘cry’)	Negative disposition (‘despise’)	Unhappiness (‘sad’)	Dissatisfaction (‘irritated’)	Insecurity (‘afraid’)	<b>Negative overall</b>	<b>Affect overall</b>
<b>Economist</b>	0.23	0.56	4.59	4.06	3.77	<b>13.20</b>	<b>21.84</b>
Forbes	0.20	0.44	5.37	3.81	3.22	<b>13.03</b>	<b>22.93</b>
FT	0.15	0.32	3.98	3.99	3.16	<b>11.60</b>	<b>19.22</b>
<b>CNN</b>	0.12	0.72	5.28	3.00	3.36	<b>12.48</b>	<b>18.59</b>
<b>BBC</b>	0.20	0.40	4.14	4.16	4.05	<b>12.95</b>	<b>19.90</b>
<b>DW</b>	0.12	0.61	3.74	3.03	2.77	<b>10.27</b>	<b>18.02</b>
<b>Guardian</b>	0.20	0.49	4.26	4.01	3.16	<b>12.12</b>	<b>19.45</b>
<b>NY Times</b>	0.16	0.43	4.20	3.12	3.85	<b>11.75</b>	<b>19.65</b>
<i>Mirror</i>	0.48	1.43	6.67	3.33	6.67	<b>18.58</b>	<b>24.77</b>
<i>NY Daily</i>	0.08	0.57	6.07	4.21	5.10	<b>16.03</b>	<b>23.00</b>
<i>NY Post</i>	0.38	0.75	4.79	3.34	3.90	<b>13.16</b>	<b>20.58</b>
<i>Daily Mail</i>	0.24	0.37	5.81	3.83	4.42	<b>14.66</b>	<b>22.30</b>
Financial	0.17	0.37	4.27	3.97	3.25*	<b>12.04</b>	<b>20.14</b>
<b>Mainstream</b>	0.17	0.47	4.17*	3.49	3.52	<b>11.82*</b>	<b>19.39*</b>
<i>Tabloid</i>	0.25	0.47	5.68**	3.77	4.44**	<b>14.61**</b>	<b>22.12**</b>
<b>All publications</b>	<b>0.18</b>	<b>0.42</b>	<b>4.42</b>	<b>3.75</b>	<b>3.52</b>	<b>12.29</b>	<b>20.10</b>

The table above shows that there is already much more variance in the occurrence of negative affect-related words, not only in the group of overall negative affect ( $\chi^2=65.24$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ) but also in the groups of 'unhappiness' ( $\chi^2=53.52$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ) and insecurity ( $\chi^2=39.75$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ). While the words relating to 'dissatisfaction', or 'anger', appear in all the publication types in roughly the same proportion, words related to both 'unhappiness' and 'insecurity' were most prevalent in the tabloid publications, and least frequent in the mainstream and finance publications, respectively. Overall, negative affect was most prevalent in the tabloids and least frequent in the mainstream publications.

As noted before, words with positive connotations are generally less frequent and more difficult to see. Such is the case here as well. Comparing the results in the two tables above, we see that of all the affect-related words that I included in my lists, the positive ones are clearly in the minority. The fact that markers of negative affect were clearly more frequent in all publication types than those of positive affect is consistent with the idea of negativity as a selling point in the news media.

While the financial crisis in itself is by and large a negative occurrence, the abundance of negative affect in the tabloid publications might suggest that the tabloids are especially eager to try to appeal to the broadest possible demographic by

using negativity and emotions as selling points. The words employed in the other types of publications, especially the financial publications, might not be as explicitly negative and might only have certain negative connotations in very specific contexts and to a much more limited readership.

#### 4.2.2 Judgement

Words denoting judgement, the desirability of characteristics and the morality or the lack thereof of certain behaviours, might perhaps be the clearest examples of stance taking. For the most part, the words were fairly simple to classify into the positive and negative categories.

*Table 23: Occurrence of positive judgement in the corpus*

	Positive normality ('lucky')	Positive capacity ('strong')	Positive tenacity ('brave')	Positive esteem overall	Positive veracity ('honest')	Positive propriety ('moral')	Positive sanction overall	Positive judgement overall	Judgement overall
Economist	3.49	7.59	10.32	<b>21.40</b>	2.25	6.82	<b>9.07</b>	<b>30.47</b>	<b>49.66</b>
Forbes	3.63	7.57	9.67	<b>20.88</b>	1.25	4.44	<b>5.70</b>	<b>26.58</b>	<b>40.59</b>
FT	3.66	6.90	9.02	<b>19.58</b>	1.36	4.40	<b>5.77</b>	<b>25.35</b>	<b>39.78</b>
CNN	2.52	6.48	7.20	<b>16.19</b>	1.44	4.56	<b>6.00</b>	<b>22.19</b>	<b>39.11</b>
BBC	2.81	6.88	9.63	<b>19.32</b>	1.10	4.45	<b>5.56</b>	<b>24.87</b>	<b>39.65</b>
DW	2.85	6.06	8.29	<b>17.20</b>	1.62	4.91	<b>6.53</b>	<b>23.72</b>	<b>36.39</b>
Guardian	3.34	6.83	10.37	<b>20.54</b>	1.52	4.80	<b>6.32</b>	<b>26.86</b>	<b>45.05</b>
NY Times	3.00	6.76	8.16	<b>17.92</b>	1.72	4.69	<b>6.41</b>	<b>24.33</b>	<b>38.81</b>
Mirror	1.91	2.86	5.72	<b>10.48</b>	0.48	4.76	<b>5.24</b>	<b>15.72</b>	<b>35.25</b>
NY Daily	2.02	4.53	7.45	<b>14.01</b>	1.46	4.94	<b>6.40</b>	<b>20.40</b>	<b>39.43</b>
NY Post	2.26	5.97	7.89	<b>16.12</b>	1.22	5.45	<b>6.67</b>	<b>22.79</b>	<b>40.64</b>
Daily Mail	2.61	6.77	9.84	<b>19.23</b>	1.43	4.25	<b>5.68</b>	<b>24.90</b>	<b>42.86</b>
Financial	3.63**	7.10	9.30	<b>20.03**</b>	1.47	4.75	<b>6.23</b>	<b>26.26**</b>	<b>41.31</b>
Mainstream	3.05	6.70	8.97	<b>18.72</b>	1.57	4.72	<b>6.29</b>	<b>25.01</b>	<b>40.43</b>
Tabloid	2.48*	6.36	9.22	<b>18.06*</b>	1.38	4.52	<b>5.91</b>	<b>23.97*</b>	<b>42.04</b>
All publications	<b>3.24</b>	<b>6.84</b>	<b>9.16</b>	<b>19.24</b>	<b>1.50</b>	<b>4.71</b>	<b>6.21</b>	<b>25.45</b>	<b>41.05</b>

The table above shows a significance in the distribution of words relating to the aspect of positive normalcy ( $\chi^2=48.16$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ) as well as positive judgement overall ( $\chi^2=25.69$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ) and positive esteem ( $\chi^2=25.84$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ). In all three cases, they are more frequent in the finance publications, and least frequent in the tabloids. One could infer, that in addition to employing negativity more than the other publications, the tabloids also seem to avoid positivity. None of the other subgroups of positive judgement show statistically significant differences one way or the other.

Examples of positive esteem from the corpus are shown below with the positive words underlined:

"A fair, strong and efficient state can overcome the current situation and open better avenues for Greece , " he said. ' (BBC, 3 February, 2010)

"There has been a lot of encouraging talk on this issue from the government..."  
(*Financial Times*, 3 May, 2010)

As always, context is crucial. This is exemplified in the sentences below:

"The euro? It 's a great success," says Mandy as Greece turmoil sends single currency into worst ever crisis.' (*Daily Mail*, 12 February, 2010)

'A shortage of competent bureaucrats makes it harder to ensure that any new targets are met.' (*Economist*, 4 March 2010)

In the first example, the publication is drawing attention to the irony of the quoted statement. In the other example, it is implied that there is a distinct lack of the positive quality being referenced. The presence of structures such as these makes it difficult to draw any definitive conclusions on word frequencies alone.

*Table 24: Occurrence of negative judgement in the corpus*

	Negative normality ('pitiful')	Negative capacity ('weak')	Negative tenacity ('cowardly')	<b>Negative esteem overall</b>	Negative veracity ('deceitful')	Negative propriety ('evil')	<b>Negative sanction overall</b>	<b>Negative judgement overall</b>	<b>Judgement overall</b>
Economist	4.76	5.95	3.70	<b>14.41</b>	1.18	3.60	<b>4.77</b>	<b>19.19</b>	<b>49.66</b>
Forbes	3.02	5.62	3.02	<b>11.67</b>	0.82	1.53	<b>2.34</b>	<b>14.01</b>	<b>40.59</b>
FT	2.67	5.18	3.37	<b>11.22</b>	1.26	1.95	<b>3.21</b>	<b>14.43</b>	<b>39.78</b>
<b>CNN</b>	4.20	5.64	3.60	<b>13.44</b>	1.08	2.40	<b>3.48</b>	<b>16.91</b>	<b>39.11</b>
<b>BBC</b>	2.54	5.20	4.07	<b>11.81</b>	0.83	2.14	<b>2.97</b>	<b>14.78</b>	<b>39.65</b>
<b>DW</b>	2.30	3.74	3.05	<b>9.09</b>	1.25	2.32	<b>3.58</b>	<b>12.67</b>	<b>36.39</b>
<b>Guardian</b>	3.73	6.04	3.92	<b>13.68</b>	1.14	3.37	<b>4.51</b>	<b>18.19</b>	<b>45.05</b>
<b>NY Times</b>	2.88	4.68	3.68	<b>11.24</b>	1.27	1.98	<b>3.24</b>	<b>14.48</b>	<b>38.81</b>
<i>Mirror</i>	2.86	8.58	6.67	<b>18.10</b>	0.00	1.43	<b>1.43</b>	<b>19.53</b>	<b>35.25</b>
<i>NY Daily</i>	3.72	6.72	4.53	<b>14.98</b>	1.46	2.59	<b>4.05</b>	<b>19.03</b>	<b>39.43</b>
<i>NY Post</i>	3.76	5.22	3.38	<b>12.36</b>	1.46	4.04	<b>5.50</b>	<b>17.86</b>	<b>40.64</b>
<i>Daily Mail</i>	3.75	6.06	4.16	<b>13.97</b>	1.42	2.57	<b>3.99</b>	<b>17.96</b>	<b>42.86</b>
Financial	3.02	5.36	3.37	<b>11.75*</b>	1.19	2.12	<b>3.31</b>	<b>15.05*</b>	<b>41.31</b>
<b>Mainstream</b>	3.04	5.04	3.71	<b>11.79</b>	1.17	2.46	<b>3.63</b>	<b>15.42</b>	<b>40.43</b>
<i>Tabloid</i>	3.73	6.02	4.11	<b>13.87**</b>	1.41	2.80	<b>4.20</b>	<b>18.07**</b>	<b>42.04</b>
<b>All publications</b>	<b>3.13</b>	<b>5.32</b>	<b>3.60</b>	<b>12.05</b>	<b>1.21</b>	<b>2.35</b>	<b>3.56</b>	<b>15.60</b>	<b>41.05</b>

The table above shows the negative words denoting judgement, and shows that there were significant differences in the overall category of negative esteem ( $\chi^2=40.66$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ), as well as in the overall category of negative judgement ( $\chi^2=59.49$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ). The distribution seems to be reversed from the previous positive categories, with the tabloids showing the highest frequencies of words in the

categories of negative normality, as well as negative esteem and judgement, and the finance publications showing the lowest frequencies in the same categories.

The lists I compiled and then used to search for words of judgement in the corpus contained more negative word types than positive ones. In spite of this, when we compare the overall frequency of the positive and negative words, we can see that the positive words are on average more frequent. This is somewhat surprising considering the already mentioned role of negativity as a selling point in the news media, as well as the results from the group of words related to affect in the previous chapter.

### 4.2.3 Appreciation

As mentioned before, the concept of appreciation, as defined by Martin (2000: 159-160), concerns the attributed aesthetic value, consisting of five distinct properties: impact, quality, balance, and valuation. All five properties can be described with both positive and negative words.

*Table 25: Occurrence of positive appreciation in the corpus*

	Positive impact ('fascinating')	Positive quality ('beautiful')	Positive balance ('balanced')	Positive complexity ('elegant')	Positive valuation ('innovative')	Positive appreciation overall	Appreciation overall
<b>Economist</b>	0.73	1.22	0.48	0.73	1.22	4.39	<b>10.80</b>
<b>Forbes</b>	0.71	2.18	0.79	0.29	1.51	5.47	<b>10.70</b>
<b>FT</b>	0.70	1.30	0.41	0.26	1.21	3.88	<b>9.05</b>
<b>CNN</b>	0.48	0.60	0.24	0.12	0.60	2.04	<b>8.16</b>
<b>BBC</b>	0.58	0.90	0.20	0.25	1.26	3.19	<b>8.30</b>
<b>DW</b>	0.38	0.87	0.22	0.24	0.89	2.61	<b>7.07</b>
<b>Guardian</b>	0.60	1.02	0.24	0.24	1.29	3.39	<b>8.87</b>
<b>NY Times</b>	0.53	0.84	0.39	0.21	1.32	3.29	<b>8.51</b>
<i>Mirror</i>	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.95	0.95	<b>6.19</b>
<i>NY Daily</i>	0.49	0.24	0.00	0.24	0.97	1.94	<b>4.62</b>
<i>NY Post</i>	0.52	0.61	0.23	0.23	1.32	2.91	<b>9.07</b>
<i>Daily Mail</i>	0.61	1.14	0.22	0.30	1.15	3.41	<b>8.96</b>
<b>Financial</b>	0.70	1.42**	0.48**	0.33	1.26	4.19**	<b>9.54**</b>
<b>Mainstream</b>	0.54	0.90*	0.30	0.22	1.23	3.19	<b>8.40*</b>
<i>Tabloid</i>	0.57	0.95	0.20*	0.28	1.16	3.15*	<b>8.52</b>
<b>All publications</b>	<b>0.62</b>	<b>1.15</b>	<b>0.37</b>	<b>0.28</b>	<b>1.24</b>	<b>3.65</b>	<b>8.9</b>

As the table above shows, there is a significant difference in the occurrence of positive words denoting both positive quality ( $\chi^2=54.13$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ) and positive balance ( $\chi^2=29.75$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ), as well as positive appreciation overall ( $\chi^2=66.76$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ). The first two word groups occur most often in the finance

publications, and least often in the mainstream and tabloid publications respectively. A similar phenomenon can be seen in the overall distribution of positive appreciation, which is most frequent in the finance publications and least frequent in the tabloids.

*Table 26: Occurrence of negative appreciation in the corpus*

	Negative impact ('boring')	Negative quality ('ugly')	Negative balance ('distorted')	Negative complexity ('simplistic', 'complicated')	Negative valuation ('shallow')	Negative appreciation overall	Appreciation overall
<i>Economist</i>	0.56	0.93	3.58	0.48	0.87	6.42	<b>10.80</b>
<i>Forbes</i>	0.36	0.88	2.99	0.42	0.57	5.23	<b>10.70</b>
<i>FT</i>	0.40	0.72	3.01	0.30	0.74	5.17	<b>9.05</b>
<b>CNN</b>	0.36	1.20	4.20	0.00	0.36	6.12	<b>8.16</b>
<b>BBC</b>	0.36	0.54	3.49	0.20	0.52	5.11	<b>8.30</b>
<b>DW</b>	0.14	0.67	2.93	0.26	0.46	4.47	<b>7.07</b>
<b>Guardian</b>	0.39	0.97	2.89	0.37	0.86	5.48	<b>8.87</b>
<b>NY Times</b>	0.34	0.82	3.09	0.32	0.66	5.22	<b>8.51</b>
<i>Mirror</i>	0.00	1.91	2.38	0.48	0.48	5.24	<b>6.19</b>
<i>NY Daily</i>	0.08	0.65	1.46	0.08	0.40	2.67	<b>4.62</b>
<i>NY Post</i>	0.42	1.46	2.87	0.70	0.70	6.16	<b>9.07</b>
<i>Daily Mail</i>	0.38	1.20	2.82	0.23	0.92	5.55	<b>8.96</b>
<b>Financial</b>	0.42	0.77	3.09	0.35	0.73	5.36	<b>9.54</b>
<b>Mainstream</b>	0.33	0.82	3.08	0.31	0.67	5.21	<b>8.40</b>
<i>Tabloid</i>	0.35	1.20	2.69	0.30	0.83	5.37	<b>8.52</b>
<b>All publications</b>	<b>0.37</b>	<b>0.85</b>	<b>3.03</b>	<b>0.32</b>	<b>0.72</b>	<b>5.30</b>	<b>8.9</b>

The table above tells us that there is no sign of significant variation in the occurrence of negative words of appreciation between the different publication types, neither in the individual word categories nor in the frequency of appreciation-related negative words overall.

However, when we compare the two tables above, we can see that, overall, the words denoting negative appreciation are slightly more frequent than the ones denoting positive appreciation. This seems to be mainly due to the high frequency of negative words denoting lack of balance, like in the sentences below:

'European officials retort that large imbalances are found in all large currency areas...' (*Economist*, 4 February, 2010)

'On the other hand, there are plenty of off-balance-sheet liabilities, a record peacetime budget deficit, a dysfunctional financial system and a grotesquely unbalanced economy.' (*Guardian*, 18 April, 2010)

'''The huge imbalances from which the Greek economy is suffering are not sustainable in the long run.''' (*Financial Times*, 3 February, 2010)

#### 4.2.4 Metaphorical domains

There are a number of words in the corpus that have clearly positive or negative connotations but do not fit into the classifications devised by Martin (2000), but rather the metaphorical domains discussed by Musolff (2004). These include references to light and darkness, good and bad weather, life and death, construction and destruction, peace and conflict, help and harm, rising and falling, as well as health and disease, among others. The classification is by no means conclusive and it has its own flaws due to the somewhat arbitrary nature of the word selection process. As always, the connotations of the majority of the words categorised are heavily context dependent. 'Growing' may be positive in the case of a farmer's crops, but negative in the case of a cancerous tumour. It does however provide a further glimpse into the distribution of negative and positive words in the different publications.

*Table 27: Occurrence of positive words in various metaphorical domains*

	Light (‘bright’, (‘sunshine’, (‘shine’)	Good weather (‘sunshine’, (‘breezy’)	Life (‘alive’, (‘breathing’)	Construction (‘build’, (‘create’)	Peace (‘serene’, (‘harmony’)	Help (‘aid’, (‘assist’)	Rise (‘grow’, ‘get (‘up’)	Health (‘cure’, (‘immune’)	<b>Positive overall</b>
Economist	0.11	0.08	0.71	1.10	1.30	3.24	1.83	0.22	<b>9.00</b>
Forbes	0.18	0.08	0.35	1.41	1.01	3.84	2.30	0.30	<b>9.63</b>
FT	0.13	0.11	0.48	1.40	1.08	3.78	2.26	0.22	<b>9.71</b>
CNN	0.00	0.00	0.36	0.84	0.72	3.24	1.20	0.00	<b>6.60</b>
BBC	0.04	0.07	0.70	1.03	1.01	4.81	2.07	0.34	<b>10.28</b>
DW	0.18	0.04	0.36	1.13	0.93	6.26	1.11	0.20	<b>10.37</b>
Guardian	0.11	0.16	0.87	1.41	1.27	3.62	1.77	0.31	<b>9.84</b>
NY Times	0.08	0.05	0.47	1.23	1.10	4.37	1.78	0.34	<b>9.61</b>
Mirror	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.91	0.48	1.43	0.95	0.48	<b>5.24</b>
NY Daily	0.08	0.08	0.65	1.70	0.89	4.45	1.78	0.08	<b>9.88</b>
NY Post	0.09	0.09	0.66	1.69	1.22	3.43	2.02	0.14	<b>9.73</b>
Daily Mail	0.12	0.15	0.81	1.26	1.00	3.58	1.69	0.33	<b>9.16</b>
Financial	0.13	0.10	0.50	1.36	1.10	3.71	2.20**	0.23	<b>9.59</b>
Mainstream	0.10	0.08	0.60	1.24	1.11	4.42**	1.71*	0.30	<b>9.78</b>
Tabloid	0.11	0.13	0.76	1.38	1.02	3.60*	1.74	0.27	<b>9.26</b>
<b>All publications</b>	<b>0.11</b>	<b>0.10</b>	<b>0.57</b>	<b>1.31</b>	<b>1.09</b>	<b>3.98</b>	<b>1.94</b>	<b>0.27</b>	<b>9.63</b>

As the table above shows, there is very little variation in the occurrence of the positive groups of words between the different publications. The only significant differences lie in the words related to the verbs 'help' ( $\chi^2=31.73$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ) and 'rise' ( $\chi^2=28.95$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ). The former showed the highest frequency in the mainstream publications and the lowest frequency in the tabloids, while the latter

showed the most occurrences in the finance publications and the least occurrences in the mainstream publications. While the differences in the overall use of these positive words are not significant between the different publication types, the trend is similar.

*Table 28: Occurrence of negative words in various metaphorical domains*

	Darkness (‘dark’, ‘black’)	Bad weather (‘storm’, ‘rain’)	Death (‘fatality’, ‘funeral’)	Destruction (‘disaster’, ‘crash’)	Conflict (‘war’, ‘attack’)	Harm (‘violence’, ‘bomb’)	Falling (‘abyss’, ‘collapse’)	Infirmity (‘disease’, ‘wound’)	<b>Negative overall</b>
<b>Economist</b>	0.29	0.29	0.19	1.16	3.50	4.32	4.97	3.29	<b>19.93</b>
Forbes	0.17	0.14	0.09	0.79	3.01	3.98	7.66	2.28	<b>19.77</b>
FT	0.18	0.26	0.19	1.13	3.95	3.61	6.56	2.07	<b>19.21</b>
<b>CNN</b>	0.24	0.00	0.48	1.44	2.04	5.76	9.36	4.08	<b>26.39</b>
<b>BBC</b>	0.13	0.22	0.49	0.88	3.78	6.03	7.85	3.69	<b>24.72</b>
<b>DW</b>	0.22	0.22	0.26	0.85	4.65	4.26	4.63	2.73	<b>18.89</b>
<b>Guardian</b>	0.29	0.46	0.56	1.91	5.10	5.15	6.03	2.90	<b>24.10</b>
<b>NY Times</b>	0.11	0.16	0.26	0.89	3.54	3.25	6.18	2.29	<b>18.34</b>
<i>Mirror</i>	0.48	0.48	1.43	3.81	6.19	11.91	7.15	3.33	<b>37.16</b>
<i>NY Daily</i>	0.32	0.16	0.65	1.78	5.43	8.34	8.42	4.62	<b>31.66</b>
<i>NY Post</i>	0.28	0.19	0.75	2.40	5.64	6.11	6.44	2.77	<b>26.88</b>
<i>Daily Mail</i>	0.50	0.52	0.77	2.18	5.83	6.43	7.36	3.11	<b>28.62</b>
<b>Financial</b>	0.20	0.24	0.17*	1.08*	3.75*	3.77*	6.50	2.28*	<b>19.40*</b>
<b>Mainstream</b>	0.18*	0.26	0.38	1.19	4.13	4.30	6.20	2.72	<b>21.00</b>
<i>Tabloid</i>	0.45**	0.43	0.77**	2.20**	5.77**	6.65**	7.30	3.20**	<b>28.76**</b>
<b>All publications</b>	<b>0.22</b>	<b>0.27</b>	<b>0.33</b>	<b>1.28</b>	<b>4.17</b>	<b>4.36</b>	<b>6.48</b>	<b>2.58</b>	<b>21.28</b>

Above we can see that there is again much more variation in the occurrence of the negative words. The variation is significant in the words relating to 'darkness' ( $\chi^2=32.39$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ), 'death' ( $\chi^2=108.47$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ), 'destruction' ( $\chi^2=101.36$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ), 'conflict' ( $\chi^2=97.76$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ), 'harm' ( $\chi^2=189.96$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ), 'infirmity' ( $\chi^2=38.52$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ), and negativity overall ( $\chi^2=413.39$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ). The table also shows that apart from the exceptions of the groups 'death' and 'destruction', nearly all the negative word categories are more frequent than their positive counterparts.

The most frequent group of words is the one related to 'falling', but it shows no significant differences between the types of publications. However, the next most frequent groups, 'harm' and 'conflict', exhibit significant differences. They occur most frequently in the tabloids and occur the least often in the finance publications.

The next largest single group is the group of 'infirmity', relating to disease and injury. This is a fascinating group, in that many of these words refer directly to the quickly spreading nature of the economic crisis, with an expert equating the crisis to

the 'Ebola virus'. Words like 'viral', 'contagion' and 'plague' are also used in a strictly metaphorical sense to refer to the ongoing economic crisis. Again, these words appear most frequently in the tabloids and least frequently in the finance publications.

References to 'death' are most frequent in the tabloids and least frequent in the finance publications. Some are no doubt referring to lives lost in scenes of unrest in Greece's capital for example, but others are strictly metaphorical such as the mention of '[t]he global banking sector[']s ... near-death experience' (*Financial Times*).

The group of words denoting 'darkness' is again most frequent in the tabloids, but this time least frequent in the mainstream publications. Overall, the tabloids seem to be the ones employing the most negative words, while the finance publications use them the least.

There were also references to different types of metaphorical domains which were not necessarily positive or negative, such as various mythological references, family members, parts of the body, different animals, medical procedures and the elements of water and fire.

*Table 29: Occurrence of neutral words in various metaphorical domains*

	Mythology (Hercules, Armageddon)	Family members (mother, son)	Body parts (hand, heart)	Animals (pig, 'vulture')	Medical procedures (inject, 'surgery')	Water ('flow', 'afloat')	Fire ('ablaze', 'fiery')
Economist	0.12	0.65	1.72	0.34	0.15	0.46	0.60
Forbes	0.17	0.53	1.59	0.54	0.26	0.67	0.63
FT	0.13	0.66	1.59	0.32	0.30	0.44	0.73
CNN	0.00	0.36	0.60	0.00	0.24	0.12	0.24
BBC	0.09	0.43	1.26	0.07	0.36	0.34	0.76
DW	0.04	0.53	2.10	0.20	0.24	0.16	0.63
Guardian	0.26	0.60	2.01	0.41	0.27	0.45	1.26
NY Times	0.14	0.55	1.50	0.24	0.27	0.45	0.55
Mirror	0.48	0.00	4.29	0.00	0.48	0.48	4.29
NY Daily	0.00	0.24	1.05	0.24	0.00	0.65	2.91
NY Post	0.42	0.56	2.44	0.28	0.19	0.66	3.71
Daily Mail	0.36	0.52	1.91	0.36	0.33	0.37	1.73
Financial	0.14	0.64	1.61	0.36	0.27	0.48	0.69*
Mainstream	0.15	0.55	1.68	0.26	0.27	0.39	0.79
Tabloid	0.34	0.49	1.95	0.33	0.27	0.45	2.22**
All publications	0.17	0.58	1.68	0.32	0.27	0.44	0.93

As the table above shows, the only significant difference was in the occurrence of words related to 'fire', which were most frequent in the tabloids and least frequent in



the finance publications.

### **4.3 Concordance and collocation**

So far we have mainly looked at the frequencies and occurrences of certain word classes, words, or phrases, and the differences in their occurrence between the different genres. What hasn't really come up as of yet is the co-occurrence of these words. For instance, what or who do the negative adjectives mentioned in the previous chapters refer to? In order to study this, we need to study the concordance and collocation of these words. Due to technical limitations, I couldn't directly look at the syntactic roles of words in the corpus, but by using the word class tags and the concordance tool, I could see if certain nouns regularly co-occurred with specific types of adjectives or verbs, for example.

After studying the occurrence of proper nouns in the corpus, it became apparent that certain groups of actors appearing in the news stories were more prominently and frequently referred to. These included:

1. Greece and the Greeks
2. Europe, Europeans, the EU and the Eurozone
3. Germany and the Germans
4. The UK and the British
5. Banks and bankers

Naturally, there was some overlap between the different parties. There were also references to investors and speculators, but these were much less frequent or did not appear at all in some publications.

Table 30: References to different political and financial actors

	'Greece' / 'Greeks'	'EU' / 'Europe'	'Germany' / Germans	'UK' / 'Brits'	'banks' / 'bankers'	'investors'	'speculators'
Economist	16.46	10.21	5.24	0.67	4.23	1.19	0.37
Forbes	15.30	9.63	2.77	0.48	3.72	1.98	0.27
FT	17.76	8.03	3.08	0.50	5.97	2.23	0.13
CNN	17.99	14.64	3.84	0.72	4.32	0.36	0.12
BBC	22.33	9.96	3.69	2.54	3.53	1.60	0.11
DW	21.04	13.30	8.79	0.26	4.10	0.48	0.34
Guardian	18.79	7.50	3.20	1.59	3.57	1.66	0.26
NY Times	16.79	10.92	5.07	0.51	5.37	2.26	0.13
Mirror	20.96	6.19	2.38	7.62	4.29	0.48	0.00
NY Daily	18.70	10.77	3.64	0.24	4.86	1.78	0.08
NY Post	17.90	11.84	4.42	0.33	3.52	1.17	0.28
Daily Mail	15.16	9.16	4.39	4.24	4.03	1.33	0.12
Financial	17.22	8.58*	3.35*	0.52*	5.39**	2.05**	0.18
Mainstream	18.57**	10.19**	4.81**	1.03	4.45	1.74	0.19
Tabloid	16.05*	9.71	4.29	3.26**	4.03*	1.34*	0.14
All publications	17.61	9.38	4.06	1.09	4.83	1.83	0.18

There were significant differences in the references to Greece ( $\chi^2=42.18$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ), Europe ( $\chi^2=59.56$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ), Germany ( $\chi^2=112.21$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ), the UK and the British ( $\chi^2=686.16$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ), banks and bankers ( $\chi^2=57.73$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ), as well as investors ( $\chi^2=30.19$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ). The financial publications do seem to talk more about the banks and investors, while the British tabloids talk at length about the British. As always, these results say very little about stance by themselves, as they could be due to numerous different reasons. Some publications may have employed pronouns when repeatedly referring to the same actors, some publications may have employed longer sentences which skew the frequency values, and some may have referred to specific politicians or companies by name, rather than making references to their nationality. What is apparent, however, is that the publication types focus on different aspects in their stories.

#### 4.3.1 Concordance of necessity modalities

In chapter 4.1.3 I looked at the occurrence of necessity modalities in the different publications, but the context in which they appear wasn't discussed. This context is essential, because necessity modalities can be used to paint someone in a more sympathetic light, for example by portraying them as an innocent victim, rather than as a violent aggressor. In the end however, there were very little significant results.

Table 31: Necessity modalities regarding Greece

Greece/Greek(s)	must	[have] to	[be] forced to	[have] no choice	All necessity modalities
Economist	0.14	0.02	0.00	0.05	<b>0.20</b>
Forbes	0.06	0.02	0.00	0.06	<b>0.14</b>
FT	0.07	0.03	0.00	0.10	<b>0.19</b>
<b>CNN</b>	0.24	0.00	0.00	0.12	<b>0.36</b>
<b>BBC</b>	0.18	0.04	0.00	0.36	<b>0.58</b>
<b>DW</b>	0.08	0.02	0.00	0.16	<b>0.26</b>
<b>Guardian</b>	0.07	0.02	0.01	0.05	<b>0.15</b>
<b>NY Times</b>	0.03	0.05	0.02	0.04	<b>0.13</b>
<i>Mirror</i>	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.48	<b>0.48</b>
<i>NY Daily</i>	0.16	0.00	0.08	0.16	<b>0.40</b>
<i>NY Post</i>	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	<b>0.00</b>
<i>Daily Mail</i>	0.03	0.01	0.01	0.08	<b>0.13</b>
Financial	0.08	0.02	0.00	0.08	<b>0.19</b>
<b>Mainstream</b>	0.07	0.03	0.01	0.10	<b>0.21</b>
<i>Tabloid</i>	0.04	0.01	0.02	0.08	<b>0.14</b>
<b>All publications</b>	<b>0.07</b>	<b>0.03</b>	<b>0.01</b>	<b>0.09</b>	<b>0.19</b>

References to Greece were again most frequent, which is understandable considering that Greece was the unifying topic in all the news stories. However, there were no significant differences in the way the different publications used the modalities concerning Greece. While necessity modalities can be used to present someone in a more favourable light, here they mainly seemed to take the form of directions or even orders, as can be seen in the examples below:

'Greece must take tough cost-cutting measures...' (CNN, 5 May, 2010)

'But Greeks must also understand...' (*New York Post*, 5 May 2010)

'Greece has to promise to cut its budget deficit.' (BBC, 6 May, 2010)

'Greece must sell family silver...' (*Financial Times*, 16 June, 2010)

Table 32: Necessity modalities regarding Europe and the Eurozone

Europe and Eurozone	must	[have] to	[be] forced to	[have] no choice	All necessity modalities
Economist	0.03	0.02	0.00	0.00	<b>0.05</b>
Forbes	0.00	0.08	0.02	0.00	<b>0.09</b>
FT	0.02	0.03	0.00	0.00	<b>0.05</b>
<b>CNN</b>	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.12	<b>0.12</b>
<b>BBC</b>	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00	<b>0.02</b>
<b>DW</b>	0.06	0.00	0.00	0.00	<b>0.06</b>
<b>Guardian</b>	0.02	0.05	0.01	0.00	<b>0.08</b>
<b>NY Times</b>	0.03	0.02	0.00	0.00	<b>0.05</b>
<i>Mirror</i>	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	<b>0.00</b>
<i>NY Daily</i>	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	<b>0.00</b>
<i>NY Post</i>	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.00	<b>0.05</b>
<i>Daily Mail</i>	0.02	0.04	0.00	0.00	<b>0.07</b>
Financial	0.02	0.04	0.00	0.00	<b>0.06</b>
<b>Mainstream</b>	0.03	0.03	0.00	0.00	<b>0.06</b>
<i>Tabloid</i>	0.02	0.03	0.00	0.00	<b>0.05</b>
<b>All publications</b>	<b>0.02</b>	<b>0.03</b>	<b>0.00</b>	<b>0.00</b>	<b>0.06</b>

One might expect Europe, the EU, and especially the countries in the Euro, to be quite relevant or important, but references to Europe and its role in solving the crisis were still considerably less frequent than those concerning Greece. Again, they do not seem so much sympathetic as somewhat arrogant:

'...Europe must revise the EU stability pact...' (Deutsche Welle, 3 May, 2010)

'The EU has to start walking the walk .' (Guardian, 8 April, 2010)

'...Europeans must decide : Do they want to maintain the euro...' (New York Times, 11 March, 2010)

'Europe must now make up its mind...' (Financial Times, 5 March, 2010)

Table 33: Necessity modalities regarding Germany and Germans

Germany/Germans	must	[have] to	[be] forced to	[have] no choice	All necessity modalities
Economist	0.03	0.09	0.02	0.00	<b>0.14</b>
Forbes	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	<b>0.00</b>
FT	0.01	0.03	0.00	0.00	<b>0.04</b>
<b>CNN</b>	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	<b>0.00</b>
<b>BBC</b>	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	<b>0.00</b>
<b>DW</b>	0.04	0.04	0.00	0.00	<b>0.08</b>
<b>Guardian</b>	0.02	0.05	0.00	0.00	<b>0.07</b>
<b>NY Times</b>	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.00	<b>0.05</b>
<i>Mirror</i>	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	<b>0.00</b>
<i>NY Daily</i>	0.00	0.08	0.00	0.00	<b>0.08</b>
<i>NY Post</i>	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	<b>0.00</b>
<i>Daily Mail</i>	0.00	0.01	0.02	0.00	<b>0.03</b>
Financial	0.01	0.03	0.00	0.00	<b>0.05</b>
<b>Mainstream</b>	0.02	0.03	0.00	0.00	<b>0.05</b>
<i>Tabloid</i>	0.00	0.02	0.02	0.00	<b>0.03</b>
<b>All publications</b>	<b>0.01</b>	<b>0.03</b>	<b>0.00</b>	<b>0.00</b>	<b>0.05</b>

The above table shows the use of necessity modalities in reference to Germany and the German people. Understandably, Deutsche Welle has more references than the majority of the other publications. Even then, *the Economist* has the highest frequency of references to Germany. Overall however, neither the different publications nor publication types show any significant differences in the frequency of modalities.

Table 34: Necessity modalities regarding the UK and the British

UK/Brit	must	[have] to	[be] forced to	[have] no choice	All necessity modalities
Economist	0.00	0.02	0.00	0.00	<b>0.02</b>
Forbes	0.00	0.02	0.00	0.00	<b>0.02</b>
FT	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	<b>0.00</b>
<b>CNN</b>	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	<b>0.00</b>
<b>BBC</b>	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	<b>0.00</b>
<b>DW</b>	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	<b>0.00</b>
<b>Guardian</b>	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.00	<b>0.02</b>
<b>NY Times</b>	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	<b>0.00</b>
<i>Mirror</i>	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	<b>0.00</b>
<i>NY Daily</i>	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	<b>0.00</b>
<i>NY Post</i>	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	<b>0.00</b>
<i>Daily Mail</i>	0.03	0.08	0.07	0.00	<b>0.17</b>
Financial	0.00	0.00	0.00*	0.00	<b>0.00*</b>
<b>Mainstream</b>	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	<b>0.01</b>
<i>Tabloid</i>	0.02	0.05**	0.05**	0.00	<b>0.12**</b>
<b>All publications</b>	<b>0.00</b>	<b>0.01</b>	<b>0.01</b>	<b>0.00</b>	<b>0.02</b>

Finally, the above table shows the use of necessity modalities referring to the UK and the British, which is the only group to contain any statistically significant results. There were significant differences in the frequencies of the forms '[have] to' ( $\chi^2=33.12$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ), '[be] forced to' ( $\chi^2=27.27$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ), and the overall group of necessity modalities referring to the British ( $\chi^2=77.72$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ).

It would seem fair to assume that tabloids in general have very geographically specific demographics that they appeal to. With this in mind, the fact that *the Daily Mail*, a British tabloid, talks about the UK's role in the crisis is not very surprising. The fact that the American tabloids do not make any references to the UK in this way is also not very surprising. The lack of any occurrences in the British *Mirror* is most probably due to its extremely small sample size.

There are references to the UK in the other publication types as well, but they are considerably less frequent than in the tabloids.

Table 35: Necessity modalities regarding banks and bankers

Banks/bankers	must	[have] to	[be] forced to	[have] no choice	All necessity modalities
Economist	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00	<b>0.02</b>
Forbes	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00	<b>0.02</b>
FT	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.00	<b>0.03</b>
<b>CNN</b>	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	<b>0.00</b>
<b>BBC</b>	0.00	0.04	0.02	0.00	<b>0.07</b>
<b>DW</b>	0.00	0.08	0.00	0.00	<b>0.08</b>
<b>Guardian</b>	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00	<b>0.01</b>
<b>NY Times</b>	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	<b>0.02</b>
<i>Mirror</i>	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	<b>0.00</b>
<i>NY Daily</i>	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	<b>0.00</b>
<i>NY Post</i>	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.00	<b>0.05</b>
<i>Daily Mail</i>	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00	<b>0.01</b>
Financial	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.00	<b>0.02</b>
<b>Mainstream</b>	0.01	0.02	0.00	0.00	<b>0.03</b>
<i>Tabloid</i>	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	<b>0.02</b>
<b>All publications</b>	<b>0.01</b>	<b>0.01</b>	<b>0.00</b>	<b>0.00</b>	<b>0.03</b>

As evidenced by the table above, there was also a distinct lack of any significant differences in the use of necessity modalities with regards to banks and bankers. Necessity modalities as such do not seem to tell us much about stance in this corpus.

#### 4.3.2 Concordance of adjective attributes

Another aspect of adjective use is the context in which the adjectives appear and what they refer to. Attitudinal adjectives are fairly clear markers of stance and should serve as a good indicator of how a writer's bias affects his or her writing. For reasons of convenience, I concentrated on the use of adjective attributes, which occur in noun-phrase constructions nearly always directly before the nouns they modify.

I studied what kinds of attributes were used to modify the different groups of political actors. I categorised the adjectives into six different categories roughly drafted according to Martin's categories of appraisal:

1. Criticism: adjectives that fall into negative social esteem category, denoting poor fortune or weakness in either one's capacity or resolve.
2. Condemnation: adjectives that fall into the negative social sanction category, denoting dishonesty or immorality.
3. Negative affect: adjectives that represent negative emotions, denoting feelings of anger, fear, and sadness

4. Admiration: adjectives that fall into positive social esteem category, denoting good fortune or strength in either one's capacity or resolve.
5. Praise: adjectives that fall into the positive social sanction category, denoting honesty or morality.
6. Positive affect: adjectives that represent positive emotions, denoting feelings of calmness, security, and happiness

Adjectives that did not fit into any of these six categories were classified as 'other'. These adjectives were mainly neutral in tone and did not express any particular stance, often providing a geographic modifier such as 'northern European'.

*Table 36: Adjective attributes regarding Greece and Greeks*

	Criticism	Condemnation	Negative affect	Admiration	Praise	Positive affect	Other	All attributes
Economist	0.03	0.08	0.02	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.48	<b>0.68</b>
Forbes	0.06	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.62	<b>0.68</b>
FT	0.09	0.02	0.00	0.03	0.01	0.00	0.68	<b>0.84</b>
<b>CNN</b>	0.24	0.00	0.00	0.12	0.00	0.00	0.12	<b>0.48</b>
<b>BBC</b>	0.11	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.04	0.00	0.36	<b>0.54</b>
<b>DW</b>	0.42	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.00	0.30	<b>0.75</b>
<b>Guardian</b>	0.25	0.03	0.03	0.07	0.09	0.00	0.36	<b>0.81</b>
<b>NY Times</b>	0.09	0.02	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.00	0.45	<b>0.59</b>
<i>Mirror</i>	0.95	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	<b>0.95</b>
<i>NY Daily</i>	0.16	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.08	0.08	0.32	<b>0.65</b>
<i>NY Post</i>	0.47	0.00	0.00	0.14	0.09	0.00	0.23	<b>0.94</b>
<i>Daily Mail</i>	0.35	0.07	0.00	0.01	0.09	0.00	0.34	<b>0.85</b>
Financial	0.08*	0.02	0.00	0.03	0.01	0.00	0.64**	<b>0.79</b>
<b>Mainstream</b>	0.36**	0.05	0.00	0.03	0.09	0.01	0.31*	<b>0.84</b>
<i>Tabloid</i>	0.18	0.02	0.01	0.03	0.04	0.00	0.39	<b>0.67</b>
<b>All publications</b>	<b>0.16</b>	<b>0.02</b>	<b>0.01</b>	<b>0.03</b>	<b>0.03</b>	<b>0.00</b>	<b>0.49</b>	<b>0.75</b>

As the table above shows, there was very little difference in the use of the different categories of adjectives. The only significant difference was in the use of 'criticism' ( $\chi^2=51.65$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ), which was also the most frequent attribute category. The majority of the words referred to the poor financial situation of the country. The use of words like 'debt-stricken' and 'cash-strapped' leaves out the underlying causes behind the crisis and may even stir some pity in the reader. This might not have been what the tabloids that mostly seem to have used these words had in mind.



While seemingly neutral, words like 'ordinary' and 'average' – in the context of 'ordinary Greeks' with the addition of words like 'honest' or 'law-abiding' – have a clear function of drawing contrast to their apparently 'profligate', 'crooked', and 'reckless' leaders. They may have also served as a way to ward off any potential accusations of prejudiced speech, especially when one considers that at around the time of publication some Greeks were drawing comparisons between Merkel's government and the Nazi regime.

*Table 37: Adjective attributes regarding Europe and the EU*

	Criticism	Condemnation	Negative affect	Admiration	Praise	Positive affect	Other	All attributes
Economist	0.12	0.00	0.00	0.08	0.02	0.00	0.84	<b>1.05</b>
Forbes	0.17	0.00	0.03	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.79	<b>1.00</b>
FT	0.06	0.00	0.00	0.03	0.01	0.00	0.60	<b>0.69</b>
<b>CNN</b>	0.24	0.00	0.00	0.12	0.00	0.00	0.48	<b>0.84</b>
<b>BBC</b>	0.07	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.79	<b>0.88</b>
<b>DW</b>	0.06	0.00	0.00	0.06	0.00	0.00	1.05	<b>1.17</b>
<b>Guardian</b>	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.59	<b>0.64</b>
<b>NY Times</b>	0.13	0.00	0.01	0.03	0.00	0.01	0.94	<b>1.12</b>
<i>Mirror</i>	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	<b>0.00</b>
<i>NY Daily</i>	0.32	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.40	<b>0.73</b>
<i>NY Post</i>	0.09	0.00	0.00	0.05	0.05	0.00	1.22	<b>1.41</b>
<i>Daily Mail</i>	0.08	0.02	0.01	0.03	0.02	0.00	0.83	<b>1.00</b>
Financial	0.08	0.00	0.00	0.03	0.01	0.00	0.66	<b>0.79</b>
<b>Mainstream</b>	0.09	0.00	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.00	0.82	<b>0.95</b>
<i>Tabloid</i>	0.10	0.02	0.01	0.03	0.02	0.00	0.84	<b>1.02</b>
<b>All publications</b>	<b>0.09</b>	<b>0.00</b>	<b>0.00</b>	<b>0.03</b>	<b>0.01</b>	<b>0.00</b>	<b>0.75</b>	<b>0.89</b>

As the table above shows, there were no significant differences in the use of attributes regarding Europe and the EU. The vast majority of attributes employed were neutral, such as 'new', 'entire', or geographic modifiers used in noun-phrases such as 'south-eastern Europe'. The only publication to show any condemning language was *the Daily Mail*, making mention of 'do-nothing' and 'spend-thrifty' Europeans. For the most part, the different publications alternate between talking about Europe's weakness and its strengths in quite similar ways and there is no clear sign of either pro- or anti-European sentiment in the use of these adjectives.

Table 38: Adjective attributes regarding Germany and Germans

	Criticism	Condemnation	Negative affect	Admiration	Praise	Positive affect	Other	All attributes
Economist	0.02	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.06	0.00	0.08	<b>0.25</b>
Forbes	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.03	0.00	0.00	0.15	<b>0.20</b>
FT	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.03	0.00	0.00	0.14	<b>0.19</b>
<b>CNN</b>	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.12	<b>0.12</b>
<b>BBC</b>	0.02	0.00	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.02	<b>0.07</b>
<b>DW</b>	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.04	0.00	0.26	<b>0.34</b>
<b>Guardian</b>	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.03	0.01	0.00	0.04	<b>0.10</b>
<b>NY Times</b>	0.00	0.01	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.00	0.28	<b>0.36</b>
<i>Mirror</i>	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	<b>0.00</b>
<i>NY Daily</i>	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	<b>0.00</b>
<i>NY Post</i>	0.00	0.00	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.09	<b>0.14</b>
<i>Daily Mail</i>	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.03	0.00	0.00	0.05	<b>0.10</b>
Financial	0.00	0.01	0.02	0.03	0.01	0.00	0.14	<b>0.20</b>
<b>Mainstream</b>	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.00	0.17	<b>0.24</b>
<i>Tabloid</i>	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.05	<b>0.09</b>
<b>All publications</b>	<b>0.00</b>	<b>0.01</b>	<b>0.02</b>	<b>0.02</b>	<b>0.01</b>	<b>0.00</b>	<b>0.14</b>	<b>0.20</b>

Again, there were no significant differences between the different publication types in the frequency of the different kinds of attributes. Overall, there were surprisingly few attributes referring to Germany. Unsurprisingly, Deutsche Welle contained much more references to Germany than most of the other publications. It was slightly more surprising to note *the New York Times* also contained more references to Germany than the majority of the other publications.

Many of the adjectives presented Germany as strong or powerful:

'Other Club Med governments hope - and , indeed , believe - that the rich and powerful Germany will somehow foot the bill.' (*Daily Mail*, 12 February, 2010)

'The premium that investors demand to buy Greek bonds over the rock-solid German bunds rose to 407 basis points , the highest since the euro was launched in 1999.' (*Guardian*, 7 April, 2010)

Others commented on the rising frustrations of the Germans:

'Chancellor Angela Merkel may well decide that she has no further latitude for more bailouts financed by understandably unhappy German taxpayers.' (*New York Post*, 25 May, 2010)

'Mr Strauss-Kahn was speaking at a news conference in Berlin after trying to persuade reluctant German politicians to back the terms of a rescue deal.' (BBC, 28 April, 2010)

Due to the lack of significant results however, one can not really talk about any particular bias either for or against Germany or the Germans.

Table 39: Adjective attributes regarding the UK and the British

	Criticism	Condemnation	Negative affect	Admiration	Praise	Positive affect	Other	All attributes
Economist	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.03	<b>0.03</b>
Forbes	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	<b>0.00</b>
FT	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	<b>0.01</b>
<b>CNN</b>	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.12	<b>0.12</b>
<b>BBC</b>	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.02	<b>0.02</b>
<b>DW</b>	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	<b>0.00</b>
<b>Guardian</b>	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.05	<b>0.05</b>
<b>NY Times</b>	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	<b>0.01</b>
<i>Mirror</i>	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	<b>0.00</b>
<i>NY Daily</i>	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	<b>0.00</b>
<i>NY Post</i>	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	<b>0.00</b>
<i>Daily Mail</i>	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.11	<b>0.12</b>
Financial	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	<b>0.01</b>
<b>Mainstream</b>	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.02	<b>0.03</b>
<i>Tabloid</i>	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.08	<b>0.09</b>
<b>All publications</b>	<b>0.00</b>	<b>0.00</b>	<b>0.00</b>	<b>0.00</b>	<b>0.00</b>	<b>0.00</b>	<b>0.02</b>	<b>0.03</b>

As for references to the British, the table above shows that there was no significant difference between the publication types in any of the categories. Overall, there is little to no mention of the UK in the American publications, except for the CNN. Even there, the seemingly high frequency is mostly due to the relatively small size of the CNN subcorpus.

Even though many of the publications in the corpus are based in the UK, the lack of references to the UK and Britons is not entirely unexpected, considering the UK's lack of involvement in the Eurozone, which is also reflected in the quote below:

'Non-euro-zone Britain has let its currency fall , but its budget deficit is unnerving.'  
(*Economist*, 29 April, 2010)

In terms of adjective use, there seems to be no significant bias towards the UK or Britons. With such a marginal amount of references, it would indeed be surprising to see any marked differences in the way they are portrayed.

Table 40: Adjective attributes regarding banks and bankers

	Criticism	Condemnation	Negative affect	Admiration	Praise	Positive affect	Other	All attributes
Economist	0.06	0.00	0.00	0.05	0.00	0.00	1.94	<b>2.05</b>
Forbes	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.06	0.00	0.00	1.65	<b>1.72</b>
FT	0.05	0.01	0.00	0.02	0.00	0.00	2.65	<b>2.73</b>
<b>CNN</b>	0.12	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.92	<b>2.04</b>
<b>BBC</b>	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.19	<b>1.19</b>
<b>DW</b>	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.54	<b>1.56</b>
<b>Guardian</b>	0.04	0.02	0.00	0.04	0.01	0.00	1.24	<b>1.34</b>
<b>NY Times</b>	0.05	0.01	0.00	0.06	0.00	0.00	2.56	<b>2.69</b>
<i>Mirror</i>	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	<b>0.00</b>
<i>NY Daily</i>	0.24	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	1.78	<b>2.02</b>
<i>NY Post</i>	0.05	0.05	0.00	0.09	0.00	0.00	1.13	<b>1.32</b>
<i>Daily Mail</i>	0.03	0.00	0.00	0.03	0.02	0.00	1.51	<b>1.59</b>
Financial	0.05	0.00	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.00	2.40**	<b>2.49**</b>
<b>Mainstream</b>	0.04	0.01	0.00	0.04	0.00	0.00	1.88	<b>1.97</b>
<i>Tabloid</i>	0.05	0.01	0.00	0.04	0.02	0.00	1.45*	<b>1.56*</b>
<b>All publications</b>	<b>0.05</b>	<b>0.01</b>	<b>0.00</b>	<b>0.04</b>	<b>0.00</b>	<b>0.00</b>	<b>2.06</b>	<b>2.16</b>

There were no significant differences in any of the six stance-marking categories regarding banks and bankers. The only significant differences were in the frequency of neutral attributes ( $\chi^2=56.23$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ) and attributes overall ( $\chi^2=50.31$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ). Perhaps unsurprisingly, they were both most frequent in the finance publications and least frequent in the tabloids, much like in the distribution presented in the table in chapter 4.4.

There were very few attitudinal adjectives attached to banks. In the vast majority of cases, the adjectives denoted nationality:

'The former chief economist of both the German Bundesbank and the European Central Bank, Otmar Issing, told Amanpour that Prime Minister Papandreou is moving in the right direction, but the financial markets will judge whether it's enough.' (CNN, 15 February, 2010)

'A run on Greek banks is possible.' (*Economist*, 29 April, 2010)

It is good to keep in mind that the use of attributes only tells part of the story, and that in many cases the use of predicative adjectives might be more revealing. However, because predicative adjectives can appear in such a variety of complicated structures, studying their use effectively would require more advanced tools than the ones used for this study.

As a side note on the use of adjectives, an interesting development in some articles is the use of the words 'Greek' or 'Greek-style' as synonyms for disaster.

'...Trichet , tersely underlined that " Portugal is not Greece . Spain is not Greece " on Thursday .' (*New York Daily News*, 7 May, 2010)

" Repeat with us : Spain is not Greece" (*Guardian*, 1 May, 2010)

'Venezuela is not Greece' (*Guardian*, 6 May, 2010)

'...Hungary was in danger of suffering a Greek-style crisis...' (*New York Times*, 4 June, 2010)

This is a good example of how rapidly a word's connotations can change.

Whether such connotations fade away over time or whether they become part of the common lexicon, remains to be seen.

### 4.3.3 Concordance of evidentials

Another aspect of media bias lies in the sources the different publications choose to cite. I searched for the phrase 'according to', which was often used before and after various claims to lend them credibility but possibly also as hedges.

*Table 41: Occurrence of evidential phrase 'according to'*

	Analysts, finance groups	Vague source	Greece	Banks	Media	EU	Germany	US	UK	Universities
Economist	0.03	0.03	0.06	0.06	0.00	0.02	0.05	0.00	0.02	0.00
Forbes	0.09	0.02	0.03	0.14	0.09	0.03	0.05	0.11	0.00	0.03
FT	0.18	0.18	0.18	0.13	0.02	0.06	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.01
CNN	0.00	0.00	0.12	0.00	0.00	0.24	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
<b>BBC</b>	0.02	0.00	0.04	0.02	0.02	0.04	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.00
<b>DW</b>	0.02	0.02	0.12	0.10	0.12	0.08	0.16	0.02	0.04	0.06
<b>Guardian</b>	0.08	0.04	0.07	0.04	0.06	0.03	0.01	0.01	0.04	0.00
<b>NY Times</b>	0.13	0.20	0.08	0.11	0.14	0.04	0.04	0.02	0.03	0.01
<i>Mirror</i>	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
<i>NY Daily</i>	0.08	0.00	0.16	0.00	0.08	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
<i>NY Post</i>	0.00	0.09	0.05	0.05	0.19	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
<i>Daily Mail</i>	0.11	0.08	0.01	0.05	0.10	0.00	0.04	0.04	0.04	0.00
Financial	0.15	0.13	0.14	0.12	0.02	0.05	0.03	0.03	0.01	0.01
<b>Mainstream</b>	0.08	0.10	0.08	0.07	0.10	0.05	0.04	0.02	0.03	0.01
<i>Tabloid</i>	0.09	0.07	0.03	0.05	0.11	0.00	0.03	0.03	0.03	0.00
<b>All publications</b>	<b>0.11</b>	<b>0.11</b>	<b>0.10</b>	<b>0.09</b>	<b>0.07</b>	<b>0.04</b>	<b>0.03</b>	<b>0.02</b>	<b>0.02</b>	<b>0.01</b>

The table above again shows that no significant differences were present in the texts. The different sources cited are shown from most to least cited.

Various private financial groups, research groups, credit agencies, and analysts were most prominently on display, such as 'the Bernstein analysts' or 'Markit, a data provider'. It seems that regardless of which publication one looks at, the prominent

role of private companies as authorities on the state of the economy is undeniable.

In a number of cases sources were presented very vaguely, often merely cited as 'sources' or 'officials close to the talks'. Often this was due to confidentiality of sources, but there is always the possibility that some may take advantage of it to disguise their own conjecture as the inside knowledge of a reliable source.

Greek officials were of course very frequently cited, ranging from 'Greek police' and the Greek prime minister 'Mr Papandreou', to more general 'eye witness accounts'.

Banks were cited in various ways, some referring to interviews citing specific people, such as 'Jochen Moberg, an analyst with Deutsche Bank', others speaking in more general terms, for example of 'a recent report from Deutsche Bank'.

There were also news references to other news media. In many cases publications cited 'Reuters' and 'the Associated Press', but also other news publications, such as the German 'der Spiegel' magazine and 'Bild' tabloid newspaper, as well as arguably more prestigious publications such as '*Guardian*' and the 'Wall Street Journal'. Due to the small sample size, there was no significant difference in the types of publications the different publication types cited.

Citations referencing the EU included mentions of the 'European Central Bank' and its chairman 'Jean-Claude Trichet', 'Eurostat' as well as the EU in general.

The citing of German sources included references to 'Deutsche Bank', the German news publications mentioned a few paragraphs above, as well as some specific people such as 'Jürgen Trittin' and 'Paul Aschenbrenner'. *The Daily Mail* also referred to one German source, 'Karl Otto Poehl', as a 'highly respected former central banker', no doubt to lend more credence to the article where his quotes appeared.

Citations related to the US included 'a White House statement', the 'Chicago Mercantile Exchange' and the 'Bank of America'.

British sources seemed to be limited to private companies such as 'Barclays' and the British office of 'Pimco'.

Lastly, some publications cited studies or policy recommendations, such as those of 'Leonard Burman, a Syracuse University professor' or 'Professor Paraskewopoulos' from 'the University of Leipzig'.

It is interesting that private finance institutions are quoted considerably more often than economists at public institutions such as universities.

#### **4.4 Metadiscourse markers**

The past chapters have mainly dealt with the words that a writer has employed when referring to the topic of discussion. Metadiscourse, however, concerns the way in which the writers refer to themselves, the audience and the text that the audience is in the process of reading.

For examining the use of interactive and interactional metadiscourse, I used a list of discourse markers compiled by Hyland (2005: 218-224). As Hyland states, these markers should always be considered in their full context on a case by case basis in order to be fully understood. Some of the markers also turned out to be quite difficult to search for in a corpus. For the purposes of this study however, I gathered the word frequency data for all the metadiscourse markers and only removed a few instances of clearly erroneous data.

##### **4.4.1 Interactive metadiscourse**

Interactive metadiscourse concerns the ways in which the writer constructs the cohesive structure of a text, in other words making the text easier to follow and read. The table below shows the occurrence of the different linguistic phenomena listed in Hyland (2005) in the corpus:

Table 42: Occurrence of interactive metadiscourse markers

	Code glosses (‘as a matter of fact’, ‘for example’)	endophoric markers (‘in this chapter’, ‘in this section’)	Evidentials (‘according to’, ‘quoted’)	Transition markers (‘accordingly’, ‘although’)	Frame markers	<b>Interactive metadiscourse overall</b>
Economist	4.06	0.03	0.33	36.85	12.01	<b>53.28</b>
Forbes	3.55	0.00	0.57	39.14	11.52	<b>54.78</b>
FT	3.48	0.00	0.70	35.14	11.28	<b>50.60</b>
<b>CNN</b>	5.88	0.00	0.96	32.63	8.04	<b>47.50</b>
<b>BBC</b>	4.21	0.00	0.34	34.77	13.25	<b>52.56</b>
<b>DW</b>	4.41	0.00	0.83	33.46	9.23	<b>47.93</b>
<b>Guardian</b>	3.21	0.03	0.43	36.21	11.31	<b>51.19</b>
<b>NY Times</b>	3.00	0.00	0.80	35.43	10.41	<b>49.65</b>
<i>Mirror</i>	1.91	0.00	0.00	39.54	7.62	<b>49.07</b>
<i>NY Daily</i>	4.05	0.00	0.57	37.00	7.77	<b>49.39</b>
<i>NY Post</i>	3.10	0.00	0.38	34.02	12.64	<b>50.14</b>
<i>Daily Mail</i>	3.23	0.00	0.42	34.50	9.43	<b>47.58</b>
Financial	3.57	0.00	0.63	35.97	11.42**	<b>51.60</b>
<b>Mainstream</b>	3.44	0.01	0.65	35.28	10.80	<b>50.17</b>
<i>Tabloid</i>	3.27	0.00	0.42	34.74	9.77*	<b>48.20</b>
<b>All publications</b>	<b>3.48</b>	<b>0.01</b>	<b>0.61</b>	<b>35.53</b>	<b>10.95</b>	<b>50.57</b>

Code glosses ('such as', 'indeed') appeared evenly in all genres. There were some differences in the use of different phrases, but overall the phrases in the category were used roughly the same in all types of publication.

Endophoric markers, such as references to figures, tables, or chapters in a given text, were very infrequent in all of the publication types. While they can also appear in news texts, they might be more frequent in academic texts, especially since the stories in the corpus have been stripped of all graphics, tables and figures. These kinds of markers might be seen as an example of adding to a story's credibility by demonstrating its unambiguity or facticity. Their minimal appearance in the news texts forces the reader to take the writer at their word, instead of being able to make their own conclusions.

Evidentials on the other hand were considerably more frequent in the news texts, although they did not show any significant differences from one publication type to the next. Evidentials, or attribution markers, can be considered a way to bolster a text's facticity and quality of attribution, and thus improve its credibility among its audience. As already mentioned in chapter 2.4.2, a writer can always pick and choose the quotation that best serves their own agenda. However, as discussed in chapter 4.3.3, there seemed to be no significant differences in the sources the publications in this study cited.



Save for a few individual words and phrases, the use of transition markers, such as 'although' and 'nonetheless', was quite similar in all sub-genres.

There were, however, clear differences in the occurrence of frame markers ( $\chi^2=26.02$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ). Frame markers (Hyland, 2005) are used for four different functions: sequencing, labelling stages, announcing goals, and shifting topics.

*Table 43: Occurrence of different sub-categories of frame markers*

	a) sequencing (‘first of all’, ‘finally’)	b) stage labelling (‘all in all’, ‘to conclude’)	c) goal announcing (‘aim’, ‘intend to’)	d) topic shifting (‘in regard to’, ‘revisit’)	<b>Frame markers overall</b>	<b>Interactive metadiscourse markers overall</b>
Economist	4.42	2.56	0.43	4.60	<b>12.01</b>	<b>53.28</b>
Forbes	4.61	1.75	0.63	4.52	<b>11.52</b>	<b>54.78</b>
FT	5.57	1.59	0.62	3.50	<b>11.28</b>	<b>50.60</b>
CNN	3.60	0.60	0.84	3.00	<b>8.04</b>	<b>47.50</b>
BBC	5.89	2.09	1.08	4.18	<b>13.25</b>	<b>52.56</b>
DW	3.50	1.78	0.65	3.31	<b>9.23</b>	<b>47.93</b>
<b>Guardian</b>	5.33	1.88	0.55	3.55	<b>11.31</b>	<b>51.19</b>
<b>NY Times</b>	3.90	2.11	0.64	3.76	<b>10.41</b>	<b>49.65</b>
<i>Mirror</i>	1.91	2.38	0.95	2.38	<b>7.62</b>	<b>49.07</b>
<i>NY Daily</i>	3.72	1.46	0.24	2.35	<b>7.77</b>	<b>49.39</b>
<i>NY Post</i>	5.78	2.16	0.38	4.32	<b>12.64</b>	<b>50.14</b>
<i>Daily Mail</i>	4.32	1.52	0.48	3.11	<b>9.43</b>	<b>47.58</b>
Financial	5.26**	1.75	0.60	3.81	<b>11.42**</b>	<b>51.60</b>
<b>Mainstream</b>	4.49	1.97	0.67	3.67	<b>10.80</b>	<b>50.17</b>
<i>Tabloid</i>	4.47*	1.63	0.45	3.23	<b>9.77*</b>	<b>48.20</b>
<b>All publications</b>	<b>4.85</b>	<b>1.82</b>	<b>0.60</b>	<b>3.68</b>	<b>10.95</b>	<b>50.57</b>

The table above, displaying the occurrence of the different forms of frame markers, shows that while there was a significant difference between the publication types in the overall frequency of frame markers, the only sub group to display a significant difference between the different publication types was in the group of sequencing markers ( $\chi^2=30.40$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ), such as 'in this chapter' or 'lastly'. They are mostly a hallmark of academic writing rather than newspaper language, but they do still appear in all the publications in one form or another. Generally however, frame markers appear to be most prevalent in the finance publications and the least prevalent in the tabloids. In this respect, financial publications here are the most similar to actual academic writing. Of course, the words may also occur in other contexts and not just in service of the functions listed here.

#### 4.4.2 Interactional metadiscourse

Interactional metadiscourse concerns the ways in which the writer speaks to the readers and forms a bond with the audience. They can often be very clear signifiers of a writer's stance.

*Table 44: Occurrence of interactional metadiscourse markers*

	Attitude markers (‘admittedly’, ‘disappointingly’)	Boosters (‘actually’, ‘definitely’)	Self Mention (‘I’, ‘the author’)	Engagement markers (‘the reader’, ‘remember’)	Hedges (‘apparently’, ‘certain extent’)	<b>Interactional metadiscourse markers overall</b>
Economist	3.63	6.60	16.20	13.11	14.13	<b>53.67</b>
Forbes	3.13	6.47	20.70	14.88	10.57	<b>55.74</b>
FT	3.50	4.65	12.89	11.94	10.57	<b>43.54</b>
<b>CNN</b>	2.40	4.32	16.19	15.71	7.80	<b>46.43</b>
<b>BBC</b>	3.62	5.33	16.13	14.96	9.90	<b>49.93</b>
<b>DW</b>	3.46	5.38	16.55	16.57	8.85	<b>50.80</b>
<b>Guardian</b>	3.60	5.37	16.73	15.00	8.23	<b>48.92</b>
<b>NY Times</b>	3.43	5.22	13.62	13.51	11.02	<b>46.78</b>
<i>Mirror</i>	1.43	4.76	17.63	19.06	6.67	<b>49.55</b>
<i>NY Daily</i>	3.40	2.91	10.53	12.71	6.32	<b>35.87</b>
<i>NY Post</i>	3.34	7.14	19.27	15.22	8.55	<b>53.52</b>
<i>Daily Mail</i>	3.22	5.87	16.91	14.50	9.19	<b>49.69</b>
Financial	3.46	5.19*	14.51*	12.54*	11.08**	<b>46.78*</b>
<b>Mainstream</b>	3.48**	5.28	15.24	14.54**	9.73	<b>48.27</b>
<i>Tabloid</i>	3.23*	5.78**	16.69**	14.52	8.77*	<b>48.99**</b>
<b>All publications</b>	<b>3.44</b>	<b>5.30</b>	<b>15.09</b>	<b>13.61</b>	<b>10.23</b>	<b>47.68</b>

There is a significant difference in the frequency of 'attitude markers' ( $\chi^2=731.03$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ), such as 'admittedly' and 'amazingly'. They are most prevalent in the mainstream publications and least prevalent in tabloids. Again, if one expects tabloids to be more openly opinionated, this may be quite surprising. On the other hand, attitude markers are a fairly natural way for writers to inform the reader of their personal opinions. Avoiding them might be seen as a way to conceal one's bias behind a guise of objectivity. Indeed, without them what might merely be someone's personal opinion, may appear to the reader as a statement of fact.

There was also a significant difference in the use of boosters ( $\chi^2=44726.65$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ), such as 'actually' or 'obviously'. They were most prevalent in tabloids and least prevalent in finance. In a way, they tie in with the concept of consonance as a selling point. In other words, a writer may write a news story to fit already existing preconceptions, which can be either those of the writer or the assumed reading audience. The use of boosters is a fine example of this, as they show

what the writer believes as well as what he or she thinks the reader ought to believe. The prevalence of boosters in tabloids would seem to imply that the tabloid publications appeared to be more openly opinionated in their reporting, but also signified that they expect their readers to share these same opinions.

Self mention mainly involves the use of first person pronouns, such as 'I' and 'we', but also noun-phrases, such as 'the author' or 'the writer'. There was also a significant difference in their use ( $\chi^2=597645.74$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ), and they were most prevalent in the tabloids and least prevalent in the finance publications. As already covered in the chapter 4.1.2, this does not necessarily mean that the writers in the tabloids are writing in the first person, but perhaps simply that the articles themselves contain more quotes from others speaking in the first person. Mainstream publications, such as *the Guardian*, also had interviews where the interviewees frequently used the 'I' pronoun. The financial publications, on the other hand, had a number of articles written from a first-person perspective by what might be considered experts in their respective fields. Their credentials were in fact often mentioned at the end of the articles. In this way, the finance publications were more open with their biases, even if they tried to offset this with appeals to the writer's authority.

Engagement markers that involve the reader, such as the phrase 'let's' or the word 'reader', also showed a significant difference in their occurrence ( $\chi^2=310016.01$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ). They were most prevalent in mainstream news and least prevalent in finance publication. As already mentioned, most of these words are highly context-specific. For example, words like 'us', 'our', and 'we' can in some cases serve as engagement markers and refer to the relation between the writer and the reader. However, to see whether the words are being used in this “inclusive” manner, would require a word by word analysis of each occurrence. It is quite likely that in many cases they are used in citations, and not by the writer as a tool to engage with the reader. However, even when these words are discounted, the overall trend remains the same.

Finally, hedges also exhibited significant differences ( $\chi^2=83109.27$  (df=11),  $p<0.01$ ). They were employed the most by finance and the least by tabloids. As mentioned before in chapter 2.3.1, while hedges can express uncertainty, they can also be seen as a politeness strategy to accommodate a reader's dissenting opinion.

One could in other words say that the tabloids appear more assertive, and less accepting of different opinions.

All in all, there are significant differences in the use of metadiscourse markers related to both interactive and interactional metadiscourse. Compared to the other publication types, finance publications use the most interactive metadiscourse overall, while tabloids employ it the least. Tabloids however employ the most interactional metadiscourse, while finance publications show the least instances of it. In other words, finance publications use linguistic tools to make their texts as cohesive and coherent as possible, while tabloids use linguistic tools that foster a personal relationship between writer and reader. The more mainstream and generalised publications seem to settle somewhere between these two extremes.

## **5 Discussion and conclusions**

The aim of this study was to compile a reasonably sized corpus and produce a thorough analysis of its linguistic features to see whether corpus analysis could be used to gauge the attitudes and stances held by writers of different publications. I set out with two research questions:

1. What kind of linguistic differences can be found in different types of news publications in the reporting of the Greek debt crisis?
2. How do these linguistic differences demonstrate attitudes in the various publications?

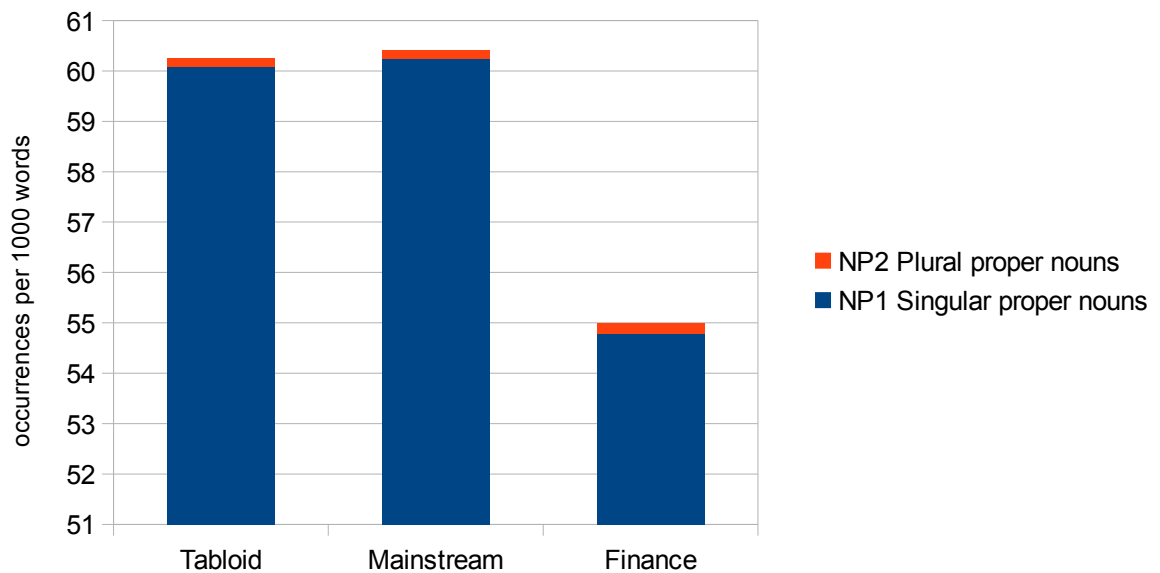
My initial hypothesis was that finance, mainstream and tabloid publications would all display different linguistic characteristics that would exhibit differences in stance and in some ways set them apart from the other types of publications.

There were indeed numerous linguistic differences between the three groups of publications. For instance, there were differences in the type-token ratios of the different sub-registers. Comparing them would have been somewhat pointless however, as the word counts of the the three groups were not similar, and making any claims about the vocabulary ranges of the different publications would thus be wildly inaccurate. The number of stories present in the individual publications and the word counts of the individual news stories also say very little of interest about the textual registers themselves, especially since the stories were manually selected and edited to

suit the needs of this study.

This leads us to the results concerning parts of speech. Nouns in general showed no significant differences. Proper nouns, on the other hand, did display significant variation between the different publication types. While formal registers generally employ more nouns, while less formal ones employ pronouns, this does not seem to be entirely the case here. As can be seen in figure 1 below, the tabloids and mainstream publications appear to employ proper nouns in roughly equal measure, while the finance publications employ them significantly less.

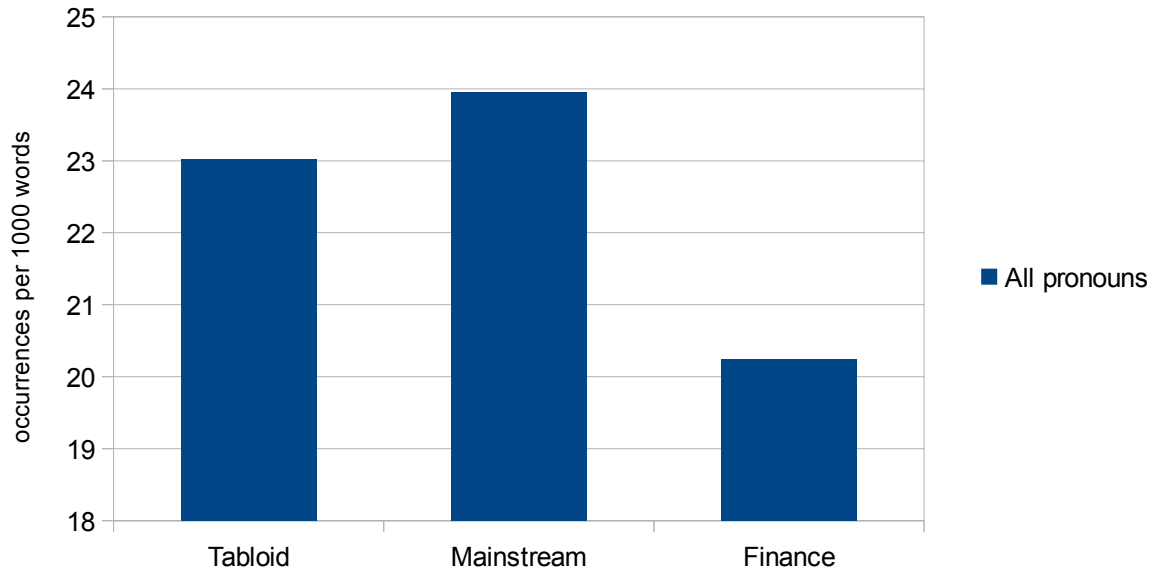
*Figure 1: Occurrence of proper nouns in the different publication types*



The reasons for the above are not immediately obvious, but it may be in part due to differing conventions for marking dates in the articles, as there were significant differences in the occurrence of proper nouns denoting days of the week.

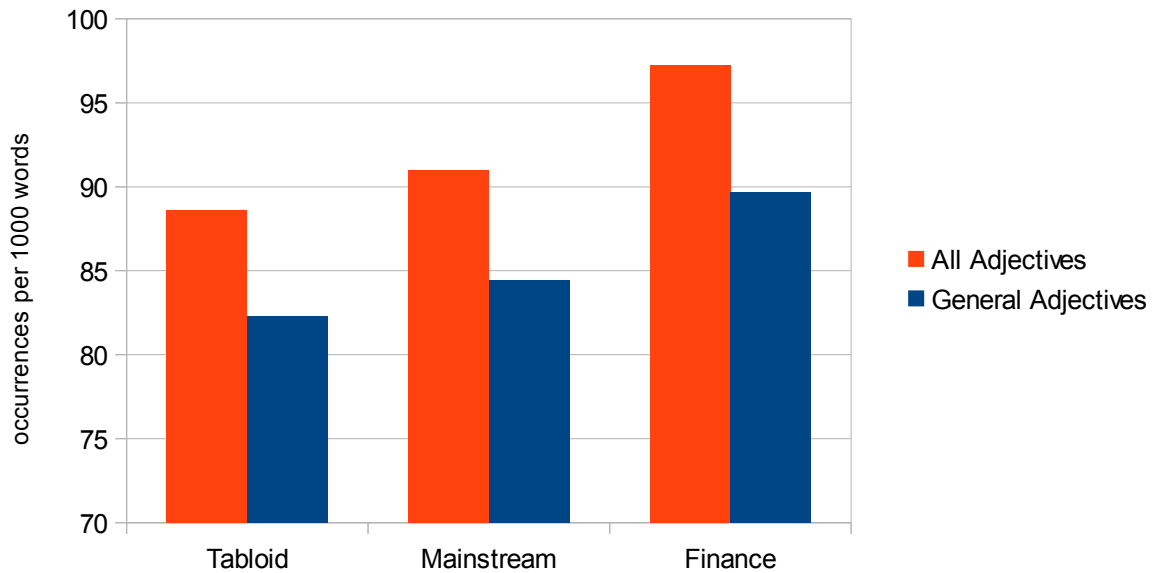
In any case, the figure below shows that the occurrence of pronouns is much closer to what one might expect. As pronouns are generally more frequent in spoken and informal registers, it does however seem strange that they appear most often in the mainstream publications.

Figure 2: Occurrence of pronouns in the different publication types



There were many other linguistic phenomena that I expected to show notable differences between the different publication types. For example, I assumed that the tabloids would employ more colourful language and I especially expected to see differences in the occurrence of adjectives, with more attitudinal adjectives appearing in the tabloids. Initially, it seemed the opposite would turn out to be true, as adjectives appeared to be most frequent in the finance publications and least frequent in the tabloids, as shown in figure 3 below.

Figure 3: Occurrence of adjectives in the different publication types



On the other hand, the use of attitudinal adjectives and negative words, in the form of affect, judgement and appreciation, was in many cases more frequent in the tabloids and less frequent in the finance publications, as shown in figures 4, 5 and 6 below.

Figure 4: Occurrence of affect in the different publication types

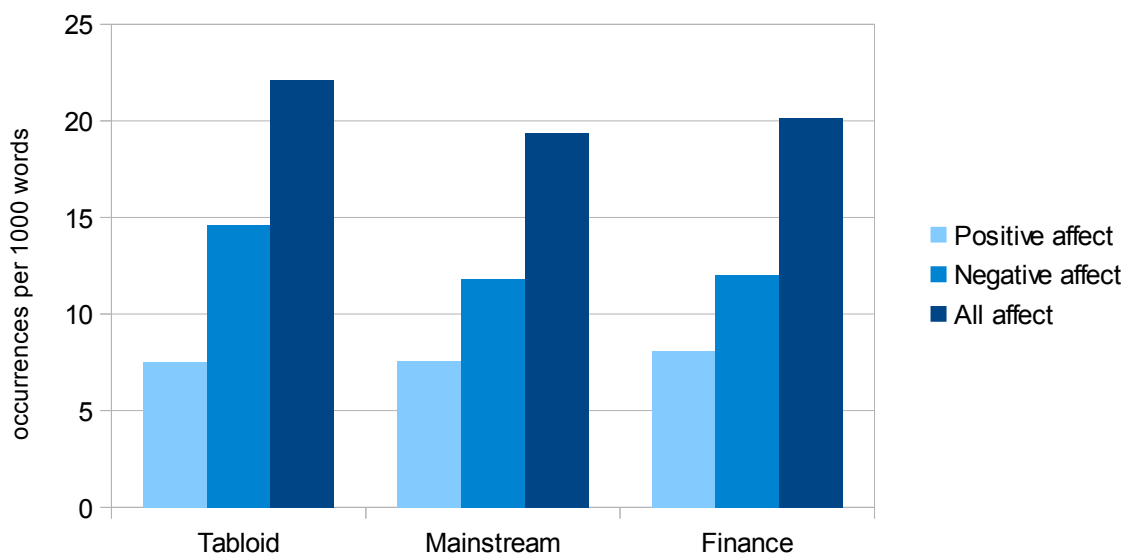


Figure 5: Occurrence of judgement in the different publication types

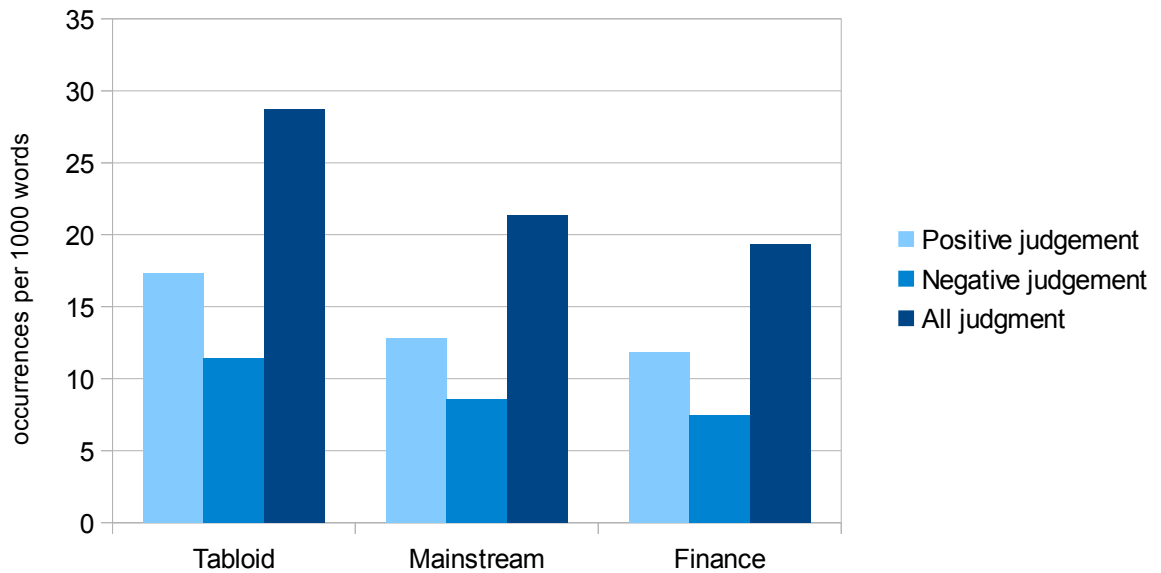
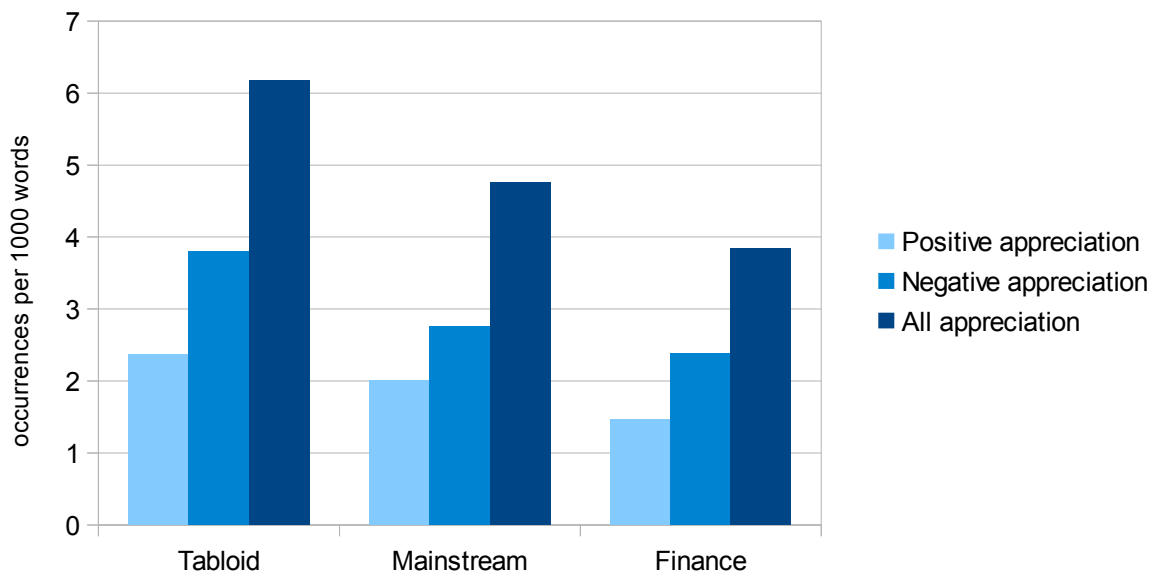


Figure 6: Occurrence of appreciation in the different publication types

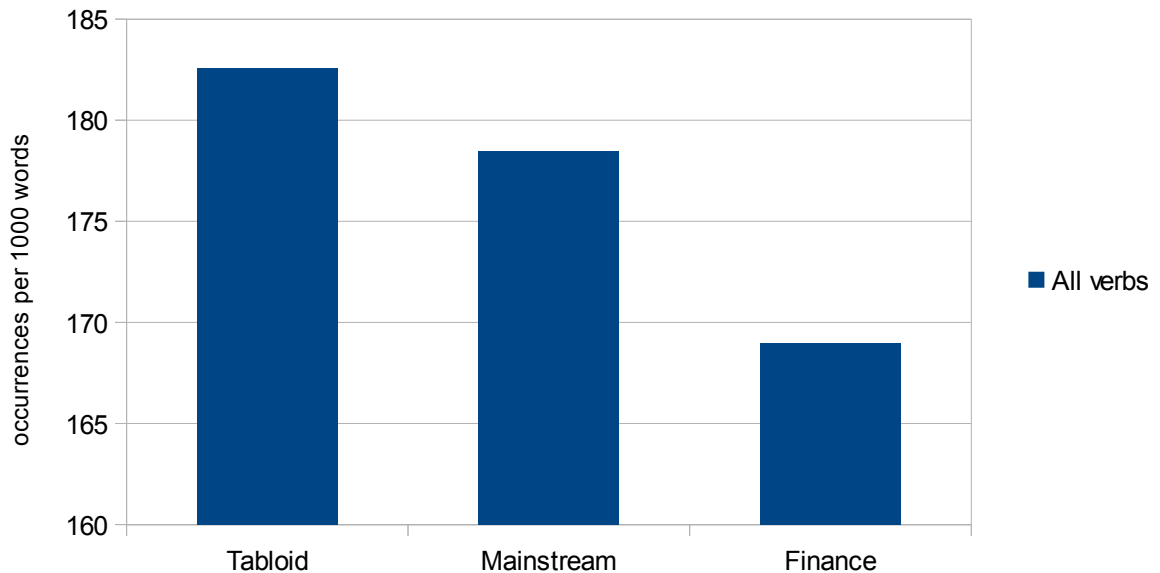


It would in other words seem that the tabloids do employ more attitudinal adjectives and even use more negativity in their reporting.

There was also significant variation in the occurrence of verbs in general, shown in figure 7 below.



*Figure 7: Occurrence of verbs in the different publication types*



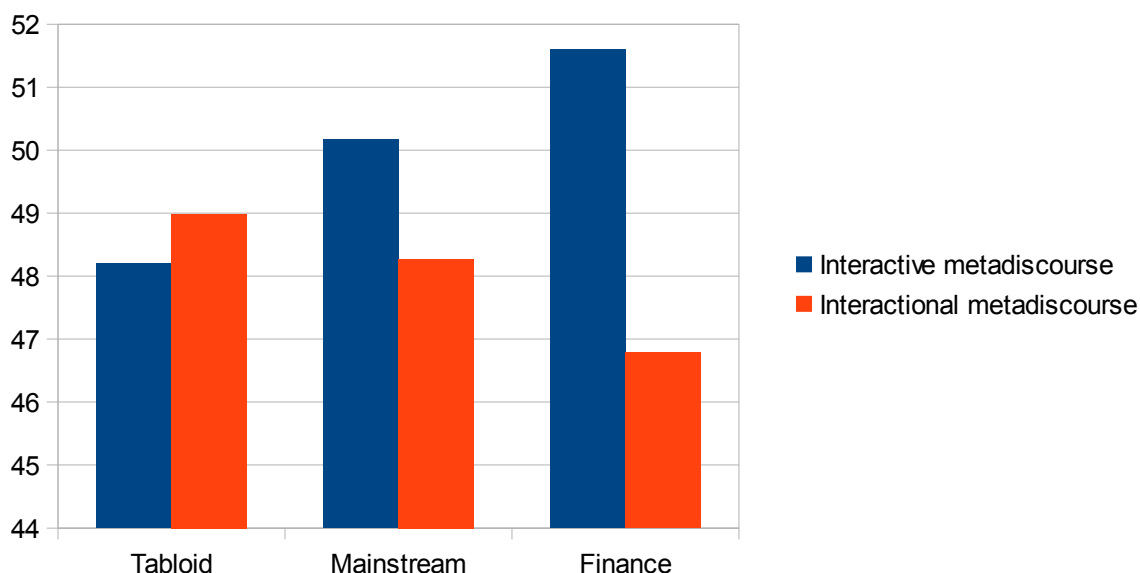
As discussed in chapter 2.5, verbs are generally more frequent in spoken registers than in formal writing, which is another sign that the finance publications are in some ways similar to academic prose, whereas tabloids have certain features of spoken discourse. Other aspects of verb use I expected to see were the usage of passive voice constructions and necessity modalities, but neither showed any relevant variation.

There were also no significant differences between the publications in the use of evidentials and the sources they referred to. The lack of any significant findings relating to these aspects in the corpora may mean that such differences are in fact negligible, or it may be due to a lack of precision in the tools and methods employed in this study.

There were however some significant findings that I had not anticipated. The most striking findings were in the use of metadiscourse markers, which are used to build a cohesive structure in a text. The tabloids seemed to avoid using words and expressions that mark the speech as representing a personal opinion, such as hedges and attitude markers. Instead they used boosters that reinforce talking points as well as self-mentions that may be used to bring the reader and writer closer to each other. In some regards, such as in the use of frame markers and hedges, the financial publications in the corpus were the ones that most closely resembled academic texts. As figure 8 below shows, interactive metadiscourse was most frequent in the finance

publications and least frequent in the tabloids, while interactional metadiscourse occurred the most in the tabloids and least in the finance publications.

*Figure 8: Occurrence of interactive and interactional metadiscourse*



While there were some exceptions, in many cases where there was a statistically significant difference between the different publication types, the biggest differences were between the financial and tabloid publications, while the mainstream publications were most often situated somewhere in the middle. It is of course good to keep in mind that the corpus and its chosen texts represented a very small sample of a very narrow subject matter and the various sub-corpora were also of very different sizes and that the results of this study can not be generalised to represent any universal tendencies.

In conclusion, while this study did show that there were some significant linguistic differences between the publication types, I could not find any readily apparent instances of stance or biases against any particular group of people or organisation. Many of the difficulties in the study were due to a limited and somewhat clumsy toolset. More user-friendly concordance tools with better support for parts-of-speech tagging would have facilitated the analysis process considerably and also would have produced better and more reliable results. I believe that a more in-depth analysis of particularly stance-related sentence structures would reveal more striking results, if a

similar study was conducted on a larger corpus with more advanced tools, which were not on hand for this study.

Nonetheless, media bias is a very real phenomenon that can affect politics and public opinion in different ways. In order to form one's own informed opinions, it is important to know how various organisations may try to appeal to their audience and manipulate their views, especially when emotions are running high, like in the current climate of economic uncertainty and clashing political interests.

Consequently, I believe that there is a need for more research on this topic and that the methods and tools should be developed further.

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## Appendix

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24 April, 2010: Greek volatility continues after request for aid  
26 April, 2010: Greek aid depends on budget cut plans  
25 April, 2010: Backlash grows over Greek rescue plan  
25 April, 2010: Greek bail-out provokes backlash in Germany  
26 April, 2010: Greece is Europe's very own subprime crisis  
26 April, 2010: Greek bond yields hit fresh highs  
26 April, 2010: Bundestag to be briefed on Greece deal  
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26 April, 2010: Athens set to accept reform for €45bn  
26 April, 2010: Greek bonds plunge despite bail-out pledge  
26 April, 2010: Merkel struggles to sell a Greek rescue  
26 April, 2010: Short View: Greek bond yields  
27 April, 2010: Greek bond markets plunge  
27 April, 2010: Fears over aid package dent Greek banks  
27 April, 2010: Greek risk  
27 April, 2010: Governor tells Athens to act 'more decisively'  
27 April, 2010: Confusion over deal's size upsets markets  
28 April, 2010: Greece's crisis begets a German backlash  
28 April, 2010: IMF looks at offering more cash to Greece  
28 April, 2010: Bank chief tells Athens to act 'more decisively'  
28 April, 2010: S&P downgrade hammers Greek banks  
28 April, 2010: German MPs claim Greece needs €120bn  
28 April, 2010: Greek two-year yields highest in the world  
28 April, 2010: Greek fire turns to Spanish fever  
28 April, 2010: Investors braced for Greek default  
28 April, 2010: Greek distress could stimulate divergent costs of capital  
28 April, 2010: Athens faces big taboo on debt  
28 April, 2010: Greek crisis endangers private sector  
28 April, 2010: French banks steadier after Greek furore  
29 April, 2010: The Greek crisis now endangers the private sector  
29 April, 2010: Investors weigh Greek default costs  
29 April, 2010: Brussels vows to move swiftly on Greece  
29 April, 2010: German opposition moves Greek rescue forward  
29 April, 2010: In spite of the Greek crisis the euro is holding well  
29 April, 2010: Emerging market debt benefits from Greek woes  
29 April, 2010: Fears persist for banks on exposure to Greece  
30 April, 2010: Greece agrees €24bn austerity package  
29 April, 2010: Confidence returns as Greek debt fears decline  
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30 April, 2010: Emerging market debt benefits from Greek woes  
30 April, 2010: A Platonic tonic for the bleak Greeks  
30 April, 2010: Worries persist on exposure to Greece  
30 April, 2010: Confidence returns as Greek debt fears decline  
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30 April, 2010: Papandreou says Greek survival at stake  
30 April, 2010: Asia sees double standards in IMF Greek rescue  
30 April, 2010: Lessons for the Greek crisis from Philip II of Spain  
1 May, 2010: Escalation of Greek debt crisis sparks volatility  
1 May, 2010: Papandreou braced for fresh fury  
1 May, 2010: World holds the dream of a default-free Greece  
1 May, 2010: Thousands protest ahead of new austerity measures  
2 May, 2010: EU puts positive spin on Greek rescue  
2 May, 2010: Eurozone agrees €110bn Greece loans  
4 May, 2010: Greece  
2 May, 2010: Papandreou pleads for nation's support  
3 May, 2010: Eurozone agrees Greek bail-out  
3 May, 2010: ECB extends financial lifeline to Greece  
3 May, 2010: Euro falls in muted response to Greek aid  
3 May, 2010: Germans urged to buy Greek bonds  
3 May, 2010: Banks hit by doubts over Greek rescue  
3 May, 2010: Greek bail-out welcomed by Bank of Spain  
3 May, 2010: Many more chapters left in the Greece drama  
4 May, 2010: Greece and European banks  
4 May, 2010: Stability fears spread after Greek bail-out  
3 May, 2010: Greek workers step up fight against austerity  
3 May, 2010: Investors still cautious about Greek rescue  
3 May, 2010: Germany seeks private sector support for Greek aid  
4 May, 2010: Stability fears spread after bail-out of Greece  
4 May, 2010: French parliament backs Greek rescue  
4 May, 2010: Greek fears drive the euro to one-year low  
4 May, 2010: Greek and Spanish falls drive broad retreat  
4 May, 2010: Public sector strikes hit Athens  
4 May, 2010: Athens hires Lazard for financial advice  
4 May, 2010: Lazard to advise Greece on finances  
5 May, 2010: Europe's debt crisis knocks markets  
4 May, 2010: We made mistakes, admits Papaconstantinou  
4 May, 2010: German bankers and insurers back rescue plan  
4 May, 2010: Lazard to advise Greece on finances  
5 May, 2010: Greek fears drive euro to one-year low  
5 May, 2010: A bail-out for Greece is just the beginning  
5 May, 2010: SocGen has €3bn Greek bond exposure  
5 May, 2010: Greek tremors continue to rock markets  
5 May, 2010: Merkel appeals for Greek support  
5 May, 2010: Woeful day for Greek and Spanish banks  
6 May, 2010: Athens protests erupt into violence  
5 May, 2010: Slovakia's distaste for Greece aid  
5 May, 2010: Fears grow amid Greek civil unrest  
5 May, 2010: Divided, Greece is bound to fall  
5 May, 2010: Greece: A Heraclian task  
6 May, 2010: Greek tremors leave eurozone badly shaken  
6 May, 2010: Greek premier vows to push on with cuts as three bank workers die in Athens protest  
6 May, 2010: Greek and Spanish banks suffer  
6 May, 2010: Woeful day for Greek and Spanish banks  
6 May, 2010: Greece passes tough austerity package  
6 May, 2010: Greek deal lets banks off the hook  
6 May, 2010: Gloom over Europe as shadow of Greek crisis grows  
7 May, 2010: Shares plunge amid fears of Greek default and trader errors  
7 May, 2010: Greek crisis holds a warning for US government  
7 May, 2010: Understanding the Greek aftershocks  
7 May, 2010: Outrage and sorrow as funerals begin  
7 May, 2010: Cr dit Agricole faces €3.8bn Greece exposure  
7 May, 2010: German parliament approves Greek bail-out  
7 May, 2010: Italy approves its share of Greek rescue  
7 May, 2010: Greek debt crisis prompts fund portfolio review  
8 May, 2010: Greek tragedy could be a sign of dramas to come  
8 May, 2010: German court rejects request to block Greece aid  
9 May, 2010: German court rejects block on Greek loan  
11 May, 2010: A Greek restructuring to avoid euro tragedy  
9 May, 2010: Time for Athens to join Europe  
9 May, 2010: America has good reason to worry about Greece  
13 May, 2010: Cr dit Agricole in Greek bank rethink  
13 May, 2010: Stabilising role of EU comes under strain  
14 May, 2010: Actors in Greek drama seek catharsis  
14 May, 2010: Greece names doctors accused of tax evasion  
15 May, 2010: Ministry names doctors accused of tax evasion  
15 May, 2010: Never mind the €750bn - bets are on for a Greek restructuring  
15 May, 2010: Erdogan visits Greece in show of solidarity  
17 May, 2010: The sad end of Greece's better tomorrow  
18 May, 2010: Greek minister sacked over husband's taxes  
19 May, 2010: Greek struggle to regain holiday image  
19 May, 2010: Banks advance on EU's loan to Greece  
19 May, 2010: Greek central bank faces short selling claims  
20 May, 2010: Greeks take to the streets over wage cuts  
21 May, 2010: Greek premier seeks foreign investment  
25 May, 2010: Tax chiefs fired amid Athens graft probe  
26 May, 2010: Greece under pressure as Europe rallies  
27 May, 2010: Greek bondholders jittery over haircuts  
30 May, 2010: Greece's plan B needs decision on bonds  
2 June, 2010: Greece pushes ahead with privatisation  
8 June, 2010: Greek purge widens net to elite  
8 June, 2010: Greek stocks sink to 1998 levels  
8 June, 2010: Greek shares drop to their 1998 levels  
8 June, 2010: Greece seeks investments from Libya  
9 June, 2010: Papandreou seeks to revive Gaddafi ties  
9 June, 2010: Athens denies it will have to quit eurozone  
10 June, 2010: Strike halts Greek rail services  
14 June, 2010: China prepares to invest in Greek projects  
14 June, 2010: Wind Hellas launches strategic review  
15 June, 2010: Greek bond markets hit by latest downgrade  
15 June, 2010: Doubt grows over CDS role in Greek crisis  
16 June, 2010: Greece must sell family silver to bolster asset ragbag  
16 June, 2010: Doubt grows over Greek CDS role  
16 June, 2010: Two more twists in the Greek tale  
18 June, 2010: Greece set to hit fiscal goals, say monitors  
19 June, 2010: Greece officials confident on deficit target  
23 June, 2010: Ferries stranded at port by Greek strike  
24 June, 2010: Bomb kills senior aide to Greek minister  
27 June, 2010: Greece set to return to finance markets  
28 June, 2010: Echoes of subprime ring out across Greek crisis  
28 June, 2010: Concerns over Greek bond sale  
28 June, 2010: Greece's best option is an orderly default  
29 June, 2010: Greek debt troubles reveal parallels with subprime crisis  
29 June, 2010: Greek tragedy for Japan seen as 'impossible'  
29 June, 2010: Fresh strikes hit tourists in Greece  
1 July, 2010: Strike shuts down Athens bus services  
5 July, 2010: It's no secret: Greece is restructuring debt  
5 July, 2010: Greek default status shows further fall  
7 July, 2010: Gold and the BIS  
7 July, 2010: Greece wins plaudits for its reforms  
8 July, 2010: Greek unions strike ahead of pension vote  
8 July, 2010: Threat to Greek bank securitisation agreements  
12 July, 2010: Athens scales back new debt issue  
13 July, 2010: Greek central bank accused on short selling  
13 July, 2010: Relief over successful €1.6bn Greek debt sale  
15 July, 2010: Piraeus Bank offers to buy Greek state stakes  
18 July, 2010: Greece banks braced for consolidation  
20 July, 2010: Greece can prove its worth during debt hiatus  
23 July, 2010: NBG in €450m fundraising to boost capital base  
24 July, 2010: Greece expects second tranche of bail-out funds  
25 July, 2010: Troika to assess Greek economic reforms  
25 July, 2010: Finance: Stressed but blessed  
25 July, 2010: Piraeus Bank to boost capital by €1.1bn  
29 July, 2010: Police use tear gas on striking Greek truckers

29 July, 2010: Greece: A marathon to sprint  
1 August, 2010: Greek truckers end strike against reforms  
2 August, 2010: Strikes bring storm clouds to Greece  
3 August, 2010: Greek PM appoints Italian adviser  
12 August, 2010: Greece and Ireland spark fresh investor concern  
19 August, 2010: Greece to receive €9bn more of EU loans  
21 August, 2010: Greek shipping families in the spotlight  
22 August, 2010: Tax clouds gather over Greek high earners  
23 August, 2010: Greek reforms can yet stave off default  
24 August, 2010: Brazilian fiscal lessons for Greece  
2 September, 2010: Greece  
2 September, 2010: The EU can be a boon for Greece  
7 September, 2010: Papandreou reshuffles Greek cabinet  
8 September, 2010: Greece unlikely to default in next two years  
8 September, 2010: National Bank of Greece plans €2.8bn fundraising  
8 September, 2010: Greek lender to fortify balance sheet  
9 September, 2010: Telenor one of six eyeing Wind Hellas  
9 September, 2010: Shuffling onwards  
12 September, 2010: Greece moves to reassure investors  
14 September, 2010: Greek roadshow hopes to reassure investors  
15 September, 2010: Greece rules out possibility of default  
15 September, 2010: Athens admits it has a long way to go  
19 September, 2010: Greek bank stress tests delayed  
23 September, 2010: Athens seeks \$7bn investment from Qatar  
28 September, 2010: Is Ireland restaging Greek tragedy?  
29 September, 2010: Greece pressures banks to boost lending  
30 September, 2010: Greeks rush through law giving tax amnesties  
1 October, 2010: Piraeus retracts offer for state lenders  
4 October, 2010: Greece plans deeper spending curbs  
7 October, 2010: Civil servants strike in Greece  
12 October, 2010: Greek bonds put on star turn in eurozone  
14 October, 2010: Greek police teargas Acropolis protesters  
9 November, 2010: Greece forced to pay high yields to borrow  
9 November, 2010: Foreign investors shun risky eurozone bonds  
14 November, 2010: Nervousness as bonds braced for Greek tests  
16 November, 2010: Greek borrowing costs rise as eurozone crisis bites  
17 November, 2010: Greece to unveil budget after cuts pledge  
20 November, 2010: The Greek debt drama would be better played sooner  
21 November, 2010: Eyes return to Greece after Irish bail-out  
21 November, 2010: Eurozone must deal with two urgent questions  
21 November, 2010: €750bn war chest stands ready for action  
22 November, 2010: Markets' bail-out relief rally is short-lived  
26 November, 2010: Piraeus Bank profits drop sharply  
28 November, 2010: Government bonds: A coinage debased  
29 November, 2010: Bond markets fall despite bail-out plan  
29 November, 2010: EU to fund Greek entrepreneurs  
1 December, 2010: Spotlight falls on Greece  
3 December, 2010: Greece hits out at credit rating agency  
6 December, 2010: Debt crisis: Situation stable as region's banks seek to recapitalize  
7 December, 2010: IMF calls for 'comprehensive' euro solution  
7 December, 2010: Bail-out deepens EU's north-south divide  
7 December, 2010: Greece urged to tax the rich

# List of search words and terms

Hyland (2005)

## Interactive metadiscourse

**Code glosses**  
as a matter of fact  
called  
defined as  
for example  
for instance  
I mean  
in fact  
in other words  
indeed  
known as  
namely  
put another way  
say  
specifically  
such as  
that is  
that is to say  
that means  
this means  
viz  
which means

## Endophoric markers

(In) Chapter X  
(In) Part X  
(In) Section X  
(In) the X chapter  
(In) the X part  
(In) the X section  
(In) this chapter  
(In) this part  
(In) this section  
Example X  
Fig. X  
Figure X  
P. X  
Page X  
Table X  
X above  
X before  
X below  
X earlier  
X later

## Evidentials

date/name  
(to) cite X  
(to) quote X  
[ref. no.]/[name]  
according to X  
cited  
quoted

## Frame markers

**a) sequencing**  
(In) Chapter X  
(In) Part X  
(In) Section X  
(In) the X chapter  
(In) the X part  
(In) the X section  
(In) this chapter  
(In) this part  
(In) this section  
finally  
first  
first of all  
firstly  
last  
lastly  
listing (a, b, c, etc.)  
next  
Numbering (1,2,3 etc.)  
second  
secondly  
subsequently  
then  
third  
thirdly  
to begin  
to start with

## b) label stages

all in all  
at this point  
at this stage  
by far  
for the moment  
in brief  
in conclusion  
in short  
in sum  
in summary  
now  
on the whole  
overall  
so far  
thus far  
to conclude  
to repeat  
to sum up  
to summarize

## c) announce goals

(In) this chapter  
(In) this part  
(In) this section  
aim  
desire to  
focus  
goal  
intend to  
intention  
objective  
purpose  
seek to  
want to  
wish to  
would like to

## d) shift topic

back to  
digress  
in regard to  
move on  
now  
resume  
return to  
revisit  
shift to  
so  
to look more closely  
turn to  
well  
with regard to

## Transition markers

accordingly  
additionally  
again  
also  
alternatively  
although  
and  
as a consequence  
as a result  
at the same time  
because  
besides  
but  
by contrast  
by the same token  
consequently  
conversely  
equally  
even though  
further  
furthermore  
hence  
however  
in addition  
in contrast  
in the same way  
leads to  
likewise  
moreover  
nevertheless  
nonetheless  
on the contrary  
rather  
result in  
similarly  
since  
so  
so as to

still  
the result is  
thereby  
therefore  
though  
thus  
whereas  
while  
yet

## Interactional metadiscourse

### Attitude markers

admittedly  
agree  
agrees  
agreed  
amazed  
amazing  
amazingly  
appropriate  
appropriately  
astonished  
astonishing  
astonishingly  
correctly  
curious  
curiously  
desirable  
desirably  
disappointed  
disappointing  
disappointingly  
disagree  
disagreed  
disagrees  
dramatic  
dramatically  
essential  
essentially  
even X  
expected  
expectedly  
fortunate  
fortunately  
hopeful  
hopefully  
important  
importantly  
inappropriate  
inappropriately  
interesting  
interestingly  
prefer  
preferably  
preferred  
remarkable  
remarkably  
shocked  
shocking  
shockingly  
striking  
strikingly  
surprised  
surprising  
surprisingly  
unbelievable  
unbelievably  
understandable  
understandably  
unexpected  
unexpectedly  
unfortunate  
unfortunately  
unusual  
unusually  
usual

### Self Mention

I  
we  
me  
my  
our  
mine  
us  
the author  
the author's  
the writer  
the writer's

### Engagement markers

(the) reader's  
add  
allow  
analyse  
apply  
arrange  
assess  
assume  
by the way  
calculate  
choose  
classify  
compare  
connect  
consider  
contrast  
define  
demonstrate  
determine  
do not  
develop  
employ  
ensure  
estimate  
evaluate  
find  
follow  
go

definitely  
demonstrate  
demonstrated  
doubtless  
establish  
established  
evident  
evidently  
find  
finds  
found  
in fact  
incontestable  
incontestably  
incontrovertible  
incontrovertibly  
indeed  
indisputable  
know  
known  
must  
never  
no doubt  
obvious  
obviously  
of course  
prove  
proved  
proves  
realize/realise  
realized/realised  
realizes  
really  
show  
showed  
shown  
shows  
sure  
surely  
think  
thinks  
thought  
truly  
true  
undeniable  
undeniably  
indisputably  
undoubtedly  
without doubt

have to  
imagine  
incidentally  
increase  
input  
insert  
integrate  
key  
let x=y  
let us  
let's  
look at  
mark  
measure  
mount  
must  
need to  
note  
notice  
observe  
one's  
order  
ought  
our (inclusive)  
pay  
picture  
prepare  
recall  
recover  
refer  
regard  
remember  
remove  
review  
see  
select  
set  
should  
show  
suppose  
state  
take (a look/as example)  
think about  
think of  
turn  
us (inclusive)  
use  
we (inclusive)  
you  
your

### Hedges

about  
almost  
apparent  
apparently  
appear  
appeared  
appears  
approximately  
argue  
argued  
argues  
around  
assume  
assumed  
broadly  
certain amount  
certain extent  
certain level  
claim  
claimed  
claims  
could  
couldn't  
doubt  
doubtful  
essentially  
estimate  
estimated  
fairly  
feel  
feels  
felt  
frequently  
from my perspective  
from our perspective  
from this perspective  
generally  
guess  
indicate  
indicated

indicates  
in general  
in most cases  
in most instances  
in my opinion  
in my view  
in this view  
in our opinion  
in our view  
largely  
likely  
mainly  
may  
maybe  
might  
must  
mostly  
often  
on the whole  
ought  
perhaps  
plausibly  
plausibly  
possibly  
postulate  
postulated  
postulates  
presumably  
presumably  
probable  
probably  
quite  
rather x  
relatively  
roughly  
seems  
should  
sometimes  
somewhat  
suggest  
suggested  
suggests  
suppose  
supposed  
supposes  
suspect  
suspects  
tend to  
tended to  
tends to  
to my knowledge  
typically  
uncertain  
uncertainly  
unclear  
unclearly  
unlikely  
usually  
would  
wouldn't

### Adapted from Martin (2000)

#### Social sanction

#### Veracity

#### Honesty

candid  
conscientious  
credibility  
credible  
credibly  
credibility  
credworthiness  
credworthy  
decent  
direct  
earnest  
estimate  
equitable  
ethical  
fair  
fairness  
fidelity  
frank  
frankness  
genuine  
genuinely  
honest  
honestly  
honesty  
honor

impartial  
integrity  
justice  
justifiable  
justifiably  
justification  
justified  
justifies  
justify  
justifying  
law-abiding  
logic  
logical  
logically  
morality  
open  
openness  
outright  
plain  
plausible  
plausibly  
principle  
probity  
proper  
realism  
realistic  
realistically  
realities  
reality  
rectitude  
reliability  
reliable  
responsibility  
sincere  
sincerity  
soundness  
straight  
straightforward  
true  
trustworthiness  
trustworthy  
truth  
truths  
upfront  
upright  
veracity  
virtue  
virtuous

#### Dishonesty

bent  
betray  
betrayal  
betrayed  
betrayer  
bias  
biased  
bluff  
cheat  
cheated  
cheaters  
cheating  
cheats  
conceal  
concealed  
concealing  
contradictory  
contrarian  
corrupt  
corrupting  
corruption  
craft  
crooked  
cunning  
deceit  
deceitful  
deceiving  
deceptive  
defrauding  
delusion  
delusional  
demonise  
demonising  
demonized  
denial  
denials  
denied  
denies  
deny  
denying  
designing  
dishonest



dishonesty	pretended	faith	positive	bribery	hypocrisy	odious
disparate	pretending	faithful	precious	bribes	hypocrites	offense
disparities	ridiculous	favorable	prestige	bribing	hypocritical	ominously
distrust	scam	fine	principle	brothel	illegal	outrage
distrusting	scapegoat	first-rate	principles	burglaries	illegally	perfidious
dodgers	scapegoated	forgive	probity	cheat	illegals	pernicious
dodgier	scapegoating	forgiven	proper	cheated	immoral	pervades
dodging	shady	forgiving	prudence	cheaters	immorality	pervasive
doggy	sham	friend	prudent	cheating	imperil	perverse
doubt	sinister	friendlier	prudential	cheats	imperilling	perversely
doubted	skewed	friendly	prudently	corrupt	imperils	pettiness
doubters	sleazily	friends	pure	corrupting	impunity	petty
doubtful	slippery	friendship	purity	corruption	inappropriate	profligate
doubting	sneakily	gentle	quality	crime	inappropriately	prostitutes
doubtless	sneaking	gentler	rank	crimes	indefensible	reckless
doubts	sneaky	gently	rectitude	criminal	indignant	recklessly
egregious	stealing	gingerly	regard	criminally	indignation	recklessness
egregiously	swindle	glory	renowned	criminals	indignity	ruthless
elusive	traitors	good	respect	cronies	inequality	ruthlessly
errant	treacherous	grace	respectability	crony	inequity	satanic
erroneous	treason	respectable	right	cronyism	infamous	savage
fabricated	tricky	gratitude	righteous	crook	infamously	savagely
facetious	ulterior	gravity	rightful	crooked	infamy	savagery
fake	unfair	great	sanctity	crooks	infraction	scandal
faked	unprincipled	helped	satisfactory	cruel	infringement	scandalous
fallacy	unreliable	helpful	satisfying	culprit	injustice	scandals
false	unscrupulous	helpfully	select	culpits	intemperance	scum
falsification		helping	significance	cunning	intimations	selfish
falsified	<b>Propriety</b>	hero	solidaristic	degenerate	intimidate	selfishly
falsify	<b>Morality</b>	heroes	solidarity	delinquency	intimidating	shady
falsifying	acceptable	heroic	sound	delinquent	intimidation	shameful
fiction	admirable	honest	spanking	delinquents	irresponsibility	sin
fictional	admirably	honesty	splendid	despotism	irresponsible	sleazily
fictions	admiration	honor	square	devil	irresponsibly	sneakily
fictitious	admire	hospitable	standing	devilish	kill	sneaking
fraud	admired	hospitality	station	dictator	killed	sneaky
frauds	admires	humble	stature	dictators	killer	speedy
fraudulent	admiring	humbled	status	dictatorship	kill	thankless
gilded	affection	humbling	straight	dictatorships	killings	theft
graft	affectionately	humility	stupendous	disgrace	kills	traitors
hides	altruism	ideal	super	dishonest	lawmaker	treason
hiding	amicable	idealists	superb	disparaged	lawmakers	truclent
hollow	assist	ideally	superior	dissipated	laws	tyranny
hollowed	assistant	ideals	sympathetic	draconian	lawsuit	tyrants
hypocrisy	assisted	immaculate	sympathise	egregious	lawyer	ulterior
hypocrites	assisting	impartial	sympathises	egregiously	lawyers	undemocratic
hypocritical	assists	importance	sympathises	endanger	liability	undue
imaginary	boss	innocent	sympathizes	endangered	liable	unduly
imagination	bully	integrity	sympathizes	endangering	loose	unethical
implausible	cachet	justice	sympathy	endangers	machinations	unfair
implausibly	character	justifiable	thankful	enemies	malfeasance	unfairly
improbable	charitable	justifiably	trustworthiness	enemy	manipulate	unfairness
inaccuracies	charitably	justification	trustworthy	enormity	manipulated	unforgivable
incorrect	charities	justified	upright	evil	manipulating	unforgivably
incorrectly	charity	justifies	urbane	evils	manipulation	unfriendly
inexact	choice	justify	valuable	fascist	manipulations	ungrateful
infamy	commendable	justifying	vigilance	fast and loose	massacre	unholy
liars	compassion	kindly	vigilant	fault	massacred	unjust
lie	conduct	kindness	virtue	favoritism	meddle	unjustified
lied	conscientious	law	virtues	feared	meddling	unlawful
lies	consequence	lawful	virtuous	ferocious	mercilessly	unprincipled
lying	correct	lawmaker	welcome	ferocity	misallocation	unscrupulous
machinations	crack	lawmakers	wonderful	fierce	misbehavior	usury
maligned	culture	laws	worth	fiercely	misbehavior	vice
manipulate	decent	lawsuit	worthiness	fiercer	misbehaviour	vicious
manipulated	deluxe	lawyer	worthwhile	fiercest	mischievous	viciously
manipulating	democracies	lawyers	worthy	flagrant	misconceived	vilified
manipulation	democracy	legal		flagrantly	misconduct	villain
manipulations	democrat	legality		fleeced	misconduct	villains
mask	democratic	legally	<b>Immorality</b>	foe	miscreant	violation
masked	democratically	mercifully	abandon	foes	miscreants	vitriol
masking	dignified	merit	abandoned	foul	misdeeds	vitriolic
masks	dignity	modest	abandonment	freeloading	mislead	vulgar
masquerading	distinction	modestly	abandons	greed	misleading	vulgarity
massage	divine	moral	adultery	greedily	misled	wicked
massaging	dutiful	morality	affair	greedy	misreported	wrong
mendacious	elevated	morals	arrogance	grudge	misreporting	wrongdoing
mislead	eminent	mores	arrogant	grudging	misrepresentation	wrongdoings
misleading	eminently	neat	bad	guilt	misuse	wrongheaded
misled	equality	nice	barbaric	guilty	monster	wrongly
misreported	equally	noble	betray	harsh	narcissism	xenophobia
misreporting	equals	obedience	betrayal	harsher	nastier	xenophobic
misrepresentation	esteem	obediently	betrayed	harshes	nastiness	
misrepresented	ethic	obey	betrayer	harshly	nasty	<b>Social esteem</b>
omission	ethical	obeyed	bias	harshness	naughtiness	<b>Capacity</b>
omissions	ethics	obeys	biased	heartless	naughty	<b>Ability</b>
ostensible	etiquette	perfection	biases	horrendous	nefarious	ability
ostensibly	excellent	philosophy	bloodthirsty	horrible	nemesis	able
perfidious	exceptional	pleasant	bloody	horribly	nepotism	accomplishment
preposterous	fair	pleasing	bordello	horrid	notoriety	achievement
pretence	fairest	poise	breach	horrific	notorious	act
pretences	fairly	polite	bribe	hostile	notoriously	adapted
pretend	fairness	politely		hostility	obscene	adept

adequacy	finish	resolute	attachment	foolhardy	medieval	useless
adequate	fit	resolutely	awkward	foolishly	mediocre	vulnerabilities
adequately	flexibility	sane	barbaric	forget	mediocrity	vulnerability
agile	flexible	sanity	batty	forgetting	mindlessly	vulnerable
aim	flexibly	satisfactory	beleaguered	forgot	misgovernment	wastefulness
all around	fluent	savvy	bellyaching	forgotten	misguided	weak
appropriate	fool	scope	berserk	fragile	mishandling	weaken
ardent	force	sense	blunder	fragility	misshaps	weakened
ardently	frugal	sensibility	boneheaded	frail	misjudgments	weakening
art	frugality	sensible	bonkers	frailties	mismanaged	weakens
astuteness	fruit	sensibly	bungling	frailty	mismanagement	weaker
bent	fruition	serenely	careless	frigid	mismanaging	weakest
brains	fruits	serenity	carelessly	fudge	mismatch	weakly
brilliant	fulfillment	skill	carelessness	fudged	misplaced	weakness
brilliantly	funny	skilled	chaos	fudges	mispriced	weaknesses
bringing about	genius	skillfully	chaotic	fudging	misread	weary
bulletproof	gentler	smart	chaotically	glacial	miss	wheelchair
calculation	gently	smarter	clueless	glitch	missed	woe
caliber	gift	smartest	complacency	graying	misses	woeful
capability	gifts	splendid	complacent	habit	missteps	worthless
capable	gingerly	splendidly	confused	handicap	mistake	
capacity	glamorous	stature	confuses	helplessness	mistaken	<b>Normality</b>
careful	glorious	stoutest	contingency	hobble	mistakenly	<b>Good fortune</b>
carefully	glory	stoutly	counterproductive	hobbled	mistakes	advantage
carrying out	good	strength	crazy	hook	misunderstanding	beneficial
character	great	strengthen	cripple	hysteria	misunderstandings	benign
cheer	greater	strengthened	crippled	hysterical	misunderstood	blessed
cheered	greatest	strengthening	cripples	ignorance	myopic	blessing
cheerful	greatly	strengthens	crippling	ignorant	nearsighted	break
cheerfully	health	strengths	crippingly	illiteracy	necessity	bright
cheerleader	healthiest	stroke	cumbersome	illiterate	needy	charismatic
cheerleaders	healthily	stuff	defeat	illness	numb	charitable
cheers	healthy	sturdiness	defeated	illogical	numbed	cheer
clever	inclination	style	defeating	impaired	old	cheered
cleverly	ingenious	succeed	defeats	impairment	older	cheerful
cognizant	intellectual	succeeded	defect	imprudence	oldest	cheerfully
competence	intellectually	succeeding	defunct	imprudent	pitiful	cheerleader
competent	intelligence	succeeds	degenerate	inability	pity	cheerleaders
complete	intelligent	success	degenerated	inaction	poor	cheers
completed	invention	successes	degenerates	inactivity	poorer	content
completion	know-how	successful	delicacy	inadequacies	poorest	destined
conclusion	leaning	successfully	dependence	inadequacy	poorly	destiny
confidence	merit	sufficient	dependency	inadequate	powerless	divine
confident	meticulous	suitable	detriment	inattentive	puny	encouraging
constitution	mighty	tack	disadvantage	incapable	raw	enviable
coup	miracle	talent	disappoint	incoherence	recalcitrance	fabulous
courage	miracles	taste	disappointed	incompetence	recalcitrant	favor
courageous	miraculous	tendency	disappointing	incompetent	restriction	favorable
creativity	nature	thing for	disappointment	inconsistent	security blanket	favorably
cunning	nose	tilt	disappoints	ineffectual	senseless	favored
decent	observance	touch	disease	inefficiencies	shortage	favoring
deed	parts	triumph	dismal	inefficiency	shortages	favorite
defeat	penchant	triumphant	disqualified	inefficient	shortcoming	favours
defeated	perform	triumphed	dreary	ineligible	shortcomings	favour
defeating	performance	triumphs	dumb	ineluctably	shortsighted	favourable
defeats	perseverance	turn	egregious	ineptitude	shy	favourably
defiance	persevere	understanding	egregiously	inexperienced	sick	favoured
defiant	perseveres	unrivalled	errant	inferior	sickly	favouring
dignity	persist	up to it	erroneous	inferiority	skill	favourite
diligence	persisted	up to speed	exhaustion	inflexible	skittish	favourites
distinction	perseverance	upbeat	fail	injury	skittishness	favours
dynamite	performance	useful	failed	insane	sklerotic	fortunate
effecting	perseverance	value	failing	insanity	sluggish	funny
efficient	perseveres	viability	failings	insignificance	sluggishly	glamorous
effort	persists	viable	fails	insufficient	stagnant	glee
eloquently	positively	vigilance	failure	intemperance	stagnate	gleeful
eminent	positives	vigilant	failures	irrational	stagnated	gleefully
eminently	potent	virtue	falter	irrationally	stagnating	glorious
enchanting	power	vital	faltered	jobless	stagnation	glory
endure	powered	vitaly	faltering	lack	stupid	golden
endured	powerful	vivid	falters	lameduck	stuttering	good
endures	powerhouse	weakness for	fear	lethargic	subordination	good luck
enduring	powers	wisdom	feared	limping	tardy	gorgeous
enough	predilection	wise	fearful	lose	tiny	granted
equal	preference	wisely	fearfully	loser	unable	handsome
essence	production	wiser	fearing	losers	unbalanced	handsomely
execution	propensity	wisest	fears	loses	underperform	happier
exploit	prudence	worth	febrile	losing	underperformance	happily
exuberance	prudent	worthiness	feckless	loss	underperformed	happiness
exuberant	prudential		fecklessly	losses	underperforming	happy
fabulous	prudently	<b>Inability</b>	feeble	lossmaker	unproductive	health
facility	qualification	absurd	feebleness	lossmaking	unprofitable	hero
fearless	qualified	absurdly	fever	lost	unseaworthy	heroes
feasible	quality	addicted	feverish	lousy	unsophisticated	heroic
feat	realization	addiction	feverishly	mad	unsound	hope
ferocious	resilience	addicts	flailing	madness	unsuccessful	hoped
ferocity	resilient	addled	flaw	malaise	unsuccessfully	hopeful
fertile	resist	adverse	flawed	malfunctioning	unsuitable	hopefully
fierce	resistance	adversely	flaws	malfunctions	unsustainable	hopes
fiercely	resistant	aging	flounder	malicious	unsustainably	hoping
fiercer	resisted	ailing	floundering	meager	unwise	in the cards
fiercest	resisting	ailments	fool	meagre	unwisely	into something
finesse	resists	astray	fooled	measlier	unworkable	luck

luckily	casualty	inevitably	drive	inexorable	scared	floundering
lucky	cataclysm	inevitably	ambitious	loyal	reluctance	fluctuating
magic	catastrophe	injured	resistance	persistence	unsettled	grumbled
magical	catastrophic	injuries	heart	relentless	fearing	grumbles
magically	clouded	injuring	coordinated	relentlessly	shaky	hesitancy
magician	comeuppance	injury	steady	ardent	disorderly	hesitated
majestic	cross	irreversible	encourage	ardently	unconvinced	in a quandary
mercies	crunch	irreversibly	independence	bravery	afraid	insecurity
mercifully	curse	irrevocably	determination	cheerfully	failures	meddle
merit	debauch	lamentable	resolution	cheers	fearful	obsession
meriting	deplorable	lamentably	encouraged	decisiveness	doubtful	perplexed
merits	destined	lamented	encouraging	defiance	faltering	uncertainly
mighty	destiny	lamenting	resisted	eagerly	theoretical	undecided
miracle	destructive	lethal	successfully	embolden	hesitation	unworkable
miracles	detrimental	loom	voluntary	emboldened	hiding	wavering
miraculous	devastating	loomed	succeed	enthused	suspicious	acquiesce
norm	devoted	looming	resolved	enthusiastically	uncertainties	bellyaching
normal	dire	loss	objective	enthusiasts	conflicting	capricious
normalcy	disadvantage	lousy	victory	excited	unresolved	careless
normalise	disappoint	meager	conclusion	fabulous	hesitant	carelessly
normalised	disappointed	meagre	design	frugal	indecision	carelessness
normality	disappointing	measlier	resist	glorious	variable	coddled
normalize	disappointment	merciless	firmly	grit	confused	contradictory
normalized	disappoints	mercilessly	judgment	guts	inaction	debatable
normally	disaster	metastasis	succeeded	plucky	laxity	despaired
norms	disastrous	miserable	interested	positives	frightening	despairs
occasion	discomfort	miserably	positively	reaffirmed	hubris	disillusion
on a roll	dole	misery	purpose	resists	lazy	dispirited
opportune	doomed	misfortune	verdict	resolutely	onerous	dissident
opportunity	dreadful	misfortunes	bold	uncompromising	shifting	distracted
profit	egregious	moaning	careful	boldness	tired	doubting
promising	egregiously	moans	certainty	ceaselessly	unpredictable	fearfully
propitious	embarrassing	nuisance	intention	cheerful	unwillingness	fickleness
prosperity	embarrass	on the road to ruin	carefully	cheerleader	complacent	frightened
prosperous	embarrassing	pitiful	endure	convictions	fled	grumble
prudence	embarrassment	pity	persistent	emboldens	flee	grumbings
prudent	envious	planet	stiff	encouragement	fright	hesitance
prudential	envy	poor	eager	enthuse	hastily	hesitates
prudently	fail	poorer	persist	enthuses	lax	hesitations
pure	failed	poorest	resisting	exuberance	reluctantly	hides
purity	failing	poorly	enthusiasm	exuberant	reticence	hotheaded
salutary	failings	puny	upbeat	faithful	complacency	inactivity
smile	fails	reverse	adamant	fearless	dubious	indecisive
smiling	failure	ruinous	rigid	fertile	fickle	indecisiveness
stroke	failures	setback	settled	pat	petty	insecure
success	fatal	shocking	assurance	perseverance	variant	intemperance
successful	fate	shy	firmer	persevere	clashing	lazily
timely	fated	terrible	bolder	perseveres	disorder	laziness
triumph	fateful	terrific	constant	reaffirming	grudgingly	lazing
useful	fates	tragedy	persistently	revitalized	inconclusive	moaning
valued	fearful	tragic	resilience	self-confidence	ire	moans
viability	ghastly	trial	cheered	set in stone	nagging	muttering
viable	gloom	trouble	courage	steadfast	timid	mutters
victory	gloomers	undone	encourages	stubbornness	unstable	nagged
wealth	gloomier	unfortunate	persists	tireless	unsure	pettiness
well	gloomiest	unfortunately	resilient	unwavering	convertible	restless
win	gloomy	unhappy	settlement	unwaveringly	despair	reversible
windfall	grieving	unloved	vigilant	unyielding	desperation	scaredly
winner	grim	unluckily	enthusiastic	victorious	dissent	timidity
winners	grisly	unlucky	voluntarily	vigilance	fluid	unenthusiastically
winning	grotesque	unsuccessful	conviction	willpower	frighten	unwillingly
winnings	grotesquely	untoward	resolute		grumbling	varying
wins	hapless	unworkable	staunch	<b>Indecision</b>	halting	warring
	haplessly	useless	ambition	fears	hesitate	
<b>Bad fortune</b>	hardship	victim	enduring	lost	irate	<b>Affect</b>
abandon	harm	victimised	persisted	fear	meddling	<b>Behavioral surge</b>
abandoned	harmful	victimized	defiant	uncertainty	puzzled	<b>Laugh</b>
abandoning	harsh	victims	dogged	weak	unreliable	break up
abandonment	harsher	wheelchair	adamantly	failed	agitated	breaking up
abandons	harshest	woe	ambitions	fail	ambivalent	breaks up
accident	harshly	woeful	cheerleaders	troubled	anxieties	broke up
adverse	harshness	worry	devoted	failure	egregious	cachinnate
adversity	hopeless		diligence	reluctant	egregiously	cachinnated
afflicted	hopelessly	<b>Tenacity</b>	frugality	opposed	fleeing	cachinnates
annoyance	horrendous	<b>Resolve</b>	inflexible	anxiety	flounder	cachinnating
anxiety	horrible	will	resistant	failing	frighteningly	cackle
apocalyptic	horribly	set	stubborn	desperate	hasty	cackled
appalling	horrid	strong	succeeding	volatile	hesitantly	cackles
awful	horrific	agreement	backbone	impatient	impatience	cackling
bad news	humiliated	decision	cheer	impatience	feared	chortle
beg	humiliating	serious	courageous	irregular	wary	chortled
beggar	humiliation	positive	eagerness	obsessed	uncertain	chortles
beggars	ignominious	opinion	endured	reticent	changing	chortling
begged	ill-fated	fixed	endures	skittish	timing	chuckle
begging	in a bad way	true	excitement	undisciplined	mobile	chuckled
begs	in trouble	firm	nerve	wobbly	beleaguered	chuckles
beleaguered	inauspicious	determined	seriousness	anxious	anxious	chuckling
besieged	inconvenience	resolve	succeeds	cowardly	mixed	convulsed
black	indignant	success	successes	desperately	disillusioned	convulses
blow	indignation	project	undertaking	skeptical	disillusionment	convulsing
burden	indignity	energy	fortitude	unwilling	disobedience	crack up
calamitous	inescapable	decided	glory	irresponsible	disturbed	cracked up
calamity	inevitability	successful	immutable	questioning	failings	cracking up

cracks up	bawled	moan	admiring	feast on	respect	hating
crow	bawling	moaned	adore	feasted on	respected	have an aversion to
crowed	bawls	moaning	adored	feasting on	respecting	have enough of
crowing	bemoan	moans	adores	feasts on	respects	have no use for
crows	bemoaned	mourn	adoring	find appealing	revel in	hold in abomination
die laughing	bemoaning	mourned	affirm	finding appealing	reveled in	horrify
died laughing	bemoans	mourning	affirmed	finds appealing	reveling in	hurt
dies laughing	bewail	mourns	affirming	found appealing	revels in	incense
dying laughing	bewailed	put on the weeps	affirms	get a kick out of	savor	incline
exult	bewailing	puts on the weeps	applaud	gets a kick out of	savored	irritate
exulted	bewails	putting on the weeps	applauded	getting a kick out of	savoring	judge
exulting	blub	rang the blues	applauding	go for	savors	lament
exults	blubbed	regret	applauds	goes for	treasure	loathe
fracture	blubber	regrets	appreciate	going for	treasures	look down nose at
fractured	blubbered	regretted	appreciated	got a kick out of	treasuring	look down on
fractures	blubbing	regretting	appreciates	hanker for	trust	misprize
fracturing	blubbers	ring the blues	appreciating	hankered for	trusting	moan
giggle	blubbing	ringing the blues	apprise	hankering for	trusts	mourn
giggled	blubs	rings the blues	apprised	hankers for	wanted	nauseate
giggles	boohoo	shed bitter tears	apprises	held	wants	neglect
giggling	boohoos	shed tears	apprizing	held dear	was fond of	not care for
grin	boohooing	shedding bitter tears	approbate	held with	went for	object to
grinned	boohoos	shedding tears	approved	hold	were fond of	owe a grudge
grinning	break down	sheds bitter tears	approbates	hold dear		provoke hatred
grins	breaking down	sheds tears	approbating	hold with	<b>Hate</b>	put down*
guffaw	breaks down	sigh	approve	holding	abhor	recoil at
guffawed	broke down	sighed	approved	holding dear	abominate	recoil from
guffawing	burst into tears	sighing	approves	holding with	alienate	regret
guffaws	bursting into tears	sighs	approving	holds	allergic to	reject
hee-haw	bursts into tears	sniff	be fond of	holds dear	anathematize	renounce
hee-hawed	caterwaul	sniffed	be gratified by	holds with	antipathy	repel
hee-hawing	caterwauled	sniffing	be keen on	honor	be against	repent
hee-haws	caterwauling	sniffs	be partial to	honored	be allergic to	repudiate
howl	caterwauls	snivel	be pleased by	honoring	be bigot	revile
howled	choke up	sniveled	be sweet on	honors	be disgusted with	revolt against
howling	choked up	sniveling	being fond of	indulge in	be down on	rile
howls	chokes up	snivels	being gratified	indulged in	be grossed out by	roil
laugh	choking up	sob	being keen on	indulges in	be hateful	rue
laughed	complain	sobbed	being partial to	indulging in	be hostile to	scorn
laughing	complained	sobbing	care for	is fond of	be loath	scowl
laughs	complaining	sobs	care to	is gratified by	be partial	segregate
roar	complains	sorrow	cared for	is keen on	be reluctant	separate
roared	crack up	sorrowed	cares to	is partial to	be repelled by	set against
roaring	cracked up	sorrowing	cares for	is pleased by	be sick of	set apart
roars	cracking up	sorrows	cares to	is sweet on	be sorry	set by the ears
roll in the aisles	cracks up	squall	caring for	like	bear a grudge	show bias
rolled in the aisles	cried	squalled	cherish	liked	bear a grudge against	show prejudice
rolling in thr aisles	cries	squalling	cherished	likes	bear malice	shrink from
rolls in the aisles	cry	squalls	cherishes	liking	bear spleen	shudder at
scream	crying	turn on waterworks	cherishes	look up to	bemoan	shun
screamed	deplore	turned on the waterworks	cherishing	looked up to	bewail	sing the blues
screaming	deplored	turning on the	countenance	looking up to	can't stand	single out
screams	deplores	waterworks	countenances	looks up to	carry on	slight
shriek	deploring	turns on the waterworks	countenances	love	cease	snub
shrieked	dissolve in tears	wail	countenancing	loved	complain	sorrow over
shrieking	dissolved in tears	wailed	delight in	loves	conceive an aversion to.	sow dissension
shrieks	dissolves in tears	wailing	delighted in	loving	condemn	spit upon
smile	dissolving in tears	wails	delighting	luxuriate in	contemn	spurn
smiled	fret	weeps	delights in	luxuriated in	cry	stink in the nostrils
smiles	frets	weeping	derive pleasure from	luxuriates in	curse	take on
smiling	fretted	weeps	derived pleasure from	luxuriating in	denounce	treat as inferior
smirking	fretting	wept	deriving pleasure from	praise	deplore	treat differently
snicker	grieved	whimper	desire	praised	deprecate	undervalue
snickered	grieved	whimpered	desired	praises	deride	victimize
snickering	grieves	whimpering	dote on	praising	despise	view with horror
snickers	grieving	whimpers	doted on	prefer	detest	weep
snigger	groan	whine	dotes on	preferred	disapprove	wipe out
sniggered	groaned	whined	doting on	preferring	disapprove of	
sniggering	groaning	whines	drives pleasure from	prefers	discriminate	<b>Mood</b>
sniggers	groans	whining	enjoy	prize	disdain	<b>Contentment</b>
sniggle	howl	yammer	enjoyed	prized	disfavor	appeased
sniggled	howled	yammered	enjoying	prizes	dislike	certain
sniggleing	howling	yammering	enjoys	prizing	disliked	compensated
sniggles	howls	yammers	esteem	rate highly	dislikes	content
snort	keen	yowl	esteemed	rated highly	disliking	contented
snorted	keened	yowled	esteeming	rates highly	disparage	convinced
snorting	keened	yowling	esteems	rating highly	disregard	filled
snorts	keens	yowls	exclaim	recognize	disrelish	fulfilled
teehee	lament		exclaimed	recognized	down on	gratified
teeheeded	lamented	<b>Mental disposition</b>	exclaiming	recognizes	eat one's heart out	happy
teeheeing	lamenting	<b>Like</b>	exclaims	recognizing	envenom	paid
teehees	laments	are fond of	extol	regard	eschew	positive
titter	let go	accept	extolled	regarded	estrangle	quenched
tittered	let is all out	accepted	extolling	regarding	excite hatred	required
tittering	let it all out	accepting	extols	regards	execrate	sated
titters	lets go	accepts	fancied	rejoice in	favor	satiated
whoop	lets it all out	acknowledge	fancies	rejoiced in	feel contempt for	satisfied
whooped	letting go	acknowledged	fancy	rejoices in	feel malice to	supplied
whooping	letting it all out	acknowledges	fancying	rejoicing in	flout	
whoops	mewl	acknowledging	favor	relish	grieve for	<b>Anger</b>
	mewled	admire	avored	relished	hate	acerbic
<b>Cry</b>	mewling	admired	favoring	relishes	hated	acid
bawl	mewls	admires	favors	relishing	hates	acrimonious

affronted	feral	rancorous	composed	apprehensive	in a state	undaunted
aggravate	ferocious	raving	confidence	aroused	in a sweat	uneager
aggravated	fierce	ready to fight	confident	astonished	in a tizzy	uneasy
aggravating	fiery	relentless	convinced	astounded	in awe	unfavorable
aggressive	fighting	reprobate	cool	averse	in suspense	unfearful
aggressively	flagitious	repugnant	counting on	awestruck	indisposed	unfriendly
aggressiveness	flipped	repulsive	courageous	backward	inimical	unglued
agitated	foul	resentful	dauntless	balking	intimidated	unnerve
anger	frightening	resolute	decisive	base	jellyfish	unnerved
angered	fuming	revolting	depending on	bashful	jittery	unnerves
angering	furies	riled	dictatorial	basket case	jumpy	unnerving
angrily	furios	sarcastic	doctrinaire	biting nails	lacking courage	unquiet
angry	furiously	savage	dogmatic	blanched	late	unruly
animal	fury	scrappy	dominating	bold	lily-livered	unsettle
animosities	galled	sharp	domineering	brave	loath	unsettled
animosity	harmful	sinful	enthuse	bugged	meek	unsettling
annoy	hateful	skirmishing	enthused	butterflies	miserable	unsympathetic
annoyance	hawkish	sore	enthuses	caitiff	miserably	unwilling
annoyed	heated	sparring	enthusiasm	careful	misery	upset
antagonism	heinous	spiteful	enthusiastic	chicken-hearted	mistrustful	uptight
antagonize	hideous	splenic	enthusiastically	choked	modest	watchful
antagonized	horrible	stinking	enthusiasts	clutched	mousy	wavering
antipathy	hostile	storming	expectant	concerned	nasty	weak
ape	hot	stormy	expecting	confounded	nervous	weak-kneed
argumentative	howling	strong	fearless	contrary	nervy	wimpy
astringent	huffy	sulky	gung ho	courageous	no guts	wired
atrocious	ill-tempered	sullen	gutsy	cowardly	not in the mood	worried
awful	immoral	tart	having faith in	cowed	objecting	worried sick
bad	impassioned	tempestuous	high	cowering	opposed	worries
baneful	impetuous	terrible	hopeful	cowhearted	opposing	worrisome
barbarous	incensed	testy	imperative	craven	overwhelmed	worry
base	indignant	threatening	imperious	daring	overwrought	worrying
battling	indignation	tigerish	imperturbable	dastardly	panic-stricken	worryingly
beastly	inflamed	tilting	imposing	daunted	panicky	worthless
bellicose	infuriate	trenchant	intrepid	dauntless	paper tiger	wreck
belligerent	infuriated	truculent	masterly	demure	perplexed	xenophobia
berserk	infuriating	tumultuous/tumultuous	officious	diffident	perturbed	xenophobic
biting	iniquitous	turbulent	overconfident	discouraged	perverse	yellow
bitter	injurious	ugly	peremptory	disheartened	petrified	yellow-bellied
bitterness	intense	unbeatable	poised	disinclined	pigeonhearted	
bloodthirsty	irascible	uncontrollable	positive	disliking	protesting	<b>Happiness</b>
blustery	irate	under arms	presuming	dismayed	pusillanimous	advantageous
boiling	ire	unpleasant	presumptuous	disquieted	rattled	airy
boisterous	ireful	unpropitious	puffed up	distressed	recreant	alert
bold	irked	unruly	pumped up	disturbed	reluctant	amusement
boxing	irking	untamed	pushy	doubtful	reserved	amusing
brawling	irritable	up in arms	racked	dread	resistant	animate
brutal	irritant	uproar	rosy	dreaded	restless	animated
brutish	irritated	upset	sanguine	dreadful	retiring	applicable
calamitous	irritating	uptight	satisfied	dreading	run scared	apposite
caustic	irritation	vehement	secure	dreads	running scared	appropriate
ensorious	jingoistic	venomous	self-assured	dubious	scared	afraid
chafed	jousting	vexed	self-confident	dumbfounded	scared stiff	apt
choleric	livid	vicious	self-possessed	faint-hearted	scared to death	ardent
churlish	loathsome	vile	self-reliant	fainthearted	scaredy-cat	auspicious
combative	low	villainous	self-sufficient	fear	shaking	befitting
contending	mad	violent	sure	feared	shaky	blessed
contentious	maddened	vitriol	trusting	fearful	shivery	blest
convulsed	malcontents	vitriolic	unafraid	fearfully	shocked	blissful
corrupt	maleficent	warlike	undaunted	fearing	shook up	blithe
crabby	malevolent	warmongering	unflappable	fearless	shot to pieces	bouncy
cranky	malicious	wicked	unhesitating	fears	shrinking	bright
cross	malign	wild	upbeat	feel in bones	shy	brisk
cruel	malignant	wrath	uppy	fidgety	shying	bubbly
cutthroat	marital	wrathful	valiant	foreboding	slow	buoyant
cutting	menacing	wrestling		fretful	sluggish	can't complain
damnable	miffed	wrong	<b>Fear</b>	frightened	soft	captivated
dangerous	militant	xenophobia	abashed	frozen	solicitous	cheer
depraved	militaristic	xenophobic	afraid	get vibes	spineless	cheered
destructive	mordant		agape	gutless	spooked	cheerful
determined	murderous	<b>Confidence</b>	aghost	hacked	startled	cheerfully
disastrous	nefarious	assertive	agog	have a hunch	sticking	cheery
discontent	nettled	assured	alarm	have cold feet	stiff	chipper
discontented	no good	audacious	alarmed	have funny feeling	strung out	chirpy
discontents	obscure	authoritarian	alarming	have stage fright	stunned	content
disdain	offended	authoritative	alarmingly	having cold feet	suspicious	contented
disgruntled	offensive	autocratic	alarmism	having no use for	sweating bullets	convivial
disgruntlement	outrage	bet on	alarmist	having the willies	tardy	correct
displeased	outraged	bold	alert	hesitant	taut	delighted
displeasure	outrageous	brave	alerted	hesitating	tense	dynamic
disputatious	passionate	brazen	alerts	hopeless	tenses	eager
disputative	peevish	calm	allergic	hopelessly	tension	eagerly
dissatisfaction	pernicious	calmed	amazed	horrified	tensions	eagerness
dissatisfied	petulant	calmer	angst	horror-struck	terrified	ebullient
distaste	piqued	calming	antagonistic	hostile	terror-stricken	ecstatic
enrage	poison	calmly	antipathetic	humble	thunderstruck	effervescent
enraged	powerful	calmness	antsy	hung up	timid	elastic
evil	primitive	calms	anxieties	hyper	timorous	elated
exacerbated	provoked	certain	anxiety	hysteria	trembling	encouraging
exasperated	pugnacious	cocksure	anxious	hysterical	troubled	energetic
execrable	pushed too far	collected	anxiously	ill-disposed	unafraid	energized
fell	quarrelsome	commanding	appalled	in a cold sweat	unassertive	enthuse
fencing	raging	complacent	appalling	in a dither	uncertain	enthused

enthuses	thriving	down in the dumps	sorrowful	soothing	enchanting	embarrassing
enthusiasm	tickled	down in the mouth	sorry	soothingly	fabulous	embarrassment
enthusiastic	tickled pink	downcast	spiritless	thrilling	fascinating	fault
enthusiastically	timely	downer	stinking	touching	fresh	faulted
enthusiasts	upbeat	downhearted	substandard	wonder	freshly	faults
euphoria	vibrant	drab	sullen	<b>Negative impact</b>	fun	faulty
euphoric	vigorous	dragged	taken down	absurd	funny	flaw
excited	vital	draggy	tenebrous	absurdly	glamorous	flawed
excitement	vitalized	dreadful	the pits	ascetic	glorious	flaws
exciting	vivacious	drear	threatening	bafflement	glory	foul
exultant	vivid	drearish	tragedies	bafflingly	gold	frigid
fanciful	volatile	dreary	tragedy	boring	golden	gangrene
favorable	walking on air	drooping	tragic	boringly	gorgeous	gangrenous
felicitous	well-timed	droopy	troubled	counterproductive	handsome	ghastly
fervent	whimsical	dull	unacceptable	dreary	handsomely	ghoulishly
fit	zealous	erroneous	uncomfortable	dry	high quality	gilded
fitting	zestful	fallacious	unhappy	dull	improve	grotesque
flippant	zinky	faulty	unpromising	dulling	improved	grotesquely
flying high	zippy	foreboding	unsatisfactory	ghastly	improvement	hamfisted
fortunate	<b>Sadness</b>	forlorn	upset	ghoulishly	improvements	haphazard
frolicsome	abject	funereal	weeping	gray	improves	hastily
gay	abominable	garbage	winty	grim	intact	hasty
germane	agonies	gloomy	wistful	grisly	integral	hollow
glad	agony	glum	woebegone	grotesque	lovely	hollowed
gladly	alienated	godawful	woeful	grotesquely	magic	inconsistent
glee	all torn up	grief-stricken	woefully	hamfisted	magical	irritant
gleeful	alone	grievances	woes	haphazard	magically	irritated
gleefully	amiss	grieved	wretched	hideous	magician	irritating
golden	apologetic	grieving	<b>Appreciation</b>	inconsistent	majestic	irritation
graceful	ass in a sling	grim	<b>Reaction</b>	irritant	merit	lambasted
grateful	atrabilius	grody	<b>Positive impact</b>	irritated	meriting	lambasting
gratified	atrocious	grungy	absorbs	irritating	merits	lousy
gratitude	austere	guilty	arresting	irritation	meticulous	marred
halcyon	awful	hard	astonished	lack	miracle	meager
happier	bad	heartbroken	astonishment	lacked	miracles	meagre
happily	bad news	heart sick	astounded	lacking	miraculous	medieval
happiness	beastly	heavyhearted	balmy	lackluster	norm	mediocre
happy	bereaved	hopeless	captivating	lacklustre	normal	mediocrity
high-spirited	bitter	hopeful	clean	lacks	normalcy	mess
hopeful	black	horrible	enchanted	lousy	normalise	messes
in high spirits	blah	hurting	engaging	ludicrous	normalised	messing
intoxicated	bleak	icky	exciting	ludicrously	normality	messy
jaunty	blue	imperfect	excited	nuisance	normalize	plain
jolly	bottom out	in a funk	fabulous	numb	normalized	rancid
joyful	broody	in doldrums	fascinating	numbed	normally	rehash
joyous	bummed out	in grief	fresh	pernicious	norms	repugnant
jubilant	bummer	in the dumps	freshly	predictable	notable	repulsive
just	careless	in the pits	fun	predictably	notably	revolting
keen	cast down	inadequate	funny	rehash	pleasant	revulsion
keenly	chaphallen	inconsolable	gilded	revulsion	pleasantly	ridiculous
laughing	cheap	incorrect	glamorous	ruin	please	rot
light	cheerless	inferior	gorgeous	ruining	pleased	rotten
light-hearted	cheesy	jarring	green	stagnant	pleases	rotting
lively	clouded	joyless	greener	stagnate	pleasing	ruined
looking good	comfortless	junky	greens	stagnated	precise	ruinous
lucky	conscience-stricken	language	handsome	stagnating	precisely	scum
merry	contribute	lousy	handsomely	stagnation	precision	shit
mirthful	crappy	low	imaginative	staid	prettier	shitty
nonchalant	crestfallen	low-spirited	ingenious	tedious	prettiest	shoddy
on cloud nine	cruddy	lugubrious	interesting	undesirable	pretty	spotty
opportune	crummy	melancholy	interestingly	uninviting	redolent	stagnant
or lively in nature	dampened	miserable	magic	unremarkable	refreshing	stagnate
overjoyed	dark	miserably	magical	<b>Positive quality</b>	soothing	stagnated
passionate	dashed	misery	magically	absorbing	soothingly	stagnating
peaceful	defective	moody	magician	accomplish	sophisticated	stagnation
peppy	deficient	mopey	majestic	accomplished	spotless	suboptimal
perky	dejected	mopish	moving	accomplishing	subtle	swollen
pertinent	dejecting	morbid	norm	accomplishment	tasty	tasteless
playful	depressed	morose	normal	adequacy	terrific	terrible
pleasant	depressing	mournful	normalcy	adequately	thrilling	terribly
pleased	depressive	not good	normalise	artfully	unrivaled	toxic
promising	desolate	off	normalised	astonishing	valuable	ugly
proper	despairing	ominous	normality	astoundingly	wonderful	unappealing
propitious	diddly	oppressive	normalize	astounding	<b>Negative quality</b>	unappetising
prosperous	disappointed	out of sorts	normalized	attract	battered	unattractive
quick	disconsolate	pensive	normally	attracted	bedraggled	undesirable
relevant	discouraged	pessimistic	norms	attracting	bland	unhealthy
resilient	discouraging	poor	pleasant	attraction	blemishes	uninspiring
rosy	disheartened	poor quality	pleasantly	attractions	bloated	unremarkable
satisfied	disheartening	raunchy	please	attractive	boring	vacuous
seemly	dismal	regretful	pleased	attractiveness	boringly	worst
snappy	dispirited	remorseful	pleases	attracts	broke	<b>Composition</b>
sparkling	dispiriting	rough	pleasing	beaming	broken	<b>Positive balance</b>
spirited	dissatisfactory	sad	reinvigorate	beautiful	bulging	abundance
sprightly	distressed	sagging	relaxing	beautifully	bulky	abundant
suitable	distressing	shot down	relieving	beauty	crap	abundantly
sunny	doleful	sick at heart	revitalising	breathhtakingly	crappy	accuracy
thankful	dolorous	singing the blues	salubrious	brilliant	crude	accurately
thrilled	down	sinister	soothe	brilliantly	crudes	adequacy
thrilling	down in dumps	slipshod	sombre	divine	demerits	adequately
thrive	down in mouth	somber	sombre		embarrassing	adequate
thrived					embarrass	adequately
thrives						

ample	imbalance	accomplishment	conservative	advocates	trojan	lifespan
apt	imbalances	accuracy	disgusting	advocating	ulysses	live
aptly	inconsistent	accurate	distaste		valhalla	lives
artfully	insufficient	accurately	dull	<b>judgment</b>	vampire	living
balance	lack	affordable	dulling	penalty	vampires	reinvalidate
balanced	lacked	artfully	embarrassing	penance		survival
balances	lacking	astute	embarrass	penitent	<b>cold</b>	survive
balancing	lacklustre	audacious	embarrassing	prison	cold	survived
colorful	lacklustre	beneficial	embarrassment	prisoners	below zero	survives
colourfully	lacks	benefit	fault	prisons	chill	surviving
consistent	lavish	benefited	faulted	prosecute	chilled	survivor
equilibrium	lavishness	benefiting	faults	prosecuted	chilly	survivors
gentle	meager	benefits	faulty	prosecuting	cold	vibrant
gentler	meagre	benefitted	flaw	prosecution	cool	vivid
gently	measlier	benefitting	flawed	prosecutions	freeze	<b>water</b>
gingerly	mess	benign	flaws	prosecutor	freezes	adrift
glorious	messes	challenging	foul	prosecutors	freezing	afloat
glory	messing	crucial	frigid	punish	frigid	awash
harmonious	messy	crucially	futile	punished	frost	boil
harmony	monstrous	deep	ghastly	punishes	frosty	boiled
lavish	pervasive	delight	ghoulishly	punishing	froze	boiling
lavishness	sparsely	delighted	gray	punishment	frozen	boils
moderate	spartan	delights	grim	punitive	glacial	bubble
moderated	spotty	enchanting	grisly	rebuke	ice	bubbles
moderately	swollen	fabulous	grotesque	rebukes	iceberg	bubbling
moderation	unbalanced	fascinating	grotesquely	renounce	icing	bubblly
proportional	unwieldy	fresh	hamfisted	sentence	icy	buoy
symmetrical	wastage	freshly	haphazard	sentenced	sub zero	buoyant
symmetry	waste	fruit	hastily	wreak		buoyed
unified	wasted	fruition	hasty	wreaked	<b>light</b>	drenched
	wasteful	fruits	inconsistent		beacon	drift
	wastefulness	fun	insignificant	<b>insanity</b>	beaming	drifted
		funny	irritant	absurd	bright	drifting
		glamorous	irritated	absurdly	brighten	drip
	<b>Positive complexity</b>	glorious	irritating	batty	brightened	drizzling
	abundance	glory	irritation	bonkers	brighter	drizzly
	abundant	gorgeous	lack	crazier	brightest	extinguish
	abundantly	green	lacked	crazies	brightly	extinguished
	adorned	greener	lacking	crazily	glow	extinguishing
	adorns	greens	lacklustre	crazy	glowed	flood
	artfully	handsome	lacks	hysteria	glowing	floodgates
	detail	handsomely	lambasted	hysterical	glows	flooding
	detailed	ingenious	lambasting	insane	light	floods
	elaborate	innovation	lousy	insanity	lighted	flow
	elegant	innovative	ludicrous	mad	lighten	flowed
	contorted	intact	ludicrously	madness	lightening	flowing
	contradictory	integral	mediocre	<b>myth and legend</b>	lighter	flows
	contrarian	logic	mediocrity	ancient	lights	froth
	precise	logical	monstrous	apocalypse	shine	frothy
	defaultable	logically	onerous	apocalyptic	shined	leak
	defaulted	magic	reactionary	ares	shines	leake
	defaulter	magical	redundant	armageddon	shining	leaked
	defaulters	magically	regrettable	divine	shone	leaking
	defaulting	magician	rehash	hades		leaks
	defaults	majestic	ridiculous	hell	<b>good weather</b>	maelstrom
	defect	miracle	rot	hellhole	breeze	pour
	deficient	miracles	rotten	hellish	breezy	poured
	deficit	miraculous	rotting	heracles	clear skies	pouring
	deficit	norm	rubbish	hercules	clear sky	rain
	deficits	normal	scum	homer	drizzling	rainy
	deficitswollen	normalise	shallow	hubris	drizzly	reflux
	defiled	normalised	shoddy	inferno	heatwave	ripple
	destabilisation	normality	stagnant	limbo	pour	rippled
	destabilise	normalize	stagnate	messiah	poured	ripples
	destabilises	normalized	stagnated	messianic	pouring	rippling
	destabilising	dull	stagnating	miracle	sunkissed	river
	destabilization	dulling	stagnation	miracles	sunlight	rivers
	destabilize	elaborate	toxic	miraculous	sunlounge	seeps
	destabilizes	elementary	tradition	monster	sunnier	stream
	destabilizing	excess	tradition	monstrous	sunny	streams
	discordant	excesses	traditional	myth	sunshine	tidal
	distorted	excessive	traditionalism	mythic	tidal	tide
	excess	excessively	traditionally	mythical	tide	torrent
	excesses	extravagant	traditions	mythically	weather	undersea
	excessive	impractical	unambitious	mythology	weathered	undertow
	excessively	mess	uninspiring	myths	weathers	vortex
	extreme	messes	unremarkable	oedipus		wash
	extremely	messing	vacuous	perdition	<b>life</b>	washes
	extremes	messy		phantom	alive	washing
	extremis	monolithic	<b>General word categories and metaphorical domains</b>	promethean	breath*	water
	extremism	monstrous	<b>acceptance</b>	saint	flourish	watered
	extremist	ornament	accept	sainted	flourished	waterfront
	extremists	ornamental	acceptability	sin	flourishing	watering
	fanatical	plain	acceptable	sinner	flower	wateringly
	fanaticism	simplistic	acceptance	sinning	flowers	waters
	fascist	spartan	accepted	siren	fruit	watershed
	flamboyant	unambitious	accepting	sirens	fruition	waterside
	foul		advocate	solomonian	fruits	watertight
	grotesque	<b>Negative value</b>	advocated	sparta	life	wet
	grotesquely	<b>Valuation</b>		spartan	lifeblood	
	hamfisted	<b>Positive value</b>		spartans	lifeline	<b>constructivity</b>
	haphazard	accomplish		styx	lifelong	build
	hastily	accomplished				
	hasty	accomplishing				

builder	relieved	consolidating	salubrious	dead	explosives	damaged
builders	relieves	consolidation	salutary	deadlock	fiery	damages
building	relieving	escalate	salutatory	deadly	fire	damaging
buildings	reprieve	escalated	symbiosis	deadweight	firebomb	debris
builds	reprieved	escalates	viability	death	firebombed	destroy
built	safe	escalating	viable	deaths	firebombing	destroyed
consolidate	safesounds	escalation	vibrant	deceased	firebombs	destroying
consolidated	safeguard	get up	<b>darkness</b>	demise	firebreak	destroys
consolidating	safeguarded	gets up	black	die	firecracker	destruct
consolidation	safeguarding	getting up	blackened	died	firecrackers	destruction
construct	safeguards	got up	blacklists	dies	fired	destructive
construction	safely	grow	blackmail	drown	firefighter	detonated
constructions	safer	grower	blackmailing	drowned	firefighters	detonation
create	safest	growers	blackness	drowning	firemen	devastate
created	safety	growing	blackout	dying	firepower	devastated
creates	sanctuary	higher	blackout	extermination	fires	devastating
creating	serene	rise	blackouts	extinct	firestorm	devastation
creation	serenely	rises	cloud	fatal	firetruck	disaster
creative	serenity	rising	clouded	fatalism	firewall	disasters
creativity	tranquil	upgrade	clouds	fatalities	firewalls	disastrous
creators	tranquillity	upgraded	cloudy	fatality	fireworks	disastrously
rebuild	truce	upgrades	dark	fatally	firing	disintegrate
rebuilding	utopia	upgrading	darkened	funeral	flame	disintegrating
rebuilt	utopian	upturn	darker	funerals	flames	disintegration
reconstruct		upward	darkest	grave	flaming	doom
reconstructed	<b>help</b>	upwardly	darly	graveyard	flammable	doomed
reconstruction	aid	upwards	foreshadowed	lethal	fried	doomsayers
recover	aide		gloom	lifeless	grilled	doomsday
recoverable	aides	<b>enjoyment</b>	gloomers	mortal	grilling	downfall
recovered	aiding	catharsis	gloomier	mortality	ignite	earthquake
recoveries	allegiance	cathartic	gloomiest	mortally	ignited	emergencies
recovering	alleviate	cherish	gloomy	mortem	ignites	emergency
recovers	alleviated	cherished	murk	noose	igniting	engulf
recovery	alleviating	comfort	murkier	poison	incendiary	engulfed
redeem	alleviation	comfortable	murkiness	poisoned	incense	engulfing
redeemed	alliance	comfortably	murky	poisoning	incensed	erupt
redemption	allied	comforted	shaded	rot	inferno	erupted
redemptions	allies	comforting	shadow	rotten	inflamm	erupting
	ally	enjoy	shadows	rotting	inflamed	eruption
<b>peace</b>	altruism	enjoyed	shadowy	succumb	inflames	erupts
accord	assist	enjoying	shady	succumbed	inflammation	evacuate
accordance	assisted	enjoyment		succumbing	inflammatory	evacuated
accordingly	assisting	enjoys	<b>poor weather</b>	succumbs	lava	hurricane
accords	assists	euphoria	cloud	suffocated	ravaged	iceberg
amicable	charitable	euphoric	clouded	suffocating	ravages	ravaged
benign	charitably	excitement	clouds	suicide	ravaging	ravages
calm	charities	fulfilling	cloudy	undertakers	reignite	ravaging
calmed	charity	fulfillment	dreary	wilting	reignited	ruin
calmer	heal	fulfilment	drizzle	wither	reigniting	ruined
calming	healed	fun	drizzled	withered	roasted	ruining
calmly	healing	pleasant	drizzles	withering	roasting	ruinous
calmness	health	pleasantly	drizzling	withers	scored	ruinously
calms	healthcare	please	fog		smoke	ruins
catharsis	healthiest	pleased	foggy	<b>fire</b>	smoked	scorched
cathartic	healthily	pleases	gale	ablaze	smokers	shambles
consensus	healthy	pleasing	haze	aflame	smoking	shipwreck
consensusbuilding	help	pleasure	hazy	alight	smoky	shockwaves
consent	helped	pleasures	hurricane	arson	torch	tectonic
consolidate	helpful	please	lightning	arsonist	torched	torch
consolidated	helpfully	pleases	maelstrom	backfire	torching	torched
consolidating	helping	pleasing	murky	backfired	volatile	torching
consolidation	helps	pleasure	rain	blaze	volatility	trainwreck
cooperate	protect	pleasures	rainy	blazed	volcanic	tremor
cooperating	protected		storm	blazes	volcano	tremors
cooperation	protecting	<b>good health</b>	stormed	blazing	wildfire	volcanic
cooperative	protection	alleviate	storming	boil		volcano
defuse	protectionism	alleviated	storms	boiled	<b>disaster</b>	wreak
defusing	protections	alleviating	stormy	boiling	accident	wreaked
friend	protective	alleviation	tailwinds	boils	accidentally	wreck
friendlier	protector	catharsis	thundered	burn	accidents	wreckage
friendly	protects	cathartic	tidal	burned	aftermath	wrecked
friends	shelter	cure	tide	burning	aftershocks	wrecking
friendship	sheltered	cured	trickle	burns	annihilation	
harmony	sheltering	cures	tsunami	burnt	calamities	<b>conflict</b>
haven	shelters	curing	turbulence	bushfire	calamitous	ambush
havens	shield	get better	turbulent	conflagration	calamity	ammunition
hugging	shielded	gets better	twister	detonated	cataclysm	animosities
ideal	shielders	getting better	typhoon	detonation	catastrophe	animosity
idyllic	shields	heal	undertow	engulf	catastrophes	annihilation
peace	shields	healed	weather	engulfed	catastrophic	antagonism
peaceful	support	healing	weathered	engulfing	chaos	antagonize
peacefully	supported	heals	weathers	erupt	chaotic	arm
peacetime	supporting	health	wet	erupted	chaotically	armada
quiet	supports	healthiest	whirlpool	erupting	conflagration	armaments
ratification		healthily	whirlwind	eruption	crash	armed
ratified	<b>ascension</b>	healthy	winds	erupts	crashed	armies
ratify	above	immune	windy	explode	crashes	arming
ratifying	ascend	immunity		exploded	crashing	armour
reconcile	ascended	panacea	<b>death</b>	explodes	crush	arms
reconciling	ascending	panaceas	asphyxiated	exploding	crushed	army
relief	ascends	remedial	asphyxiation	explosion	crushers	arsenal
relies	consolidate	remedies	corpse	explosions	crushing	assail
relieve	consolidated	remedy		explosive	damage	assailants



assails	eliminated	quarrelsome	wrestle	detonation	shoots	down
assault	eliminates	raid	wrestled	eliminate	skewered	downbeat
assaults	eliminating	raided	wrestles	eliminated	slammed	downfall
attack	elimination	raids	wrestling	eliminates	slams	downgrade
attacked	embattled	rampage	<b>violence</b>	eliminating	slap	downgraded
attacking	enemies	rampages	abuse	elimination	slapped	downgrades
attacks	enemy	rampaging	abused	eradicate	slapping	downgrading
barrage	engulf	rampant	abuses	eradicating	slash	downside
barrages	engulfed	ravaged	abusing	eradication	slashed	downslide
battering	engulfing	ravages	abusive	extermination	slashes	downtrend
battle	eradicate	ravaging	aggressive	fell	slashing	downtrodden
battled	eradicating	rebel	aggressively	felled	sledgehammer	downturn
battlefield	eradication	rebellion	aggressiveness	felling	sledgehammers	downturns
battles	escalate	rebellious	ambush	ferocious	spanking	downward
battling	escalated	rebels	annihilation	ferocity	stab	downwards
besieged	escalates	rifles	arson	fierce	strangle	drop
blitz	escalating	rival	arsonist	fiercely	strangled	dropped
blitzkrieg	escalation	rivaling	assail	fiercer	stranglehold	dropping
bomb	extermination	rivalries	assailants	fiercest	strangling	drops
bombarded	fell	rivalry	assails	fisticuffs	strangulation	eroded
bombardment	felled	rivals	assassinations	flog	vicious	erodes
bombed	felling	schism	assault	fought	viciously	eroding
bomber	fight	schisms	assaults	harm*	victim	eroding
bombers	fighting	scorched	attack	holocaust	victimised	erosion
bombing	fighths	scuffled	attacked	kick	victimized	erosions
bombings	fist	scuffles	attacking	kicked	victims	fall
bombs	fisted	scuffling	attacks	kicking	violence	fallen
boom	fistful	shambles	bashings	kicks	violent	faller
boomed	fisticuffs	shoot	battered	kill	weapon	fallers
boomers	fists	shooting	battering	killed	weapons	falling
booming	foe	shoots	battle	killer	whack	fallout
booms	foes	siege	battled	killing	wreak	falls
bout	fought	soldier	battlefield	killings	wreaked	falter
bouts	frontline	soldiering	battles	kills	wrestle	falterd
brawl	frontlines	soldiers	squabble	knife	wrestled	faltering
brawling	generals	squabbles	squabbling	knock	wrestles	falters
brunt	guerrilla	squabbles	strife	knockdown	wrestling	fell
bullet	guerrillas	struggle	struggle	knocked	<b>collapse</b>	felled
bullets	gun	struggled	struggler	knocking	abyss	fracture
campaign	gunpoint	struggles	struggles	knockout	abys	fractured
campaigned	gunpowder	struggling	struggles	knocks	buckled	fractures
campaigning	guns	submarine	struggles	lunged	burden	fracturing
campaigns	handguns	submarines	struggles	lynch	burdened	go down
cannon	hatred	sword	struggles	massacre	burdening	goes down
cannons	helm	swords	struggling	massacred	burdens	going down
carbines	helmets	tackle	struggling	merciless	burdensome	hobble
carnage	holocaust	tackled	struggling	mercilessly	cascade	hobbled
casings	hostile	tackles	submarine	murder	cascading	plummet
casualties	hostility	tackling	submarines	murdered	cave	plummeted
casualty	hunt	tank	bludgeoning	murderers	caved	plummeting
catapult	hunted	tanks	bomb	murdering	caves	plummetts
catapulted	hunting	target	bombarded	murderous	caving	plunge
cavalry	hunts	targeted	bombardment	murders	collapse	plunged
clash	infantry	targeting	bomb	onslaught	collapsed	plunges
clashed	infighting	targets	bombed	predator	collapses	plunging
clashes	infiltrated	teargas	bomber	predators	collapsing	sank
clashing	invaders	tense	bombers	predatory	corrodes	sink
combat	invasion	tenses	bombing	prey	crack	sinking
combatant	marine	tension	bombings	preyed	crackdown	sinks
combatants	marines	tensions	bombs	preying	cracked	staggered
combating	massacre	terrorism	bout	pummeled	cracking	staggering
combative	massacred	terrorist	bouts	pummelling	cracks	staggeringly
commando	melee	terrorized	brawl	punch	crackup	stagers
conflict	militancy	torch	brawling	punched	crash	stumble
conflicting	militant	torched	bruise	punched	crashed	stumbled
conflicts	militants	torching	bruising	punches	crashes	stumbles
confront	militarist	torpedo	brunt	punching	crashing	stumbling
confrontation	military	torpedoed	brutal	puncture	crumble	tailspin
confrontational	mine	troop	brutality	punctured	crumbling	tumble
confrontations	mined	troops	brutally	raid	crush	tumbled
confronted	minefield	tussle	brutish	raided	crushed	tumbled
confronting	mines	tussled	bullet	raids	crushers	tumbling
confronts	missiles	uprising	bullets	rampage	crushing	tumbling
conquer	onslaught	oppose	bullied	rampages	decline	went down
conquered	onslaught	opposed	bully	rampaging	declined	<b>suffering</b>
conquest	opponent	opposes	bullying	rampant	declines	agonies
conquests	opponents	opposing	tussle	ravaged	declining	agony
contravene	oppose	opposite	tussled	ravages	decrease	ailing
contravened	opposed	oppositio	uprising	ravaging	decreased	ailments
contravenes	opposes	oppositio	veteran	riot	decreases	cripple
contravention	opposing	oppositio	veterans	rioted	decreasing	crippled
coupe	opposite	oppositio	victorious	rioters	deficient	cripples
coupe	oppositio	oppositio	victory	rioting	deficit	crippling
destroy	pistol	oppositio	war	riots	deficits	cripplingly
destroyed	platoon	oppositio	warfare	savage	deficitswollen	discomfort
destroying	plunderers	oppositio	warring	savagely	depth	distress
destroys	plundering	oppositio	warriors	scrape	depths	excruciating
destruct	provocateurs	oppositio	wars	scraped	disintegrate	famine
destruction	provoke	oppositio	warships	scraped	disintegration	fracture
destructive	provoked	oppositio	weapon	scrapes	dismantle	fractured
detonated	provokes	oppositio	weapons	shambles	dismantled	fractures
detonation	provoking	oppositio	quarrel	shoot	dismantling	fracturing
discord	quarrels	oppositio	wreaked	shooting		hurt
eliminate		oppositio				



**heat**

heat  
heated  
heaters  
heating  
lukewarm  
warm  
warmed  
warmer  
warming  
warmly  
warms  
warmth  
warm

**unstabliity**

brink  
squirming  
teetered  
teetering  
teeters  
unbalanced  
undermine  
undermined  
undermines  
undermining  
unpredictability  
unpredictable  
unpredictably  
unravel  
unraveling  
unravelling  
unravels  
unregulated  
unreliable  
unresolved  
unrest  
unrestrained  
unrestructurable  
unseaworthy  
unsecured  
unstable  
unsupportable  
unsure  
upend  
upended  
upheaval  
upheavals  
upset  
upsets  
upsetting  
wobble  
wobbled  
wobbles  
wobbling  
wobbly

**poison**

acid  
corrode  
corrosive  
poison  
poisoned  
poisoning  
poisonous  
poisons  
toxic  
venom  
venomous  
venoms

**medical operation**

bandages  
defibrillators  
inject  
injected  
injecting  
injection  
injections  
leeches  
medicaid  
medical  
medicare  
medicate  
medication  
medicine  
medicines  
operate  
operates  
operating  
operation

orthopaedic  
sklerotic  
sterile  
sterilized  
stitch  
stitched  
stitches  
stitching  
surgeons  
surgery  
surgically  
transfusion

**poverty**

broke  
impoverished  
poor  
poverty  
jobless  
unemployed  
joblessness  
unemployment  
bankruptcy  
default  
deficit  
defecit

**drought**

bone-dry  
desert  
dried  
dry  
sahara

**danger**

danger  
dangerous  
hazard  
hazardous  
hazards  
imperil  
imperilling  
imperils  
peril  
perilous