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**“The first two weeks of President Trump in office: a  
genre analysis of newsbites from six online  
newspapers”**

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## 1. Introduction

“OUR LIVES NOW, in ways we are only beginning to understand, are lived with and through electronic media” (Tannen & Trester 2013)

The advent of the Internet has revolutionised the way we live. The way we obtain information is not an exception. Consequently, a lot of our daily practices, from shopping to reading newspapers, have had to be adjusted to this new reality. In this rapidly changing scenario, researchers of various branches of science and humanities are busy trying to give an account of how and to which extent the Internet has been affecting human lives. The main goal of linguistics in this enterprise is to tease out what happens to language when it goes online.

A particular concern of the present research is online newspapers. I have become interested in developing a related topic when pondering over my own news reading habits as opposed to those of my parents and grandparents who always used to subscribe for some periodicals. Asking myself the question if I follow local and world news in a sufficient manner I realised that I did, simply in a different way, via the Internet. Immersing myself into the topic, I decided to try to identify a research gap on which I could, at least partially, shed some light. The genre of newbites, first identified by Knox (2007; 2009), attracted my attention. Although I was already acquainted with the way it worked as a member of its discourse community, I had never even heard of its name as a linguist.

Encountered ubiquitously on home pages of online newspapers, newsbites were further researched from a genre perspective in only two papers, by Tereszkievicz (2012) as well as Porto Requejo and Belmonte (2016). It should be noted, that the former research focuses predominantly on the structural elements of the genre, whereas the latter goes deeper into investigating it from a socio-pragmatic perspective. The present project uses Bhatia's (1993) seven-step framework as the basis for analysis. As suggested by the author, the model has been modified to better cater for the purposes of the research. In particular, step five of linguistic analysis has been amended to incorporate the investigation of evaluative

mechanisms alongside the move analysis.

The idea of approaching the issue of evaluation in newsbites has been prompted by Knox's (2009: ii) claim that their authors “are forced to rely increasingly on visual communication in order to position stories and readers, and to communicate the values of the news institution on the home page as mediated by the screen”, therefore incapable of transmitting them linguistically. Without trying to diminish the power of visuals, the present research excludes a multimodal aspect of the genre of newsbites from investigation and puts short texts of newsbites under scrutiny in search of evaluative mechanisms. To address the issue, White's (2006) framework for analysis of journalistic discourse is used which is based on Appraisal theory (Martin & White 2005).

As far as the structure of the present thesis is concerned, chapter two provides some theoretical background for the topic-related issues, such as multifacetedness of linguistic research in computer-mediated communication (CMC), a brief overview of approaches to genre in linguistics extending it to the notion of digital genre to which newsbites belong. Furthermore, a summary of newsbites-related research conducted to date is provided. Finally, the issue of evaluative language is covered including Appraisal theory (Martin & White 2005) as a possible tool to approach it.

Chapter three aims at establishing theoretical framework for the analysis of newsbites from a genre perspective. At the onset of a chapter, the research questions are formulated followed by the methodology to address each of them. Then, the description of the corpus is provided covering the selection criteria, the online newspapers that have made it to the present data set as well as some problems encountered during the data collection process. Lastly, analytical steps taken in the course of analysis are discussed.

Chapter four provides an account of obtained findings supported by the examples from the present corpus mingled with critical discussion in the light of previous research and hypotheses of the present one.

## **2. Theoretical and methodological issues pertinent to the present research**

### **2.1 Computer-mediated communication (CMC)**

#### **2.1.1 Language and the Internet**

Looking back at technological innovations throughout the history of humanity, it is difficult to exaggerate the importance of the Internet emergence at the brink of the twenty-first century. Similarly to earlier inventions, such as the printing press, photography, radio, and telephone, the Internet has proved capable of affecting people and transforming all aspects of their lives. Nowadays, when shopping online, gathering travel advice, or using online banking, we do not ponder over it much except to occasionally note how incredible this transformation has become (Walther & Lee 2014: 12). In the preface to his book (Crystal 2001:7), the scholar quotes Tim Berners-Lee, the inventor of the World Wide Web, who states that “[t]he Web is more a social creation than a technical one” enabling “the dream of people-to-people communication through shared knowledge[...] for groups of all sizes, interacting electronically with as much ease as they do now in person”. It is not surprising, therefore, that academic studies of computer-mediated communication (henceforth CMC) are currently booming within various social science disciplines. As the Internet tends to be largely considered from a social perspective, the role of language becomes crucial. Following Crystal (2001:7), “what is immediately obvious when engaging in any of the Internet's functions is its linguistic character”. In a similar vein, Barton and Lee (2013:2) emphasise the importance of concentrating on what happens to language when it moves online.

Tracing back the development of linguistic research in CMC over the years, it is impossible not to mention the first collection of descriptive and empirical studies in this area produced in 1996 by Susan Herring, one of the pioneering and to date very active researchers in the field. The studies concerned with the linguistic perspective of CMC address the issue on how it compares with speaking and writing; the ones on social and ethical perspectives investigate conflicts between the interests of groups and those of individual users, such as online sex and sexism; the rest of the studies deal with cross-cultural communication using CMC. In her introduction, Herring (1996:2) emphasizes that “no attempt is made at completeness in any of the areas represented; rather the goal is to bring together a variety of approaches to CMC so

that their insights might inform one another and direct future research”.

### **2.1.2 The concept of Netspeak**

Crystal (2001) researches the nature of the influence of the Internet on language, for there already exists a widespread mythology that it is going to be disastrous for the future of language which is predicted to lose its standards or creativity. In contrast, Crystal (2001) argues for the opposite, demonstrating that the Internet, which has now been available long enough for us to take a stance towards it, encourages expansion within the range and variety of languages. In this light, Crystal (2001:17) coined the term 'Netspeak' when talking about language use online alongside earlier introduced notions, such as 'Netlish', 'Weblish', 'Internet language', 'cyberspeak', 'electronic discourse', 'electronic language', 'interactive written discourse', 'computer-mediated communication', all of them having their implications. The researcher encourages the inclusion of writing, talking, listening and reading situations into the 'speak' element of the term which he defines as “a type of language displaying features that are unique to the Internet, and encountered in all the above situations, arising out of its character as a medium which is electronic, global, and interactive”. These features include but are not limited by emoticons, flaming, abbreviations, acronyms and new modification on words and sentences.

### **2.1.3 Web 2.0**

Georgakopoulou (2011:93) underlines that the spectrum of topics and methodologies within the linguistic domains of discourse studies and pragmatics “as well as the pace of advances can only be rivalled by the rapid changes in the ever-growing medium itself”. Since the World Wide Web itself is no longer a new phenomenon, Herring (2013:13) describes early websites of the mid-1990s as “single-authored, fairly static documents”, such as personal home pages and e-commerce sites, whereas in the late 1990s “more dynamic, interactive websites” whose content was often updated and commented on by users, as, for example, blogs or online news sites, appeared. Herring (2013) suggests that it is these platforms that forecast what nowadays

is known as 'Web 2.0', the term used for the first time in 2004 by a web entrepreneur in California who decided to organise the “Web 2.0 conference” in order “to debate and determine business strategy”. At present, however, according to Herring (2013:14), this term refers to “*changing trends in, and new uses of, web technology and web design, especially involving participatory information sharing; user-generated content; an ethic of collaboration; and use of the web as a social platform*“. In other words, Web 2.0 may also refer to online platforms demonstrating these uses, such as blogs, social network and media sites encouraging researchers to label retrospectively web platforms deprived of the features listed above as Web 1.0.

#### **2.1.4 The main themes of linguistic research in CMC**

In the light of the above, which can still be legitimately summarised as CMC, Georgakopoulou (2011: 93) provides an overview of the main themes of linguistic studies of CMC with a discourse-pragmatic focus that in the long run of their development ranged

from treating everything that takes place on the medium as an undifferentiated whole to acknowledging and exploring distinctions amongst computer-mediated discourses that are related to register, style, and genre or, equally, to system specifications that determine the manner, speed, length, ability for storage, etc. of different types of CMC.

Among the issues that have been of interest to researchers of CMC, she singles out its relation with spoken and written language; the use of playfulness and humour; the concept of online communities as well as self-presentation and identities.

##### **2.1.4.1 Blurred boundaries between spoken and written language in CMC**

As far as the underlying assumption of the first inquiry is concerned, Georgakopoulou (2011: 94) specifies that CMC is recognised as demonstrating features both normally attributed to face-to-face communication, such as “immediacy and informality of style, transience of message, reduced planning and editing, rapid feedback”, and those typically associated with

written language - “lack of visual and paralinguistic cues, physical absence of the addressee, written mode of delivery, etc.”. Overall, CMC can be positioned in the intersection of oral and written communication being both “written-like and spoken-like”. In Georgakopoulou's (2011: 96) opinion, this further testifies to the widespread view that spoken and written discourses should not be regarded as “a dichotomy with absolute differences, but as a continuum which cuts across various uses of language thus presenting various overlapping and intersecting cases”. The researcher concludes that there is still enough research gap on the complexity of spoken and written discourse interaction in the construction of “e(lectronic) discourse”.

Taking the above issue as the point of departure for their study, Montero-Fleta et al. (2009: 770), for example, compare the language used in four online written asynchronous football-oriented fora in English, Spanish and Catalan focusing on “the use of informal, conversational language in these written texts“. The obtained results are then compared with findings of an earlier analysis of online fora in the same languages but devoted to “a more serious topic, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict”. According to this group of researchers, online asynchronous CMC in English proved to show more traits pertinent to oral communication than those in Spanish and Catalan both in serious topic-oriented fora and in sports-oriented ones. These findings seem to go in line with the results of previous research comparing Spanish-English rhetorical contrasts. However, the interpretation of data yielded by Catalan fora seems to be difficult for “Catalan is a minority language undergoing a normalization process”, therefore, “most of the deviations from the prescriptive norms in the data in Catalan are probably caused by interference from Spanish”, as per Montero-Fleta et al. (2009: 776).

#### **2.1.4.2 The use of humour in CMC**

Going back to the second issue foregrounded by Georgakopoulou (2011: 100) as salient within CMC research focusing on its discourse pragmatics, namely the use of humour, playfulness and wit, encountered in synchronous types of CMC, as in Internet Relay Chats, for instance, the researcher finds their manifestations similar to real life genres of play. By and large, play is achieved typographically, namely through the use of capital letters, emojis and

emoticons, rather unpredicted shifts from high to low variety of a language as well as other languages. The researcher goes on to refer such an abundance of play on CMC to “various medium-specificities that have to do with its neither-here nor-there position in between the two poles of speaking and writing” (Georgakopoulou 2011: 101). In other words, the incorporated feature having to do with the spoken language, such as speed, interactivity and freedom from the burden of material world, seem to encourage playfulness. On the other hand, still existing in the form of a text on the screen, therefore referring to the written medium, CMC enables users to consider a messages in more details. Therefore, it is not surprising that there has been a considerable number of studies addressing the above issues. To name just a few, Derks et al. (2008) review empirical evidence to investigate if emotions are communicated differently in CMC and face-to-face communication, their point of departure being a widely argued assumption that emotion is more difficult to convey in the former type of communication than in the latter. Their findings do not support this idea but lend evidence to the similarity between emotional communication online and offline. Furthermore, Derks et al. (2008: 780) conclude that CMC is characterised by “more frequent and explicit emotion communication” than in face-to-face.

By the same token, González-Lloret (2016) investigates the construction of emotion in L1 as contrasted to L2 Spanish in computer-mediated text interaction using a corpus of text-based forum conversations. The results of the study reveal that both groups use a wide spectrum of multisemiotic resources to convey emotions, such as emoticons, punctuation, capitalization, explicit emotion words, and code-switching. Hudson et al. (2015: 87) take the investigation of emotions in CMC one level further by examining how gender interacts with emoticons to influence Facebook jealousy defined by the researcher as “a unique phenomenon arising from the misinterpretation of ambiguous information involving romantic partners”. The conclusions of the study support evolutionary work “in suggesting that specific cues may differentially influence jealousy responses in males and females”.

#### **2.1.4.3 Virtual communities**

As per Georgakopoulou (2011:102), another aspect which is currently at the centre of CMC

researchers' attention is that of virtual or online communities that were often compared to 'community' in its mainstream use presupposing shared space. Moreover, early social-psychological research tended to express “pessimism about the quality, duration, and depth of relationships on the net” in CMC groups due to reduced visual and social context cues. However, these results were contradicted as soon as “electively formed communities on the net were examined”. This has prompted a reconsideration of community “as a product of shared relationships, norms, and values (Watson 1997: 121 as quoted in Georgakopoulou 2011:103).

As a consequence of participation in an online community, its members broadly use CMC as a rich resource for self-presentation and relating. Georgakopoulou (2011: 105) expresses the point of view that we have little knowledge of what kinds of skills and strategies are employed in such an environment which enables participants to hide aspects of their identity and selves that would be more or less visible in face-to-face situations. She goes on to conclude that various personal, social, and cultural identity issues stay relatively under-investigated. To address such a research gap, de Vries (2016), for example, tests a hypothesis that online chat might extend the opportunities of online daters to make a desirable impression on prospective dates in comparison to meeting them face-to-face. The findings suggest that such anticipation of subsequent interaction may begin influencing the impression of online daters through their profiles, in other words, their self-presentation, which consequently impacts their self-esteem.

#### **2.1.4.4 Code-switching and multilingualism in CMC**

In its early years, the World Wide Web, that originated in the United States where English is the primary language, was dominated by this language. Barton and Lee (2013: 43) provide statistics from survey and media reports showing that “in 1998, over 80 per cent of internet content was in English”, whereas by 2012 it dropped to fifty-five. Current studies reveal the presence of multiple languages online as well as multilingual internet users. This trend has given rise to the studies of code-switching and multilingualism in the domain of digital discourse (Danet & Herring 2007, Halim & Maros 2014, Jaworska 2014, Barasa 2016).

According to Barton and Lee (2013: 44), “the global spread of the internet gives rise to not only English but other major languages like Chinese and Spanish, and, for different reasons, smaller languages such as Catalan”. The advent of Web 2.0 technologies enabling self-generated content in social media is viewed as encouraging and reinforcing multilingual writing online. Reconsidering his earlier assumptions of English as a global language, Crystal (2006: 320) suggests that the Internet “offers a home to all languages”.

As a result of vast amounts of self-generated content available online in so many languages, people become more aware of social values of the languages they use. In this light, the Internet also offers a home to such reflections, “be it an accent, the grammar and style of someone's speech or the level of difficulty in learning a language” (Barton & Lee 2013: 108). These metalinguistic discourses that were previously encountered in traditional mass media are currently ubiquitous on various online platforms. It is not surprising that linguists, especially those engaging in so-called folk linguistics, start turning to such appealing data to investigate what people think about, for instance, standards of language and language use. Other topics of language that people often discuss online include Internet-specific language sometimes labelled as 'chat lingo', 'IM chat-speak' and 'text-talk'; language teaching and learning; translation issues as well as self-deprecating metalanguage when people diminish their linguistic abilities (Barton & Lee 2013: 110).

### **2.1.5 Methodologies in CMC**

To approach such a diversity of aspects of CMC briefly and far from being completely outlined above, linguists need tools, in other words methodologies. Similarly to research carried out with offline data, CMC data can also be addressed both with qualitative and quantitative approaches or their combination depending on kinds of questions asked about language use in social media. When considering qualitative approaches to CMC, Page et al. (2014: 93) underline that

frameworks developed in the discourse analysis of offline interactions (such as Coulthard and Candlin 1985) or sociolinguistics (such as Labov 1972) might provide the starting point for making sense of the linguistic patterns found in interactions of social media genres such as blogs or social network sites. But often

[...] these frameworks can raise as many questions about the language used in social media contexts as they help the researcher to answer.

Therefore, the researchers advise treating them not as static tools but the ones that can be adapted, modified or totally rejected while researching language use online. Page et al. (2014:94) foreground discourse analysis as a multi-faceted technique used to comprehend the social meanings made in texts through the language use. In 2004 Susan Herring started developing what she termed as CMDA, computer-mediated discourse analysis, as a specific approach to analyse CMC data with the focus on language and its use. The researcher calls it “a set of methods (a tool kit) grounded in linguistic discourse analysis for mining networked communication for patterns of structure and meaning” operating on the levels of “structure, meaning, interaction management, and social phenomena” (Herring 2013: 15). Page et al. (2014: 100) summarise that this approach suggests exploring different existing forms of linguistic analysis, such as text analysis, conversation analysis, critical discourse analysis, originally developed to explore offline interactions. As discussed earlier, with the advent of Web 2.0 technologies, CMC itself has been undergoing a shift that in its turn urged a reconsideration of the CDMA approach. The discourse in these self-generated new environments that Herring (2013:16) refers to as “convergent media computer-mediated discourse (CMCMD) or Discourse 2.0“ posits many questions for CDMA, such as new types of content and affordances to be analysed. First and foremost, the researcher questions if the term CMC should still be used when referring to Web 2.0 discourse. Since there have been attempts to term it differently, 'digital media', 'new media', 'digital discourse' and 'keyboard-to-screen communication' being among these labels, but no uniformity has been achieved to date, “[f]or now, CMD and CMDA still seem useful terms, in that they make the link to CMC transparent and are based on established tradition“ (Herring 2013: 17).

Another approach often used to analyse CMC data, Conversation Analysis (CA), was originally developed by Harvey Sacks and his collaborators, including Emanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson to examine and identify patterns in spontaneous speech (ten Have 2007: 5). Following Page et al. (2014: 95), due to the spoken-like nature of many digital texts CA was viewed as a suitable method for the investigation of such interactions within CMC context, in particular, of instant messaging and chats, examples of synchronous communication.

However, a variety of asynchronous means of electronic communication such as emails, online discussions and others became of interest to researchers who extended the application of CA to these forms of communication but as per Giles et al. (2015: 45) were criticised that what they were doing was not a “real CA”. Consequently, they created a network, named Microanalysis of Online Data (MOOD), with the aim of further developing CA-inspired methodologies and methods compatible with research on new media that they called 'digital CA'. The members of the MOOD network suggest reworking some basic assumptions of CA prompted by electronic communication technology, such as the transcription process, the role of context, membership irrelevance, self-initiated repair taking the form of self-editing, compensation of paralinguistic cues through the use of punctuation, unconventional spelling and the use of emoticons as well as potential censorship of user contribution.

Reviewing methodological issues that researchers are faced with when working with CMC data, Bolander and Locher (2014: 18) stress that data of this nature posit some questions when it comes to embracing the dynamics of interaction and underline the need to be aware of the potentially multi-modal character of CMC data “by including or excluding its study in their research design”. An inter-disciplinary approach that regards communication and representation as more than mere language and provides tools to assist a fine-grained and complex analysis of meaning arising out of the interplay of modes is described as multimodality (Jewitt; 2016: 69). Developed at the beginning of the 2000s by such scholars as Kress (2009, 2010), Jewitt (2005) and van Leeuwen and Jewitt (2000) amongst others, it is anchored in Halliday's (1978) linguistic ideas of communication that see language as “a system of options and meaning potentials” (Jewitt: 2016: 71).

The above review which is far from being exhaustive has demonstrated the most outstanding aspects of language, its uses and manifestations online as well as briefly touched upon some qualitative methodological issues suitable to approach these types of questions. This also lends evidence to the fact that research on CMC is flourishing and gaining a considerable share of overall research within the domain of Applied Linguistics.

## **2.2 Genre in Linguistics**

### **2.2.1 Defining genre**

The way genre has been defined and used throughout its history reflects its etymology. On the one hand, the term 'genre' originates from the Latin word 'genus' meaning 'kind' or 'class' whose early usage is traced back to the ancient Greek and Roman period (Liu 2012: 2407). Before its introduction into the field of applied linguistics in the 1970s, the notion of 'genre' was almost exclusively used in the field of literature to be subdivided into lyric, drama and epic. Zhan (2012: 211) suggests that genre has become an extremely powerful tool employed to analyse various types of discourse, literary and non-literary, disclosing both its surface features and rationale behind them. On the other hand, through its related word 'gender' it can be referred to the Latin word 'gener' which means to 'generate' (Bawarshi & Reiff 2010: 4).

Following Bateman et al. (2014: 10), contemporary definitions and applications of genre demonstrate “a collection of family resemblances that indicate well the kind of work that genre is called upon to perform”. Thus, the first group of these underpinning assumptions relates genre to social actions and kinds of social organisation. Secondly, genre refers to recurring patterns of form of investigated behaviours or artefacts. The researchers emphasise that genre is historically and socially situated, therefore, the aspect of change should be viewed as a central component of any genre-based analysis. Such an approach becomes crucial in particular nowadays when we experience the emergence of multiple communicative practices that go far beyond earlier established uses of language. Bateman et al. (2014: 11) doubt that “prior approaches to genre are all equally prepared for the task of incorporating and following change” and therefore criticize them for considering “generic structuring and language use as ‘static’ and overly conventionalised”.

Despite the breadth of genre scholarship over the past thirty years, the term genre is still not deprived of confusion. Bawarshi and Reiff (2010: 3) suggest that, to some extent, this confusion “has to do with whether genres merely sort and classify the experiences, events, and actions they represent”, thus envisaged as labels or containers for meaning, or “whether genres reflect, help shape, and even generate what they represent in culturally defined ways”,

thus performing a critical role in meaning-making. The researchers summarise that through time and across disciplines, genre has been understood and applied mainly “as a classificatory tool, a way of sorting and organizing kinds of texts and other cultural objects”. Recent developments in genre study tend to define it “less as a means of organizing kinds of texts and more as a powerful, ideologically active, and historically changing shaper of texts, meanings, and social actions“(Bawarshi & Reiff 2010: 4). In other words, genres are viewed as forms of cultural knowledge shaping the way we comprehend and normally act within different situations.

### **2.2.2 The SFL approach to genre**

The implementation of genre understanding and the activation of genre knowledge has not been homogeneous across genre approaches. As per Askehave and Swales (2001: 197), since the new era of genre research that began accelerating in the early 1980s, there has been a widely-accepted attitude to conceptualise genres as “goal-directed or purposive”. Martin's (1985: 250 as quoted in Askehave and Swales 2001:197) famous formulation defines that “genres are how things get done, when language is used to accomplish them”. Such an assumption underpins the Systemic Functional (SF) approach to genre, commonly known as the Sydney School, that is largely influenced by the work of Michael Halliday (Halliday 1978, Halliday & Hasan 1989). As Bawarshi and Reiff (2010: 29) note, Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) takes as a starting point the idea that “language structure is integrally related to social function and context“, where 'Functional' refers to the work of language in a particular context whereas 'Systemic' implies the structure of language to be used to get things done in these very contexts. The SF approach to genre emerged partially as reaction to “student-centred, process-based literacy teaching“ with its focus on „learning through doing“. SF linguists criticised it for ignoring the context in which texts are obtained and operate (Bawarshi & Reiff 2010:32). As Emilia and Hamied (2015: 158) put it, SF genre theorists consider genre as a text type claiming that there are at least eight prototypical genres, such as “Recount, Report, Explanation, Exposition, Discussion, Procedure, Narrative, News Story”. They believe, however, that this categorisation is not stable at all times allowing for the integration of different genres into a macro genre, for genre conventions vary depending on

context and over time. In this light, Macken-Horarik (2002: 44) views the aim of SF genre approaches to develop

a literacy pedagogy that can empower students to gain access to educational discourses of the kind that they may otherwise not become familiar with in their life, to acquire and critique the genres required for success in schooling, in employment, and in the community.

SFL, therefore, defines genres as “staged, goal-oriented social processes through which social subjects in a given culture live their lives” where 'social processes' refer to the interaction of the culture members; 'goal oriented' has to do with the evolution of genres to have things done; and 'staged' implies that participants go through more than one stage to achieve their goals (Bawarshi & Reiff 2010: 33). Therefore, it can be concluded that the most common trend in SFL genre analysis is the shift of the emphasis from identifying social purpose as embedded in generic structural elements to the analysis of a register of analysed texts represented in field, tenor and mode. This move has been put under critical scrutiny questioning SF genre approach for not investigating the ways genres not only realise but also assist in the reproduction of ideology and social purpose. Threadgold (1989: 106) claims that SFL genre theory uses genres as a starting point for textual analysis overlooking the “web of social, political, and historical realities” in which they are involved. Another point of Threadgold's critique refers to SFL's treating genres as more stable than they appear.

To sum it up, Bawarshi and Reiff (2010: 37) view SFL's contributions to genre research, although not deprived of critique, in “establishing how genres systemically link social motives/purposes to social and linguistic actions” which, in its turn, accounts for the abundance of SFL genre approach-informed studies academia can boast of up to date. To name just a few of them, Troyan (2014) considers a linguistically based SFL genre theory as a means of enhancing instruction of presentational (writing) communication that is linked to authentic model texts; Wang (2013) places SFL-based genre approach under scrutiny for its effectiveness in promoting EFL writers' genre awareness and competence; Arancon (2013) reports results of the SFL-based genre analysis of a corpus of UNED students' essays suggesting that this approach can help highlight the difficulties in writing for Business English learners.

## **2.2.3 The ESP approach to genre**

### **2.2.3.1 John Swales**

Another trend within genre studies which, according to Bawarshi and Reiff (2010: 42), agrees with the SF approach to genre that “linguistic features are connected to social context and function“ and is in a similar way “driven by the pedagogical imperative to make visible to disadvantaged students the connections between language and social function that genres embody“ is referred to as English for Specific Purposes (ESP). Nevertheless, the above two groups of approaches differ in target audience, as will be made explicit in what follows. Placed within a wider category of Language for Specific Purposes (LSP), ESP concentrates on teaching and studying specialized varieties of English in advanced and professional environments to mostly non-native speakers of English. Despite its existence since 1960s, it was Swales' (1990) work that theorised and developed methodology for including genre analysis into ESP teaching as well as research. As Tardy (2011: 1) synthesises, back in 1980 John Swales was working on a small research project assisted by Vijay Bhatia when they compiled and analysed a corpus of 48 introductions to research articles in a variety of disciplines with the purpose of better understanding their form for further implementation in teaching. During this project he had two major epiphanies, as he puts it in his memoir (Swales 2009 as quoted in Tardy 2011: 1). The first one was the identification of a common rhetorical pattern in the texts, later labelled as 'move', which turned out to be an important departure from earlier ESP studies that used to have lexical or grammatical linguistic units in their spotlight. The second epiphany concerns Swales' shift to a new concept of discourse, namely genre. Later on, Swales (1990: 3) identifies the focus on academic and research English and the use of genre for applied ends as the two major characteristics of ESP genre approaches. The researcher notes that in comparison to the 1960s, ESP studies have become both narrower insofar “that the focus has shifted from broader register categories such as “scientific” or “medical” language to a narrower focus on actual genre varieties used within, say, scientific and medical disciplines“; and deeper in the sense that “they not only describe linguistic features of language varieties but also their communicative purposes and effects“. Thus, Askehave and Swales (2001: 197) summarise that three major inter-related notions framing

Swales' approach to genre study are discourse community, communicative purpose and genre.

As far as the first one is concerned, Swales (1990: 9) defines it as “sociorhetorical networks that form in order to work towards sets of common goals” that in their turn become the grounds for shared communicative purposes, with genres enabling the membership of the above discourse communities to reach these communicative purposes. In this light, Swales (1990) describes genre as “a recognizable communicative event characterized by a set of communicative purposes identified and mutually understood by the members of the professional or academic community in which it regularly occurs”. Bawarshi and Reiff (2010: 46) suggest that a typical ESP approach to genre analysis starts by identifying a genre within a discourse community as well as the communicative purpose it is supposed to achieve. At the next stage, the analysis shifts to the investigation of the schematic structure of the genre, referred to as moves turning to the examination of textual and linguistic features that realise the moves, such as style, tone, voice, grammar and syntax.

Askehave and Swales (2001: 197) rightfully remark in this sense that with the increasing number of empirical evidence from genre studies, “the concept of communicative purpose has[...] become more complex, multiple, variable and generally hard to get”. They believe that as a result of these mostly unnoticed developments, the vagueness surrounding communicative purpose threatens its claimed role as a way of attributing genre membership. In their paper, they discuss this paradox and exemplify possible difficulties connected with identifying and the complexity of communicative purpose of such genres as shopping lists, short response letters to recommendations and company brochures. In conclusion, Askehave and Swales (2001: 210) suggest that a communicative purpose (or rather their sets) should keep the status of a privileged criterion but in a different to the originally suggested by Swales (1990) meaning because “[it] is no longer privileged by centrality, prominence, or self-evident clarity, nor indeed by the reported beliefs of users about genres, but by its status as reward or pay-off for investigators as they approximate to completing the hermeneutic circle”.

Twenty-five years after Swales' (1990: 111) ground breaking work on genre within ESP tradition, Flowerdew (2015) reviews this approach to pedagogy and elaborates on four areas

of development which he believes might contribute to Swales' approach in the years since its first publication, namely “Vygotskian theory, relations between genres; corpora; and ELF”. Flowerdew (2015: 106) notes that although Swales (1990:51, 90) does not mention the Vygotskian term of 'scaffolding', which refers to support provided by a more expert person or different cognitive tools, such as texts of different nature, realia, motivational tasks or electronic media, his references to it are “merely *en passant*”. Moreover, a lot of characteristics of a Vygotskian, apprenticeship, or situated, approach can be traced in Swales' (1990) pedagogic approach despite not being theorised in these terms. Flowerdew (2015: 107) goes on to reflect on the notion of genre inter-relation which was absent in Swales (1990) but emerges in Swales (2004) under a cover term 'constellation' where he singles out four systems: a genre hierarchy which is “how genres are ranked one against each other and in terms of their perceived qualitative differences”; a genre chain implying “chronological ordering of genres; a genre set “which is the grouping of genres that an individual or class of individuals engages in as part of their normal occupational or institutional practice, and a genre network defined by Swales (2004: 22) as “the totality of genres available for a particular sector (such as the research world) as seen from any chosen synchronic moment”. Although it was too early, as Flowerdew (2015: 108) suggests, for Swales (1990) to mention corpora as corpus linguistics was at the dawn of its development at the time, he got involved in some of “the most ground-breaking applied corpus linguistics endeavours to date” by directing the projects which resulted in the compilations of the two widely known corpora: MICASE and MICUS. Finally, Flowerdew (2015: 109) reinforces the vast spread of the use of English as a lingua franca (ELF) which can be accounted for education being a crucial contributor of powers of globalisation and stresses that back in 1990 these issues were also beginning to be investigated, thus being beyond the scope of Applied Linguistics inquiry. However, the researcher speculates, that if Swales were to write his prominent publication of 1990 now, he would most likely not omit ELF. In the end, Flowerdew (2015: 110) stresses that the purpose of this article is not to criticise, but, on the contrary, to foreground “the huge legacy of Swales' (1990) seminal volume”.

### 2.2.3.2 Vijay Bhatia

Drawing on Swales' (1990) work, Bhatia (1993) stands out among other genre researchers, as Zhan (2012: 213) notes, “due to the fusion of social, cognitive and linguistic factors in his interpretation of genre”. Therefore, Bhatia (1993: 13) expands the definition of his predecessor and refers to genre as to

a recognizable communicative event characterized by a set of communicative purpose(s) identified and mutually understood by the members of the professional or academic community in which it regularly occurs. Most often it is highly structured and conventionalized with constraints on allowable contributions in terms of their intent, positioning, form and functional value. These constraints, however, are often exploited by the expert members of the discourse community to achieve private intentions within the framework of socially recognized purpose(s).

Bhatia's contribution to the notion of genre is connected with the introduction of a cognitive perspective suggesting that genre users “may manipulate the conventions of a genre to achieve their intentions, though they cannot break away from the constraints imposed by that genre” (Zhan 2012: 214). According to Bhatia (1993: 14), the realisation of a communicative purpose is achieved through cognitive structuring comprised of moves, their sequencing as well as staging. He allocated the label 'move' only when a function is fulfilled. To perform a holistic investigation of any genre, Bhatia (1993: 22) suggests “considering some or all of the following seven steps” depending on the aim of the analysis, the aspects of genre a researcher wants to concentrate on as well as some background knowledge on the genre under investigation. In such a way, the first step involves placing a given genre-text in its situational context. For those not involved in the relevant speech community Bhatia, the author of the model, suggests consulting available literature to gather this kind of knowledge. Step two involves surveying the existing research on the genre including literature on linguistic analysis of the genre in question, tools or methods appropriate for the situation, guide books directed to the relevant speech community as well as discussion of various nature on the genre. At step three genre researchers are encouraged to refine the situational/contextual analysis by “defining the speaker/writer of the text, the audience” as well as the relations between them; “the historical, socio-cultural [...] placement of the community” pertinent to the discourse; and “identifying the network of surrounding texts [...], the topic/subject/extra textual reality which the text is trying to represent”. Step four implies compilation of the corpus of the genre

paying attention to its right kind and size. Step five involves studying the institutional context in which genre takes place through an ethnographic lens. Step six “moves from context to text”, as Bawarshi and Reiff (2010:47) summarise, and includes the consideration of levels of linguistic analysis to explore ranging from lexico-grammatical features, that may involve quantitative study of tenses, clauses or other syntactic properties, to text-patterning or textualisation, as, for instance, language patterns used in a certain genre, such as how and why noun phrases and nominalisation are used, and structural interpretation of the text-genre. This last level of linguistic analysis, as underlined by Mandervel et al. (2012: 375), highlights the cognitive elements of language structuring, in other words the cognitive structuring of the texts which according to Bhatia (1990: 32) “is the property of the genre as such and not that of the individual reader”. In the final step, Bhatia encourages researchers to look for a specialist informant from the research site to verify results in order to add validity to the latter.

The above described steps, as mentioned earlier, do not necessarily urge a researcher to explore them in the given order or even to full extend. Nevertheless, Nielsen (1997: 212) claims “there is a certain degree of overlapping in the steps” which he relates to the fact that the seven steps are not categorized. Furthermore, he suggests there should be a distinction between text-external, referring to steps 1-3, 5 and 7, and text-internal, meaning steps 4 and 6, investigations. Nielsen believes that such a categorisation could emphasise the importance of paying attention to text-external features in genre analysis which he sees as one of the strengths of the model that in conclusion he finds “very operational, practical, and plausible” enabling a researcher to define and investigate any genres, even unfamiliar ones.

In his more recent article, Bhatia (2008: 161) responds to one of the major criticisms of teaching ESP concerned with the fact that when placed in a professional environment, students though capable of addressing textual features of some professional genres, “are still unaware of the discursive realities of the professional world”. In his opinion, it is not the learners who are to blame but teachers and genre analysts who approach professional genres as merely textual artefacts (Bhatia 1993; Swales 1990). Therefore, in this paper he argues for “a more integrated analytical perspective on professional genres to have an evidence-based view of the knowledge producing and knowledge disseminating practices of the professions”.

Using professional contexts from business and law, Bhatia (2008: 162) suggests a more encompassing view on 'interdiscursivity' which he interprets as “appropriation of semiotic resources across genres, professional practices and disciplinary cultures”. He also stresses the need to adopt “a multi-perspective and multidimensional analytical framework described in Bhatia (2004) which is a three-space model of discourse analysis consisting of a textual, socio-pragmatic and social space that embraces some different perspectives on genre analysis that go beyond textual, cognitive, socio-critical and institutional to include the ethnographic one. This model, in Bhatia's (2008: 171) opinion, can adequately explain a complex nature of discourse in the world of professions, “a complexity that requires [...] a greater integration of text-internal and text-external factors that influence and contribute to the construction, interpretation and exploitation of genres on the part of the professionals”.

### **2.2.3.3 Examples of ESP-informed genre studies**

Since Swales' (1990) and Bhatia's (1993) works were introduced to academia, there has been an abundance of studies that apply the above methodologies to a number of genres. To name just a few, Tench (2003) applied a genre-based model to examine writing in public relations domain; Khan and Tin (2012) explored application letters in the context of Pakistan; Liu (2012) performed genre analysis of American presidential inaugural speech; Manvender et al. (2012) researched the written communicative events produced by engineers in the Malaysian petroleum industry; Zhan (2012) aimed at investigating the cognitive structuring of English prepared public speeches among others.

Of particular interest to the present project is the study conducted by Zhou (2012:323) where the researcher investigated 'advetorials' as an emerging hybridised genre by applying Bhatia's (1993) seven-step genre analysis methodology as a guideline which was amended to cater for the text type under investigation. The aim of the project is to specify the generic and linguistic characteristics of advetorials to be able to classify them into an appropriate genre which is achieved through their critical comparison with “three inextricably related genres: advertisements, news stories and editorials”. Thus, the study concentrates mainly on communicative purpose as well as the textual analysis focusing on paralinguistic and

linguistic features of advetorials. Although the analysis of paralinguistic features is not originally included in Bhatia's (1993) model, Zhou (2012:327) finds it fitting to the specific objective of the study for “the outlook, visual design and paralanguage of any text types in printed media create a first important impression to readers”. Furthermore, he notes that although advetorials were noticed and discussed in Bhatia (2004) as “as an innovative, hybrid emerging text type”, their systematic analysis presents a research gap. With description and evaluation being the main generic values of this genre, Zhou suggests that few genre analysts have focused on evaluative aspect of discourse. For this purpose, Appraisal Theory (Martin & White 2005) is used in this project as a tool to assist the investigation of the evaluative aspect of language in the genre of advetorials at the micro-linguistic level. The findings of the study suggest that in case of advetorials it is not easy to identify whether they rather resemble advertisements, news stories or editorials as all their distinctive features are intertwined and mixed. Nevertheless, Zhou (2012: 338) tends “to classify advetorials as a sub-genre of advertisements” since the former share the basic communicative purposes with the latter. In addition, word choices and evaluative point of view are also similar to those employed in advertisements.

#### **2.2.4 Rhetorical Genre Studies (RGS)**

Summarising the historical development of genre theory, Tardy (2011: 2) states that during the time when Swales was completing his ground-breaking work discussed earlier, major publications in rhetoric and composition studies appeared. These included Miller's (1984) and Bazerman's (1988) works that both developed genre theories within a rhetorical tradition, later known as Rhetorical Genre Studies (RGS). Following Bawarshi and Reiff (2010: 54), crucial discrepancies between ESP and RGS approaches have to do with “the sociological nature of genres and the extent to which genres can and should be taught explicitly”. Although both ESP and RGS scholars agree that text and context relate dynamically, RGS views genres not only as placed within such contexts as discourse communities but also as constitutive of contexts, in other words, as symbolic worlds co-built and inhabited by readers and writers. Therefore, ESP genre researchers tend to recognize genres as communicative tools placed

within social context, whereas RGS genre scholars, as Bawarshi and Reiff (2010: 54) notice, “understand genres as sociological concepts embodying textual and social ways of knowing, being, and interacting in particular contexts”. The differences in emphasis and trajectory between ESP and RGS approaches can also be felt in their definitions of genre, with Swales (1990) defining it as forms of communicative action and Miller (1984) seeing it as forms of social action. This understanding of rhetorical genre which is based on rhetorical practice, does not, as Miller (1984: 164) puts it, “lend itself to taxonomy, for genres change, evolve and decay”. The researcher underlines that genres as actions obtain meaning from situation as well as from the social context in which the situation emerged. She distinguishes genre from form, genre being a form at one specific level only which is a “fusion of lower-level forms and characteristic substance”. For Miller (1984), then, a genre is a rhetorical means connecting private and public intentions, therefore, genres must be defined as the fusion of formal features as social actions that they help produce. Forecasting the research and pedagogical implications of such understanding of genre, Miller (1984: 39) concludes that

what we learn when we learn a genre is not just a pattern of forms or even a method of achieving our own ends. [...]we learn that we may eulogize, apologize, recommend one person to another, instruct customers on behalf of a manufacturer, take on an official role, account for progress in achieving goals. [...] As a recurrent, significant action, a genre embodies an aspect of cultural rationality.

For Miller as well as for other RGS scholars, understanding and performing contexts are both the starting point of genre analysis and its target. By the same token, Bazerman (1997: 19) provides the following description of genre from RGS perspective:

Genres are not just forms. Genres are forms of life, ways of being. They are frames for social action. They are locations within which meaning is constructed. Genres shape the thoughts we form and the communications by which we interact. Genres are the familiar places we go to create intelligible communicative action with each other and the guideposts we use to explore the unfamiliar.

Bawarshi and Reiff (2010:59) interpret that from this angle genres are “recognizable sites of rhetorical and social action as well as typified ways of rhetorically and socially acting“, thus enabling us both to inhabit and enact genres.

#### **2.2.4.1 Examples of RGS-informed genre studies**

In her recent article, Gonzales (2015) sketches a possible development in the future of rhetorical genre studies in the translingual, multimodal composing practices of linguistically diverse composition students. The researcher investigates the relations between students' linguistic repertoires and the approaches to multimodal composition they use by focusing on two groups of participants from two large universities, one of them having English as L1 and the other as L2. Both groups were exposed to composition courses based on RGS approaches to teaching writing in conventional print and multimodal forms. The obtained results suggest that L2 students “exhibit advanced expertise and rhetorical sensitivity when layering meaning through multimodal composition“. The author states that this expertise is accounted for by the students' incorporating and crossing different modes in case they lack words to communicate in English. Gonzales (2015: 1) argues that “the translingual practices of L2 students can bridge connections and help develop pedagogical applications of multimodality and RGS“ which, in its turn, can help writing instructors teach genres as social actions.

In a similar vein, Aull's (2015: 1) research interest lies in students' writing. The author notes that since Miller's (1984) work, RGS have contributed to the analysis of “how typified rhetorical actions constitute the contexts and communities in which writers write“. As Aull underlines, in particular in first-year writing, although concentrating on macro-level textual constructs, such as expectations of various genres and their audience, RGS approaches have paid less attention to recurrent linguistic patterns in written genres. In this respect, Aull (2015:1) identifies two gaps in RGS-based approaches to first-year writing (FYW), namely “few large-scale analyses of first-year written genres, and little attention to language patterns in genre-based FYW pedagogy and research“. The article approaches these gaps by outlining the historical separation of RGS and linguistics and presenting recent pedagogical RGS and EAP (English for Academic Purposes) research. The author concludes that RGS together with EAP could contribute tremendously to teaching writing in the first year.

The continuing expansion of English as a language of research and education accounts for the need to further investigate genre, in particular, in second language writing. As Tardy (2011)

suggests, one difficulty in this respect is to explore various theoretical frameworks capable of shedding light onto an understanding of genre. Although since the mid-1990s genre theorists have started addressing this challenge by investigating discrepancies between ESP-, SFL- and RGS-informed work, the tensions between them resulting from distinct theoretical frameworks and target student population continue to exist. Thus, emphasis on form in ESP writing instruction may bother L1 writing scholars, SFL's terminology may puzzle those unfamiliar with it, and "the unique context of "first-year composition" may seem too localized for those working in K-12, workplace, or advanced academic settings around the world" (Tardy 2011: 2). It is worth noting, though, that these tensions have lately become more productive with writing scholars trying to go beyond theoretical boundaries by investigating genre from multiple perspective, as Bawarshi and Reiff (2010), for example.

## **2.3 Digital genre**

### **2.3.1 The evolution of the notion of digital genre**

As mentioned above, nowadays communication is undergoing tremendous changes including the emergence of new practices that are beyond the scope of earlier established language uses that draw on a wide spectrum of modalities embracing written and spoken language, pictures and videos, colours, fonts, diagrams and many others. What we also witness, as discussed earlier, is the expansion of communicative artefacts and behaviour realisations, with online media, as Bateman et al. (2014: 10) underline, "coming to play a role in all areas of communication and interpersonal interaction". In the environment of communication change, to reconsider the notion of genre itself. Since new communicative situations draw on and re-employ established patterns of communication, earlier established genres, according to Bateman et al. (2014: 10), "are re-purposed, re-designed and re-deployed".

It is not surprising, therefore, that genre researchers and theorists started paying attention to the emergence of variants of existing genres as well as of new genres with the advent of the World Wide Web in the 1990s. The pioneering work in this direction was performed by Yates and Orlikowski (1992; Orlikowski & Yates 1994) when they searched for genre in the

technologically-mediated environment. The former study focuses on their observation of research in organisation communication, in particular the business memorandum, which tends to exclude media choice from context. The researchers address this issue by introducing rhetorical genre theory and thus taking socio-historical context in consideration. The latter study (Orlikowski & Yates 1994) analyses email communication of computer language designers over a period of two and a half years which is classified according to message type (memo, dialogue, proposal, and ballot set) with subsequent identification of features pertinent to each type, such as embedded messages, salutation or “sign-off” and subheadings among others. The researchers note that group members tend to draw on different genres depending on a stage of the project. Following Giltrow (2013: 723), the way Orlikowski and Yates (1994) see the group as “resourceful and self-regulating“ is of crucial importance to genre theory.

In the attempt to approach research gaps indicated in Yates and Orlikowski (1992) and Orlikowski and Yates (1994), Shepherd and Watters (1998:97) reinforce that computer in combination with the Internet has triggered the appearance of a new class of genre that they label 'cybergenre'. They propose a “fuzzy taxonomy” of cybergenres that can be described as either 'extant', namely based on earlier established genres, or 'novel', unlike any genre that exists in any different medium. Furthermore, Shepherd and Watters (1998: 99) divide extant genres into 'replicated', in other words based on genres established in other media, and 'variant' which are modifications of existing ones; whereas novel genres are separated into 'emergent' and 'spontaneous', the former originating but differing substantially from the existing genres and the latter being novel insofar that they have never been used in other media.

In their study of a thousand randomly selected web pages, Crowston and Williams (2000) propose a similar categorization of online genres. They place the web pages under analysis into three types of genre: reproduced, adapted, novel. It is worth mentioning that the fourth part of web pages does not fall into any of the above category and thus remains unclassified. Asheghi et al. (2016: 606) suggest two explanation for this fact, namely “not knowing the name of the genre and the difficulty of determining the purpose of the web page”.

Furthermore, they opine that some of these unclassified web pages could be still in the process of formation.

Inspired by the question raised in conclusions of Crowston and Williams' (2000: 210) study regarding the origins and antecedents of the home page, Dilton and Grushowski (2000) take it to another level by investigating a personal home page as the first uniquely digital genre. Following the researchers, the role any document type plays in supporting a discourse community is one of the main criteria of its acceptance. In such a way, many familiar types of documents have been developed over decades to yield extremely conventionalised forms easily recognised by users as belonging to a certain type or genre which, in its turn, increases memorability of discourse and results in user satisfaction. Although genres are traditionally assumed to be slow-forming and to have fuzzy boundaries, Dilton and Grushowski (2000: 203) conclude that the home page "has evolved rapidly into a form that meets many of the criteria of a genre". Moreover, the same expectations towards a home page within the user community indicate that it might be the first unique digital information genre. Such a suggestion also implies that digital genres tend to develop much faster than their offline or verbal counterparts.

Schmid-Isler (2000) is also interested in defining genres of digital products as well as how users can be enabled to identify them. To address these issues, the researcher conducts a semiotic investigation of digital genre where content is viewed in terms of iconology and meaning, form – in terms of style and language and "function as one of the perceptions of functionality". For Schmid-Isler (2000: 1), a digital genre can be defined by its function or purpose considering the rules "'form follows function" and "function follows content"".

In 2004, with the advent of Web 2.0 technologies, as discussed earlier (cf. Section 2.1.3), weblogs or simply blogs were the latest of online genres to become popular, although they were not systematically described by that time yet. To bridge this research gap, Herring et al. (2004) conduct a content analysis of two hundred and three randomly chosen weblogs to describe the features of this emergent genre and place it with regard to offline genres. The group of scholars aims at answering the question whether blogs can be considered emergent or

reproduced genre in accordance with Crowston and Williams' (2000) classification. Their findings suggest that blogs cannot be attributed to either of the above categories but “rather constitute a hybrid genre that draws from multiple sources, including other Internet genres” incorporating features of personal home pages and asynchronous discussion forums.

The multimodal nature of the computer-mediated environment and hence communication has prompted a surge in scholarly research to further account for this phenomenon. Web genre studies are not an exception in this case. Askehave and Nielsen (2005), for example, investigate the opportunity of extending the model of the functional genre analysis (Swales 1990) to include and give an account of the genre characteristics of non-linear, multi-modal web-mediated documents. Following the researchers, “[th]e extension involves a *two-dimensional* view on genres which allows us to account for the fact that digital genres not only act as *text* but also as *medium*”. Consequently, Askehave and Nielsen (2005: 3) suggest reconsideration of the Swalesian genre approach keeping its foundation “(the three-level analysis of communication purpose, move structure, and rhetorical strategies)” and enriching it by introducing the hypertextual mode. They conclude that web genres cannot be categorised as genres apart from their medium despite acknowledging that a further distinction between the two terms, namely genre and medium, should be clarified. However, as claimed by Campagna et al. (2012: 12), the solution proposed by Askehave and Nielsen (2005) has not been adopted amongst web genre scholars for it does not include all the peculiarities of web genres, such as hypertextuality, multimodality, navigation paths and others. Instead, Campagna et al. (2012: 12) stipulate that the work of “finetuning existing categories, which since its very beginning has mostly focused on websites and other Web 1.0 applications, is still underway”.

The issue of orality in literacy is not new in CMC research, as mentioned at the beginning of this chapter (cf. Section 2.4.4.1). Pérez-Sabater et al. (2008) investigate the subgenre of CMC, namely that of written online sports commentary, which had appeared shortly before the research started. The corpus of the study was compiled by written commentaries of the 2006 Football World Cup from two English, two French, and two Spanish online newspapers. Traditionally an oral genre practised on the radio and television, in 2006 it appeared in the

form of written minute-by-minute online commentary. The results of Pérez-Sabater et al. (2008) indicate that particular linguistic features of oral sportscasting can be traced in written online commentaries. Moreover, these features are carried over through various strategies of commentators. Thus one of the Spanish online newspapers achieves the inclusion of orality in the written discourse through the means of convention pertinent to earlier CMC genres, such as e-mails, chats and discussion groups, whereas one of the British online newspapers demonstrated the opposite trend. In this case, orality was included, as Pérez-Sabater et al. (2008: 256) put it, through the use of the “commentator’s personality, interaction with readers, and slang and taboo words”.

Reinforcing the idea that the Web environment provides new and unprecedented affordances for all type of communication as well as for giving and receiving all types of information, as for example discussed in the above mentioned study (Pérez-Sabater et al. 2008), Catenaccio (2012: 27) notices that “[i]n the greatest majority of cases, such information is made available within websites”. The researcher suggests that since there is a variety of websites, the term 'website' is an umbrella one. In an attempt to answer the question if a website is a medium, a technology or a genre, Catenaccio (2012: 47) addresses the issue from a genre-theory perspective and proposes the definition of a website as “*rhetorical interface* between the hypertext medium and specific genres”. She applies Swales' (2004: 22) notion of 'genre networks' to embrace the inter-relatedness between various genres that can be accessed from a website and the multiple options in which they could cooperate to yield meanings. The researcher underlines that genre theory has only begun tackling the difficulties raised by hypermedia textuality and that it will still take researchers some time to adequately theorise genre-related issues in this environments.

### **2.3.2 The impact of the Internet on journalism**

It is common knowledge that technological advancements touch upon human lives in various ways, the creation of the Internet is not an exception to this rule, as stated earlier in this overview (cf. Section 2.1.1). Of particular interest to the present project is how the Internet has influenced or maybe changed journalism. CMC researchers, including those working from

a genre perspective, started paying their attention to the effects of journalism moving online as well. In such a way, Eriksen and Ihlström (2000), elaborating on genre in terms of content, form and rationale, trace the development of three Scandinavian news sites in the period from 1996 through 1999. They suggest that genre awareness accounts for the way users and designers “create and maintain web site awareness beyond the individual site”. Eriksen and Ihlström (2000: 9) conclude that the news sites by 1999 can boast of features that make them differ from print media and news sites of 1996 for the affordances of the Web enable the provision of news and their updates in a way which is similar to live reporting. When describing the use of Web news media, they call it “an example of a fluid media” where the content of an article may be altered with the time, its location may change. Consequently, the researchers feel that overindulgence in live media with a possibility of overlooking some content by users may negatively impact them as a big share of readers still perceive a news site as an electronic version of a newspaper.

A more recent publication on this topic by Mitchelstein and Boczkowski (2009: 562) provides a review of research on online news production between 2000 and 2009 focusing on such key topics as “historical context and market environment, the process of innovation, alterations in journalistic practices, challenges to established professional dynamics, and the role of user-generated content”. The authors of the review suggest that the existing tension between tradition and change that news producers have to cope with in their daily practices is also transferred to scholarly enterprise, with most studies still applying previously established approaches to new phenomena. Therefore, they call a theoretical renewal in this area.

### **2.3.3 The genre of newsbites**

Investigating visual-verbal communication on online newspaper home pages, Knox (2007: 25) singles out one of their central visual-verbal elements, namely a particular kind of news story that he terms 'a newsbite'. At the time of the publication, the researcher underlines that a newsbite is “a relatively new genre of news story, which has evolved as a result of social and technological developments associated with newspapers in general and online newspapers in particular”. He argues that at first glance newsbites might look like 'newsbriefs' or 'single-

sentence news stories' used to occupy empty space of traditional newspapers pages; they may even appear nothing but an excerpt of a full story. Nevertheless, following Knox (2007: 27), they differ from the above functionally, structurally and intertextually. Appearing only collectively on home pages, the function of newsbites is to foreground the stories viewed by the newspaper as most important ones on that day. As to their social purpose, Knox sees it in presenting “the focal point of a news story with immediacy and impact” thus attracting readers to shift to story pages to access longer or modally different versions of the same story. In case when a newsbites leads a reader to a video or an audio piece of news, it can hardly be seen as its summary, whereas when linked with a written story, the wording of a newsbite does not necessarily correspond to that of the story. The researcher admits that this new genre is far from being stable at this stage of its development, despite this fact he suggests that three essential structural elements of newsbites can be identified: the 'Headline' and the 'Lead' which Knox (2007: 27) terms 'Focus' and 'Event' respectively as well as the 'Link' realised by means of a separate hyperlink. Additionally, newsbites may feature optional structural elements, such as an 'Illustration' realised by an image and 'Issue' which is a wider social context sometimes positioned above the 'focus' in a smaller or differently coloured font.

A fuller account of the above research is provided in Knox's (2009) PhD thesis where he takes a social-semiotic perspective on the investigation of multimodal discourse on online newspaper home pages that feature short verbal texts, thus communicating through language, image, layout, colour, and other semiotic resources. For the above analysis, Knox draws on O'Halloran's (2008) Systemic Functional Multimodal Discourse Analysis (SF-MDA) as well as Kress and van Leeuwen's (1996) work on visual grammar. Special attention is paid to visual design of online newspaper home pages. Knox (2009: ii) identifies verbally short 'newsbites' as well as 'headline-only newsbits' as major constituting elements of home pages and suggests that their authors “are forced to rely increasingly on visual communication in order to position stories and readers, and to communicate the values of the news institution on the home page as mediated by the screen”. According to the researcher, these shorter texts are incapable of communicating the values and ideology of news institution in the same way their longer predecessor, extended verbal texts, used to do; therefore, these values are expressed in the visual design. Extending his previous research, Knox (2009: 300) posits that “[p]robably the

single most important genre on online newspaper home pages is the newsbite” which has resulted in the increase in the demands on visual communication due to “relatively small semiotic burden on language in these short texts”. Stressing that this genre is relatively young and therefore unstable, in addition to the essential structural elements of newsbites described above (Knox 2007), Knox (2009:301) proposes a new term, 'Verbal Frame', for what he originally labels as 'Issue'. Two more optional structural elements are also identified: 'Tangents' which are headline-only hyperlinks that can be found with a newsbite enabling a reader to move to further links to stories related to the issue described in this newsbite; and 'Navigators' which are hyperlinks from a story moving the reader to the home page. Knox (2009: 395) concludes that newsbites are still in the process of evolution, at high speed though, which can be accounted for by a number of factors, such as textual ones that influence newsbite design including choices in design at the ranks of page and zone as well as broader social ones. The latter have to do with changes in the cycle on news featuring a shift from daily to minute-by-minute updates; the increase in the importance of the visual, changing readers' practices and, finally, the restructuring of online newspapers from the printed to the online reality.

For Tereszkievicz (2012: 211), online newspapers are homes “one of the most dynamic and diversified examples of complex news genres” whose structure and composition deserve to be in the spot-light of research. Since a home page of an online newspaper can be viewed as a gateway to the full offer of the paper, special attention should be paid to its design and organisation of content. The study aims to fill a research gap by examining genre characteristics of what she calls news sections referring to what Knox (2007) describes as newsbites covering the basic conventions concerning the function, structure and content. In her project, Tereszkievicz (2012: 212) understands genre as “a recognizable and standardized pattern of communication – pattern characterized by a consistent configuration of specific elements and regularities of structural organization” following Swales (1990) as well as Yates and Orlikowski (1992). Although acknowledging that it was Knox (2007; 2009) who described and labelled news sections featured on home page of online newspaper as newsbites, Tereszkievicz does not seem to view this term as a widely adopted one and, therefore, uses a descriptive term ' news abstracts' to refer to the same genre. It should be

noted that moving from one term that describes the genre under analysis (news sections) to another one (news abstracts) breeds a considerable amount of confusion on the part of readers trying to follow the logic behind the terminology used in the project.

The results of the above mentioned comparative study of homepages of leading British, German and Polish online newspapers suggest that news abstracts are organised in accordance with a number of standard conventions comprised of 'Headline' which the author believes to be the most important component as it abstracts the focus of the story and attracts the reader; 'Main body' functioning “to draw in the reader and to frame the key content of the story”; 'Visual element' of a small thumbnail size acting as “prompt or lead-in for the reader’s eye” and 'Additional links' encompassing hypertextual links leading to the topic-related stories. Furthermore, the author distinguishes such additional components as 'Header' (which Knox (2009) terms a 'Verbal Frame'); 'Byline' comprised of the article author(s) name; 'Reference formula' typically supplied by a verbal clickable option 'more' and 'Number of comments and/or recommendations'. In conclusion, Tereszkievicz (2012: 221) states that the structure of news abstracts is related to the functions they perform, including “informative, descriptive and persuasive – functions common for other journalistic genres as well, headlines and leads in particular”. The researcher suggests that although resembling other genres, as “reports, news briefs, or components of stories (headlines, leads)”, news abstracts have their own peculiar characteristics and, therefore, are different from the other familiar genres in function and forms. However, since news abstracts develop in the most dynamic environment, the Web, the author predicts further changes in their content and form.

To my knowledge, the most recent study of the genre of newsbites was conducted by Porto Requejo and Belmonte (2016). However, differently from the above approach, this research takes a socio-cognitive perspective (Berkenkotter & Huckin 1993) supporting Bhatia's (2004) thesis that writers employ genre features across different domains that often results in new, hybridised types of discourses. Porto Requejo and Belmonte (2016: 278) attempt to move beyond the mere systematisation of formal, content and pragmatic features by adopting a socio-pragmatic stance that underlines “the role of the community of users in the creation, consolidation and evolution of genres”. In other words, people trace what is in common across

similar communicative events and then reproduce them in suitable circumstances, thus constructing a prototypical genre. The authors underline that with any other feature of language, genres are endorsed by the discourse community. The socio-cognitive framework for the analysis of genre, developed by Berkenkotter and Huckin (1993: 479-492) lies on five pillars: 'dynamism' referring to constant changing nature of genres to meet their users' socio-cognitive needs; 'situatedness' indicating that our knowledge of genres comes from our participation in daily communicative activities; 'form and content' meaning their appropriateness to a certain purpose in a certain situation at a certain point of time; 'duality of structure' suggesting that genre users both constitute and reproduce these structures at the same time; and, finally, 'community ownership' implying that genre conventions "signal a discourse community's norms, epistemology, ideology and social ontology". Porto Requejo and Belmonte posit that despite being ubiquitous on the Web and popular with the audience, little research has been conducted on this genre to date. One of the problems in this sense, as identified by the authors, is the confusion in terminology (cf. Knox 2007,2009; Tereszkievicz 2012) and suggest using the term 'newsbites' as initially labelled by Knox (2007). As to structural elements of newsbites singled out by Porto Requejo and Belmonte, they seem to go in line with Tereszkievicz's (2012) findings. Therefore, they identify seven structural elements of newsbites, such as heading, headline, byline, body, images, hyperlinks and number of comments. Interestingly, Porto Requejo and Belmonte (2016: 289) conclude that "the only essential element is the headline, which acts then as a hyperlink to the full body of the news". This is slightly different from Knox's (2009) and Tereszkievicz's (2012) observations, as earlier discussed. As far as the origin and evolution of newsbites as genre are concerned, the authors of the study see them as the result of social interaction. Initially viewed as news excerpts featured on home pages of online newspapers, newsbites have evolved to be recognisable by readers as a whole for they transfer meaning independently from the full version of the story with which they are linked. Finally, Porto Requejo and Belmonte (2016: 296) state that newsbites fulfil the five principles of Berkenkotter and Huckin's (1993) socio-cognitive framework of genre. Thus, the principle of dynamism is met since newsbites appear as a reaction to the needs of participants in a recurrent event; their situatedness is the product of a regular communicative practice in journalism; their form and content are perfectly predicted and expected by the readers. Moreover, newsbites are dual in structure insofar that

the social interaction has prompted the emergence and development of newsbites, whereas the latter participate in modelling the society in keeping it up-to-date. Lastly, for Porto Requejo and Belmonte (2016: 298), newsbites are community-owned as they “have proved to be “an instantiation of the discourse community’s values” and lifestyle as they respond to their reading habits, time availability and needs for constant updating to know what is going on in a globalized world”.

## **2.4 The language of evaluation in journalistic discourse**

### **2.4.1 Appraisal Theory as a tool for investigation**

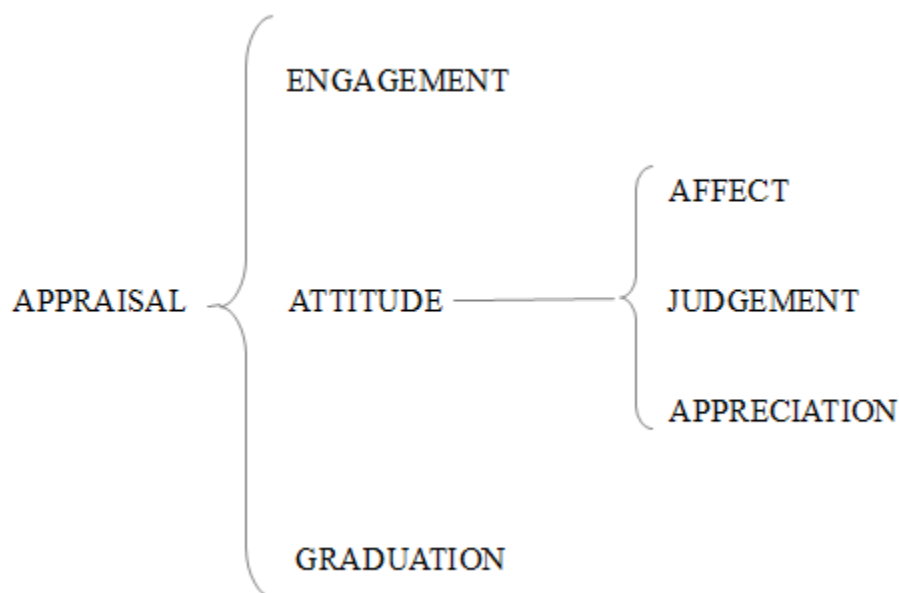
According to Bhatia (1993:161), the aim of any piece of news reporting is to transfer the information contained in it to the reader as “accurately and dispassionately as possible”. The 'hard news' genre normally covers stories on public events, such as actions of government, the economy, crime or other happenings of international interest, and thus is, as opined by Sabao (2016: 42), “the supposedly non-opinionated and factual news story, characterised by ‘objectivity’, neutrality, facticity and attribution”. As suggested by Ward (2009: 296), the pursuit of objectivity in news reporting, embodied in journalistic ethics, is the major principle of modern journalism dating back to the seventeenth century when editors of newsbooks were committed to providing “accurate and impartial reports”. The scholar posits that nowadays this ideal is elusive and that it is becoming more and more challenging to encounter or even imagine a news report free from ideology. Most projects concerned with the 'objectivity', which is certainly questionable, of hard news to date have been conducted within the field of journalistic studies. In contrast, Sabao (2016) departs from a linguistic discourse approach and provides evidence of the effectiveness of Appraisal Theory as an alternative way of investigating 'objectivity' as well as ideological underpinning in hard news stories. The researcher exemplifies his beliefs through an appraisal analysis of two news reports from two Zimbabwean newspapers.

As stated by White (2015: 54), Appraisal Theory

provides for analyses of those meanings by which texts convey positive or negative assessments, by which the intensity or directness of such attitudinal utterances is

strengthened or weakened and by which speakers/writers engage dialogistically with prior speakers or with potential respondents to the current proposition.

Working within Systemic Functional Linguistics that identifies three metafunctions or “modes of meaning which operate simultaneously in all utterances – the textual, the ideational. and the interpersonal”, Martin and White (2005: 1) developed the appraisal framework to account for some operations within the interpersonal mode that represent speakers' or writers' feelings towards, inclinations to and opinions on things and people involved in the discourse. Furthermore, the linguistic choices that speakers or writers make give evidence to the above mentioned instantiations. According to Martin and White (2005: 35), there are three main discourse semantic resources that comprise interpersonal meaning, namely, involvement, negotiation and appraisal. The latter, which is the core of their theory, is further subdivided into '**Attitude**' concerned with “our feelings, including emotional reactions, judgements of behaviour and evaluation of things; '**Engagement**' dealing with “sourcing attitudes and the play of voices around opinions in discourse”; and '**Graduation**' attending to “grading phenomena whereby feelings are amplified and categories blurred”, as summarised in the following overview:



**Figure 1 The System of Appraisal (adapted from Martin & White 2005: 38)**

As per the authors, Engagement deals with the evaluation of resources that position the voice of the speaker or writer towards propositions embodied in the text. Julian (2011: 769) suggests that the engagement element of Appraisal theory “is more concerned with the framing of the statements as a way to reveal the writer’s interpersonal standing, than with the appraising content of the quotes”. As Sabao (2016: 46) synthesises, the graduation element of the appraisal framework focuses on the investigation of the values by which speakers or writers “either (a) graduate (raise or lower) the interpersonal impact, force or volume of their utterances, and (b) graduate (blur or sharpen) the focus of their semantic categorisations”.

Following Sabao (2016: 46), at the spot-light of Attitude is investigation of values through which speakers' judgements are transmitted and emotional responses are associated with participants and processes. Martin and White (2005: 58) explain that due to their gradable nature, grammatical realisations of Attitude are often adjectival. The subsystem of Attitude is, in its turn, split into three domains of feelings, 'affect', 'judgement' and 'appreciation', traditionally referred to as emotion, ethics and aesthetics. Thus, Martin and White (2005: 42) state that **affect** captures positive and negative feelings, reactions to behaviour, texts, phenomena, such as those of being happy or sad, interested or bored, anxious or confident among others. As the authors underline, to categorise emotions they use the strategy of mapping the systems of oppositions and draw on the following six factors. In such a way, to classify affect, we have to consider if the feelings are construed by the culture as positive or negative ones; if these feelings are realised entailing some kind of embodied para-or extralinguistic manifestation (crying, smiling), or more internally experiences (dislike, feel happy with somebody), the distinction referring to behavioural in the first example versus mental or relational types of processes in the second one as labelled in SFL. Thirdly, it has to be considered if the feelings are construed as “directed at or reacting to some specific emotional trigger or as a general ongoing mood”. The fourth factor is the way the feelings are graded on the scale of intensity from low, through medium to high (as in dislike-hate-detest). The fifth point to consider is whether the feelings involve intention rather than reaction with regard to a stimulus. The final variable within the classification of affect places emotions into three major groups connected with 'un/happiness', in other words “affairs of the heart”, 'in/security' or “ecosocial well-being, and 'dis/satisfaction' covering emotions concerned with

“the pursuit of goals”. All-in-all, the analysis of affect resources is concerned not only with identifying explicit or inscribed but also implicit or invoked realisations speakers' and writers' emotional responses to subjects or events.

As per Martin and White (2005: 52), the second subcategory of the system of Attitude is **judgement** that belongs to the domain of “meaning construing our attitudes to people and the way they behave – their character”. Thus, judgement deals with the evaluation of human behaviour through a set of well-defined social expectations and norms. The authors of the framework divide judgements into those having to do with what they call social esteem concerned with “‘normality' (how unusual someone is), 'capacity' (how capable they are) and 'tenacity' (how resolute they are)”; and those oriented towards social sanction, dealing with “‘veracity' (how truthful someone is) and 'propriety' (how ethical someone is)”. The scholars note that social esteem tends to be discussed and policed in oral practice whereas sanction in writing.

The third and last subcategory of the system of Attitude is **appreciation** dealing with meanings that construe our evaluations of things, in particular, as Martin and White (2005: 56) posit, of “things we make and performances we give, but also including natural phenomena – what such things are worth (how we value them)”. The authors further categorise appreciations into 'reactions to things', namely whether they attract our attention or please us; their 'composition', namely balance and complexity; and their 'value', in other words in how far anything is worthwhile. Sabao (2016: 46) summarises that it is the evaluation of objects by drawing on the aesthetic pillars of other sets of social value.

As White (2001) stresses, Appraisal Theory should be viewed “as an on-going research project with many issues still to be resolved” as the analytical categories described at its onset were “hypotheses about the relevant meanings, being offered as a point of comparison for those with alternative classifications, as a resource for those who need something to manage the analysis of evaluation in discourse, and as a challenge to those concerned with developing appropriate reasoning”. For example, Hommerberg and Don (2015) investigate the language used by critics to appraise wine alongside with exploring the validity and appropriateness of

categories in Martin and White's (2005) appraisal framework. The carried out investigation yields an adapted version of the Appraisal subsystem of Attitude which enables the researchers to conclude “the understanding and application of analytical categories is dependent on the analyst’s previous experience with the Appraisal model as well as acquaintance with the discourse field” (Hommberg & Don 2015: 161). These findings can be viewed as proof to Martin and White's (2005) positioning Appraisal Theory as a flexible resource capable of adjusting to reseasers' needs.

Reinforcing the above, Appraisal Theory has been applied to date to a variety of contexts and text types, for example, Binding which is a recently theorised resource for investigating interpersonal meaning in three-dimensional space positioning the dialectic between affect and space as its biggest concern (Stenglin 2008); conversational humour between friends (Knight 2013); real estate advertisements (Beangstrom & Adendorff 2013); genre equality discourses framed by Women's Day in South Africa (Sutherland & Adendorff 2014); the rap and sung voice (Caldwell 2014); ESL research (Ngo & Unsworth 2015) to name only a few. Of utmost interest to the present project, however, are the studies that apply the appraisal framework tools to news media texts.

In this sense, Ben-Aaron (2005) investigates how the coverage of national holidays in newspapers aims at encouraging readers to valorise specific types of holiday behaviour and activities. By applying the appraisal framework, the researchers demonstrates how foci of attention of such coverage change during the hundred and fifty year period investigated in the study in terms of Appraisal subsystems of Attitude, Engagement and Graduation.

#### **2.4.2 Appraisal theory and journalistic discourse**

White (2006: 37) offers a framework for the analysis of evaluative language in journalistic discourse which is couched in Appraisal theory and provides a theoretical account of evaluative aspect of news reporting which for the author “is a mode of rhetoric in the broadest sense of the word – a value laden, ideologically determined discourse with a clear potential to influence the media audience’s assumptions and beliefs about the way the world is

and the way it ought to be". Through the analysis and discussion in his later publication, White (2008: 573) gives evidence that the appraisal framework provides both theoretical and analytical tools to research attitudinal meanings and mechanisms that linguistically trigger the expressions "of affiliation or disaffiliation with the communities of shared feelings, tastes, and values which invariably operate in any society". Later on, White (2009: 30) applies the appraisal framework to test highly questioned 'objectivity' of hard news reporting in broadsheet print and online media news through the analysis of attitudinal mechanisms. His findings demonstrate how news reporters operate "attitudinally and ultimately ideologically, even while the journalistic author refrains from any explicit evaluation or expression of view point".

Jullian (2011) investigates the inclusion of external voices in news reports, in particular, for appraising purposes in online news reporting when the Chinese dissident Liu Xiaobo is announced as the Nobel Peace Prize winner. The researcher argues that such attribution not only indicates the source but also functions as indirect means of evaluation for journalists. By the same token, White's (2012) further contribution to the issue of 'objectivity' in news reports focuses on attribution and attitudinal positioning through quoted sources and offers a toolkit for the analysis of dialogistic options for the primary and secondary voices.

In his paper, Sabao (2016: 47) argues for the potential of Appraisal Theory as an alternative and complementary tool for analysing journalistic 'objectivity' alongside with traditional journalistic theories of Agenda-Setting (McCombs & Shaw 1972) and Framing (Entman 2007). Sabao (2016: 50) concludes that whereas the above journalistic theories concentrate mainly around the analysis of the way journalists shape the reading or consumption of the reported event, by applying the appraisal framework the rhetorical potential and textuality of news reports are analysed through the evaluative key, "a simple means by which appraisal choices or linguistic resources demonstrating the use of such, are marked in a text".

It is worth mentioning that there are more recent journalistic methodological frameworks for the analysis of evaluative language in the news, as, for example, Bernarek's (2010: 15) work where the scholar proposes a number of various parameters that journalists can use when

evaluating their own writing as well as reproduce evaluations of other people. The author concludes that one of the implications of the framework for journalism is its attempt “to increase news value or newsworthiness”. Such theories, however, are beyond the scope of the present project which will employ Appraisal Theory and its tools to achieve its objectives and answer the research questions whose detailed account is provided in the next chapter.

### **3. Method and Data**

#### **3.1 Overview of research questions**

Drawing on the above mentioned research, the object of the present study is to investigate newsbites (Knox 2007, 2009; Porto Requejo & Belmonte 2016) from a genre-theory perspective. Based on Zhou's (2012) project investigating advertorials as an emerging hybridised genre, this thesis aims at addressing the following research question:

1. What are the genre-specific characteristics of newsbites?
2. What evaluative mechanisms are employed in newsbites?
3. What are the differences (if any) between evaluative mechanisms employed in newsbites encountered in online broadsheets versus tabloids?

#### **3.2 Methodology for addressing research question 1**

To approach the first research question, Bhatia's (1993) seven-step analytical framework is used as the basis with a few alterations to better cater for the purpose of this study, as advised by the author (cf. section 2.2.3.2). In particular, steps 1, 3 and 5 that deal with the situational and institutional context of the given genre-text are going to be combined in one. Step 2 excludes the survey of existing literature on the genre in question as it has already been provided earlier in this work (cf. section 2.3.3). By the same token, step 7 referring to double checking findings against feedback from a specialist informant is beyond the scope of the present project due to its timely constraints. Thus, the remaining steps of Bhatia's (1993) framework are going to be taken:

- selecting a corpus;
- defining the situational and institutional context of the investigated genre paying special attention to its discourse community, communicative purpose, and the network of surrounding texts;
- the linguistic analysis consisting of two levels: level 1 covers the structural interpretation of the text-genre using the 'moves analysis' of ESP school (Swales 1990) as a tool (cf. section 2.2.3.1); level 2 deals with the evaluative aspect of language employed in the genre under investigation and is discussed when

approaching research question 2.

### 3.3 Methodology for addressing research question 2

The second research question was inspired by Knox's (2009: ii) claim that newsbites as well as headline-only newsbits found on online newspaper home pages are incapable of communicating “the values and ideology of news institutions in the way that extended verbal texts have done for centuries”. The researcher concludes that since this function of news is still crucial to the construction and maintenance of the readership, home page authors have to rely on visuals accompanying short texts, namely newsbites or newsbits, to achieve the desired effect. My objective is not to question the role of visuals on home pages of online newspapers whose investigation is beyond the scope of the present research but rather to determine in how far newbites are capable or incapable of conveying the writer's stance within these short texts. I hypothesise that the wording of newsbites, albeit being concise, enables readers to perceive the writer's opinion on the reported event through the evaluative language. To approach this research question, White's (2006) framework for the analysis of evaluative mechanisms in journalistic discourse is used. The researcher suggests that not all items of news reporting are created similarly, which reveals significant variation in rhetorical functionality in accordance with their target audience (tabloids versus broadsheets), medium (broadcast versus print) and subject matter (for example, politics versus police rounds). Therefore, evaluation or, in White's (2006: 37) words, “the text's positioning of its audience to take either negative or positive views of the participants, actions, happenings and state-of-affairs therein depicted” is a key point of this rhetorical and ideological functionality. White's (2006) framework based on Martin and White's (2005) Appraisal theory (cf. section 2.4.1) observes the following options in mechanisms through which attitudinal positions can be communicated encouraging readers to favour or disfavour a particular stance<sup>1</sup>:

#### 1. Affect, Judgement and Appreciation within the system of Attitude:

(affect – emotional reaction) It was, then, with **fury**, that I returned home on Saturday to find my own country rumbling with the mumbles of the peaceniks.

(judgement – normative assessment of human behaviour) To see police **brutally manhandling** demonstrators was not only shocking but representative of more **repressive** regimes, such as China.

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1 Categories and examples are taken from White's (2006) publication

(appreciation – assigning a social value to objects, artefacts, texts, states of affairs) The new president's speech was **elegant** and **well-woven**, sounding a panoply of themes without seeming **scattered**.

## 2. Attitudinal inscription versus attitudinal tokens.

This distinction refers to articulating attitudinal evaluation in a more or less explicit manner where the term 'attitudinal inscription' implies the use of lexis containing a positive or negative attitudinal value that is normality unchanged through a variety of contexts, for instance, “via lexical items such as *corrupt, virtuously, skilfully, tyrant, coward, beautiful, abused, brutalised*” (White 2006: 38) [original emphasis]. The opposite label, 'attitudinal token' refers to formulations deprived of items that are loaded with a certain positive or negative value on their own and independently of co-context. In this case, a positive or a negative stance is triggered via mechanisms of association and implication rather than being explicitly 'inscribed'.

## 3. Attitudinal tokens: evoking versus provoking.

Within attitudinal tokens described above, White (2006: 39) distinguishes between those featuring no evaluative lexis of any type and those containing “evaluative material but not of an explicitly positive/negative type”. In the first case, the positive or negative assessment is 'evoked' through experience or facts that being foregrounded within the text are capable of triggering readers' positive or negative reaction through the mechanism of attitudinal inference:

e.g. *George W. Bush delivered his inaugural speech as the United States President who collected 537,000 fewer votes than his opponent.*

In the second case, the positive or negative assessment is 'provoked' through material which, albeit being evaluative, is not of positive or negative nature on its own but rather become such via, for example, “intensification, comparison, metaphor or counter-expectation”.

e.g. *Telstra has withdrawn sponsorship of a suicide prevention phone service - **just days after** announcing a \$2.34 billion half-yearly profit.*

## 4. Agency and Affectedness.

Following White (2006: 39), the decision of a news report writer as to which participants to depict as “agentive and which as affected/acted-upon” can potentially impact readers' perception of who is more or less to blame. This can be accounted for by grammatical choices assigning active or agentive role to participants in the reported event, “for example as the Subject of active voice clauses, especially where the verbal process is a material one”, or an affected one, “for example, as the Object of an active material process clause, or the Subject of a passive voice clause”. Thus, blameworthiness is normally associated with agents rather than with the acted-upons.

### 5. Attribution.

As per White (2006: 40), authors of journalistic texts tend to dissociate themselves from evaluative stances, in particular, from overt ones, through attributing them to external sources or voices. However, there are some mechanisms enabling journalistic authors to either align with or distance themselves from the externalised value viewpoint “by which the reader may be positioned to regard that position as more or as less warrantable”. Furthermore, White (2005: 53) explains that the use of quotations as a means of introducing into the text “accusations, criticisms, demands and contentious claims on the part of experts, politicians, community leaders, interested parties, eye-witnesses, victims and so on” is viewed by journalists themselves as a fully objective evaluative mechanism. Analysts working from a linguistic perspective, however, believe this is a too simplistic way of treating the issue and regard the very act of choosing a source and particular wording for a news report as loaded with evaluation. To demonstrate the potential evaluative functionality of attribution, White (2006: 54) singles out the following mechanisms which writers have at their disposal:

- **authorial endorsement** framing the reported value viewpoint through formulations that align the authorial voice with this value viewpoint and represent it as true and reliable;
- **authorial distancing** framing the reported value viewpoint through formulations that explicitly distance the authorial voice with this value viewpoint and suggest the existence of an alternative or an opposite position;

- **evidential standing** where the source referred to is characterised by such a social standing or authority that it can guarantee the credibility of the associated value stance.

At this stage of the analysis, I aimed at identifying all the options described above within the written texts of newsbites under investigation. It is worth mentioning that White's (2006) framework seems to lack clear structure that could enable researchers using it as a basis for the analysis to attribute examples to one of the categories only. For example, there seems to be an overlap between options listed in points 1 and 2 of the present framework since the options described in point 2, namely attitudinal inscription, are merely realised through Affect, Judgement and Appreciation (listed as point 1) and, therefore, should not be singled out in a separate point. Table 3 (cf. section 4.6.1) gives an overview of categories I focused on when discussing attitudinal mechanisms identified in the present data.

### **3.4 Methodology for addressing research question 3**

The third research question emerged during the data collection process, as discussed in detail in the following section, when I noticed that the half of the online newspapers selected for the compilation of the corpus could be categorised as tabloids, whereas the other half as broadsheets. As per Harcup and O'Neill (2016: 2), traditionally, broadsheets were opposed to tabloids on the basis of their size, the former being a large-format newspaper while the latter a small-size or a compact one; however, “the term ‘broadsheet’ says as much about content, readership, and branding as it does about size or format because it is used as shorthand for the quality press [...] and their online operations” foregrounding serious news over gossip stories, such as celebrity or entertainment-oriented ones, as well as prioritizing text over pictures. Following Harcup and O'Neill (2016: 5), tabloid journalism does the opposite by privileging “big headlines over background analysis, and pictures over text; all of which contributes to them selling more copies than the so-called quality press“. Furthermore, the reviewed literature suggests that analysts tend to research “‘broadsheet' hard news reporting” since they, by definition, should strive for objectivity (White 2006: 4). As per White (2009: 30), the hard news report is a key element of news journalism across languages and cultures covering such prototypical events as “accidents, natural disasters, crimes, stock market crashes, election results, medical breakthroughs and acts of welfare”. Since I have chosen an event whose coverage in media falls into the category of hard news according to the above definition, as

will be discussed in the next section, it seems interesting to investigate if the evaluative mechanisms employed in hard newsbites encountered in tabloid online newspaper differ from those found in broadsheet ones.

### **3.5 Data**

Since the basic unit of analysis in the present research is a newsbite, a corpus of four thousand one hundred and ten newsbites from home pages of six online newspapers has been compiled. To be selected for the present data set out of a variety of those encountered on the Web, an online newspaper should meet the following criteria:

1. it is in the English language;
2. it is a daily online newspaper;
3. it is top ranked according to the number of readers who accessed its website in the last month on the day of the online newspapers selection procedure;
4. it features newsbites (Knox 2007; 2009) on its homepage.

Although the above criteria seem to be clear, they deserve clarification since the process of online newspapers selection for the corpus of this study was rather challenging and far from being flawless. Inspired by journalistic studies investigating different stories that cover the same event in various media, such as the one conducted by Du (2016), for example, I decided to search for a happening of international importance that was likely to be covered throughout the world. Luckily, it was not difficult to find one as this stage of my project coincided with the final round of the Presidential election in the USA, and the international community was about to witness the Inauguration of Donald John Trump as the forty-fifth President of the United States to be held on the twentieth of January 2017. The idea of the same event being covered by various online newspapers seemed useful in approaching the second research question of the present project concerning evaluative mechanism in newsbites (cf. section 3.3). In other words, I was determined to trace similarities and/or differences between journalistic stances towards the same event as perceived through different newsbites. Consequently, the data were collected for two weeks in the period from the twentieth of January till the second of February 2017 through taking home page screen shots that were then numbered and placed in date- and newspaper-specific folders. It should be noted that

depending on the size of the screen of the device displaying a website of a newspaper, one may have to take a different number of screen shots per day to capture the whole home page via scrolling it down. For the accuracy of the data collection process, the screen shots were taken at approximately the same time of the day using the same device, in this case a portable laptop.

As far as the ranking used to evaluate which online newspapers were the most popular among readers during the month prior to the data collection process, the website <http://www.onlinenewspapers.com/> was chosen since it features a collection of external links to most major online newspapers of the world. Its navigation menu is organised in a way that allows to select fifty top ranked online newspapers per country. Originally, it was planned to select three top ranked online newspapers from the USA, the United Kingdom and Australia, however, when the data collection process started, it became clear that the corpus of newsbites would be too large for the scope of this project. Therefore, it was decided to take screen shots of two online newspapers from each selected country. Thus, the following online newspapers were finalised as the sources for my data:

- The New York Times (New York): <https://www.nytimes.com/> (the USA)
- The Washington Post (Washington DC): <https://www.washingtonpost.com/> (the USA)
- The Daily Mail (England): <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/home/index.html> (the UK)
- The Daily Express (England): <http://www.express.co.uk/> (the UK)
- The Australian (National): <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/> (Australia)
- The Daily Telegraph (Sydney, NSW): <http://www.dailytelegraph.com.au/> (Australia).

Appendix B gives a summary of online newspaper rankings per chosen country on the eleventh of January 2017. As it can be seen, the selected online newspapers do not appear in the ranking under numbers one and two. As far as the American online newspapers selected for the corpus are concerned, they are ranked one and four respectively. The reason why the online newspapers ranked as two and three were dismissed as inappropriate is that they do not meet selection criterion four as their home pages do not feature any newsbites (Knox 2007; 2009) but rather 'headline-only newsbits' (Knox 2009) which are beyond the scope of thorough analysis of this study. The same applies to the selection process of online

newspapers from the UK and Australia. The following table provides an overview of the collected data:

**Table 1 Overview of Data**

| <b>Online newspaper</b> | <b>Total number of screenshots taken</b> | <b>Total number of newsbites encountered</b> | <b>Number of Trump-related newsbites</b> | <b>Percentage of Trump-related newsbites</b> |
|-------------------------|------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| The New York Times      | 142                                      | 374                                          | 198                                      | ~52,9%                                       |
| The Washington Post     | 115                                      | 493                                          | 258                                      | ~52,3%                                       |
| The Daily Mail          | 250                                      | 563                                          | 118                                      | ~20,95%                                      |
| The Daily Express       | 233                                      | 1347                                         | 212                                      | ~15,73%                                      |
| The Australian          | 140                                      | 741                                          | 81                                       | ~10,93%                                      |
| The Daily Telegraph     | 192                                      | 592                                          | 36                                       | ~6,08%                                       |
| Total                   | 1072                                     | 4110                                         | 903                                      |                                              |

The USA was chosen since this is the country where the event attracting international attention was happening, the United Kingdom as a European country with English as de facto official language, and Australia as the English-speaking country geographically very far from the USA. In case of Australia, I was interested in verifying if the events connected with President Trump's first two weeks in office would be covered with the same intensity as in the USA and a European country. As we can see from Table 1, Australian online newspapers under analysis paid least attention to highlighting President Trump-related stories in comparison to American and British ones; the latter, in their turn, showing much less interest to the foregrounded event than the US ones.

A closer look at the content and nature of newsbites appearing on home pages of the selected online newspapers has suggested a clear distinction between them which was further supported by the respective entries in Encyclopaedia Britannica. In this way, *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post* and *The Australian* can be categorised as broadsheets, whereas *The Daily Mail*, *The Daily Express* and *The Daily Telegraph* as tabloids.

### **3.6 Analytical steps**

At the first stage of the analysis, in accordance with the chosen methodology, discussed above, relevant literature is consulted to cover point 2 of the framework. To address point 3 of the framework, moves found in newsbites of all six online newspaper selected for the present corpus are hand-tagged using terminology of previous research (Knox 2007, 2009; Porto Requejo & Belmonte 2016). Then, the identified moves are exemplified and discussed in connection to their communicative purpose. Lastly, the structure of tabloid newsbites is contrasted with the that of broadsheet ones.

At the second stage of the analysis, Trump-related newsbites highlighted by at least two online newspapers are selected for the appraisal analysis following White's (2006) framework. The identified evaluative mechanisms are labelled in a way outlined in section 3.3. Subsequently, the identified strategies are counted to demonstrate which of them are used more or less frequently in the present corpus.

At the final stage of the project, the findings of the second stage are further analysed to eventually trace similarities and/or difference formulated in research question 3.

## **4. Results and discussion**

### **4.1 The situational and institutional contexts of newsbites**

Before moving to the description of the linguistic features pertinent to the genre under analysis in the present study, namely the genre of newsbites, it is expedient to outline its situational context. As discussed earlier in the paper (cf. section 2.3.3), newsbites are found on home pages of online newspapers. To demonstrate that newsbites can be considered genre in their own account, it is first necessary to compare online newspapers, the environment in which newsbites exist or their situational context, and their printed counterparts.

It is common knowledge that print newspapers have centuries-long history and tradition. As suggested by Ihlström and Akesson (2004: 1), their “[p]ages, headlines, columns and fonts have been tuned in form and function” to result in a user-friendly product with recognisable layout, broadsheet or tabloid, which is no longer strange to readers across the globe. The emergence of the Internet has undoubtedly impacted the existing news media giving rise to the so-called online journalism. The first online newspapers that appeared in the middle of the nineties have developed from merely replicating their paper predecessors, evolving into their variants to give birth to a novel cybergenre in accordance with Shepherd and Watters' (1998) classification. Following Knox (2009: 165), online newspapers are a crucial element of the global media insofar that they expand the potential readership of print newspapers that are bound by physical distribution as well as add to the number of voices, both local and international, available to this readership. On the level of institutional context, at the very onset of online newspaper existence, analysts predicted they would outburst their print counterparts in future. In this respect, Fortunati et al. (2015: 831) speak of “an assault on print journalism” that over the last two decades has been launched by the online journalism that includes various additional services and functions as compared to paper editions. Following von Krogh and Andersson (2016: 1059), “the average number of people who occasionally read news online has almost tripled in the European Union (Eurostat 2013), while printed newspapers are losing readers”. As a reaction to such state of affairs, numerous attempts have been made to comprehend how print newspapers can cope with declining sales and have a possible solid future. Knox (2009: 165) points out that these claims can be true at least with

regard to the fact that online newspapers change the way how many news institutions function, with the majority of news institutions around the world running both printed and online versions of their newspapers. Despite this competition between the two, online newspapers still draw on discursive traditions and social practices of their paper predecessors representing “an evolution rather than a revolution in newspapers” (Knox 2009: 166).

In Porto Requejo and Belmonte's (2016: 282) opinion, comparison of online and print newspapers in terms of form, content and pragmatic features might not yield major distinctions. However, if we take the participants' perspective as a point of departure, namely how they make use of their genre awareness, then the characteristics of online newspapers as a distinct genre are revealed. In a fashion similar to traditional newspapers, their online counterparts are also published on pages which are no longer paper pages but rather web ones. Thus, printed and online newspapers share their formal features as far as their general appearance is concerned. For example, the home page of an online newspaper is interpreted by readers as a front page of a printed newspaper featuring the layout of text and pictures, the navigation bar providing access to sections as if they were the inside pages as well as vertical positioning of news on the screen similar to text columns in printed editions. Porto Requejo and Belmonte (2016: 282) explain that the motivation behind this metaphor is to assist readers, “used to traditional paper formats, to understand the novel way to communicate in digital formats”. What makes online newspapers differ from printed ones is the way they are read. First and foremost, it is explained by the fact that written texts have become hypertexts that are linked to further texts, making the reading paths less predetermined and fixed (Lemke 2002: 302). The findings of eye movement studies (von Krogh & Andersson 2016) reveal that readers most probably scan a printed newspaper page by page in a broad manner whereas online newspaper readers make a selection of skimmed article entries that seem more attractive and then decide what to read. Here, another striking difference between online and printed newspapers becomes salient, namely their constantly updated content of the former: luxury which is unaffordable to the latter. This, in a turn, has a certain impact on online readers' expectations when giving preference to digital rather than traditional versions of news. Moreover, instead of moving from page to page, the way traditional newspaper readers do, online readers seem to return to the home page before choosing another piece of

information. Consequently, the linear reading path typical of printed newspaper readership is not the way digital papers are read. In addition, a hypertext is read on a screen turning the reading practice into a different one in itself. In this light, researchers speak of a new type of literacy, Web literacy, that reshapes our reading skills (Sutherland-Smith 2002: 668).

The affordances of Web 2.0, as discussed earlier in this paper (cf. section 2.1.3), also contribute to the distinctions between traditional and online newspapers through offering options for user-generated context. This results in interactivity between the news institution and its readership “putting an end to the traditional uni-directionality of mass media” (Porto Requejo & Belmonte 2016: 283). It will be demonstrated in what follows (cf. section 4.2) how this interactivity is integrated into sub-genres on online newspapers, in particular, into newsbites, the focus of the present research.

To sum up, it has been briefly outlined above how the genre of online newspapers has evolved from its printed counterpart as well as in how far these genres are similar and different. Ihlström and Henfridsson (2005: 175) opine that such unidirectionality of dependence, from page to screen, has over time turned into bi-directionality since printed newspapers are nowadays dependent on their online counterparts “not only in terms of brand recognition but also in terms of content production”. The authors state that this sequential interdependency within the digital genre evolution was overlooked by the researchers who were pioneers in approaching this issue, as, for instance, Shepherd and Watters (1998).

## **4.2 Discourse community**

As far as the discourse community of the genre of newsbites is concerned, it is deprived of ambiguity, in my opinion, including a news institution on the one side, mediated through the voice of a newsbite's author and then a proof-reader, and its readership on the other. Interestingly, as discussed in previous section (cf. section 4.1), due to the possible interactivity between the two parties, the readers of newsbites are no longer passive participants of the discourse community they belong to, as is the case with traditional news. Rather, they are

empowered to give feedback to the news institution through comments as well as to start a discussion of a piece of news covered in a newsbite with other readers, thus revealing the importance of the story and its effects on the audience.

#### **4.3 Communicative purposes of newsbites as viewed from users' perspectives**

The first purpose of newsbites is to inform readers through summarising stories as well as foregrounding their most important details, in other words, their key elements. Knox (2009: 313) distinguishes between communicative purposes of an individual newsbite as opposed to those of a constellation of newsbites. In this light, he attributes the afore-mentioned purpose, namely to present the focal point of a news item, in other words 'what' and 'who' are regarded as significant, to an individual newsbite. Moreover, taken into consideration collectively, newsbites offer a summary of the most important news of the day as viewed by the news institution. This purpose is intertwined with three further purposes: to keep readers up-to-date, evaluate covered events and to entertain.

Indeed, although the combination of the headline and the lead in printed newspapers is also capable of informing the readers in a way that newsbites do, what they cannot do, contrary to newsbites, is to keep readers up-to-date with hourly precision. As Mitchelstein and Boczkowski (2009: 569) point out, “constant publication of new stories during the day has become an institutionalized norm among leading online news sites”. This ties in with Porto Requejo and Belmonte's (2016: 284) observation that readers' lifestyles have changed, in particular, those connected with news reading, involving shorter attention spans. Furthermore, Bergström (2006: 94) suggests that online readers tend to check news in various short sessions during the day compared to the average of thirty minutes per day that traditional newspaper readers allocate to the printed editions. The researcher states that since online news readers are not bound by time or space to check news, this results in the need to stay updated almost on an hourly basis. In this respect, analysts speak of the practice of 'news snacking' to refer to such frequent and short news checking practice that is gradually substituting news reading in its traditional sense.

The purpose of newsbites to inform refers not only to revealing the collection of most important stories of the day but also to how news institutions evaluate them. This evaluative purpose of newsbites is dual in nature. Firstly, through 'up-fronting the news', that is selecting some stories as more important ones compared to the others, readers are able to perceive the values of the news institution. In this respect, in Knox's (2009: 314) opinion, "[s]tories are ascribed relative importance by virtue of being included as a newsbite on a home page - the alternative is to be written as a newsbit (i.e. a headline-only hyperlink, often appearing in lists)". The above distinction between a newsbite and a newsbit is further perceived by readers as important versus less important, as viewed by the news institution. Secondly, through evaluative language used in newsbites, readers perceive the attitude of the news institution, as mediated via the voice of the author, towards an individual news item or a story. A fuller account of the evaluative purpose of newsbites will be provided in section 4.6 of this paper.

The entertaining purpose of newsbites is more characteristic of tabloid online newspapers whose main focus, as discussed earlier in section 3.4 is on gossip and celebrity-oriented stories prioritising images over text. However, it cannot be said that newsbites found in broadsheet online newspapers are deprived of this function. The main difference, though, is that the entertaining purpose of newsbites is not foregrounded in broadsheets the way it is in tabloids, with only a small number of newsbites, normally placed at the bottom of the home page, fulfilling this purpose.

In their categorising function, newsbites, being categorised thematically into sections corresponding to different areas of life and information, such as politics, breaking news, health and others, are able to provide readers with a full account of current events.

Providing information and at the same time, more importantly, encouraging readers to follow links and explore further content of the online newspaper, newsbites provide a persuasive function. Tereszkievicz (2012: 222) expresses a point of view that through shaping newsbites in a certain way, news institutions influence reading paths through directing readers' attention in a specific manner and suggesting connections between stories and facts.

Lastly, newsbites provide what Knox (2009: 314) terms as “a large number of ‘entry points’ to the newspaper”. I would like to label this purpose of newsbites as navigation through which readers are invited to get access to further content pages of an online newspaper thus bringing profit to the institution.

The analysis of communicative purposes of newsbites has revealed that they not only fall into the same three categories, namely, informative, evaluative, categorising and persuasive, typical of other journalistic genres (Bell 1991), but are also characterised by the purpose of keeping readers up-to-date as well by a navigation purpose, which are unique to this journalistic genre originating from its digital environment.

#### **4.4 Newsbites and co-texts**

As suggested by Bhatia (1993: 23), after placing the text under investigation into a situational context it is expedient to identify “the network of surrounding texts and linguistic traditions that form the background to this particular genre-text”, in other words, co-texts. Therefore, when describing the co-texts of newsbites, it is possible to differentiate between those on the micro and macro levels. Understanding the term text from a multimodal perspective (Jewitt 2016) due to the multimodal nature of the environment in which it exists as pertinent to the present study, texts may refer not only to the written language but also to visuals, such as pictures, photos or videos, clickable links, the use of colours and fonts, symbols, as the ones for social media easily recognised by the computer-literate community, and comment boxes among others.

On the micro level, I suggest that the structural elements of newsbites, or their moves, described in detail in the following chapter can be considered as co-texts for it is the interplay of these texts that makes a newsbite appear what it is and be perceived as such by a reader. It involves a lot of consideration on the part of a news institution when deciding, for example, whether to incorporate or not to incorporate a visual element into a certain newsbite, what kind of visual element to include or what size it should be. Comparing newsbites with and without visuals, the former can be said to have immediate impact in comparison to the latter

whose perception might take a few seconds longer as this is the time needed to skim the written text. Moreover, when a reader sees at a home page that a particular newsbite has a large number of other readers' comments in comparison to the neighbouring newsbites without even reading these comments, it cannot be ignored that this fact does or may not impact the reader's perception of this newsbite. Thus, it can be inferred that structural elements of newsbites are their immediate co-texts shaping readers' perception of a newsbite as a whole.

On the macro level, I distinguish between primary and secondary co-texts of newsbites. Thus the former are represented by other newsbites as well as headline-only newsbits found on the home page of an online newspaper, whereas the latter by the longer version of the same story available to the reader when following the link provided by a newsbite. It should be noted that I have chosen to term the co-existing newsbites and newsbits as primary co-texts since a reader cannot choose not to take them into account as they are displayed on a home page which is perceived in its entirety at first glimpse. In case of secondary co-texts, it is a conscious decision of a reader whether to explore them or not. Here, a newsbite must have appeared attractive to a reader who decides to read the full story. However, it does not necessarily mean this full story will meet the reader's expectations as shaped by the corresponding newsbite. Therefore, we can consider the full story as a co-text of an individual newsbite as it retrospectively influences the reader's stance towards the news item that encouraged him/her to read the full story in the first place.

In this section, an overview of newsbites' co-texts has been provided offering distinction between micro-level co-texts, such as structural elements of an individual newsbite; and macro-level co-texts embodied in other newsbites and headline-only newsbites found on the same home page as well as the full stories of corresponding newsbites.

## **4.5 Linguistic analysis of the genre of newsbites: level 1**

### **4.5.1 Some terminological issues**

In the present analysis, I have adopted Bhatia's (2004: 23) understanding of genre, which he

defines as

language use in a conventionalized communicative setting in order to give expression to a specific set of communicative goals of a disciplinary or social institution, which give rise to stable structural forms by imposing constraints on the use of lexicogrammatical as well as discoursal resources.

The above mentioned structural forms are termed by Swales (2004: 228) as moves and described as “discoursal or rhetorical unit[s] that perform[] coherent communicative function[s]“. In this respect, Biber et al. (2007: 23) point out that “each move not only has its own purpose but also contributes to the overall communicative purpose of the genre“. Moreover, moves that are always encountered within a certain genre are referred to as 'conventional', whereas those occurring less frequently as 'optional'.

At the onset of the analysis, the terminology of previous research on structural elements of newsbites, discussed in section 2.3.3 of this project, was applied to the present data set to define which labels are to be used here as appropriate for the description of moves found in newsbites. The terminology provided by Tereszkievicz (2012) as well as Porto Requejo and Belmonte (2016) seems not only to reflect the moves identified within the structure of newsbites in my corpus but also is viewed as invoking little confusion for an unprepared reader. Thus, for instance, the meaning of a move that Knox (2009) terms as a 'Tangent' is not easy to comprehend without referring to its definition. At the same time, employing the corresponding Porto Requejo and Belmonte's (2016) label, namely a 'Hyperlink to a related story', makes it transparent to a reader what exactly is meant. In a similar vein, Tereszkievicz (2012) applies the term 'Additional link' instead of the two mentioned above. In my opinion, this term lacks clarity as to where these additional links lead a reader.

By the same token, Knox's (2009) original terminology was discharged altogether as ambiguous and not corresponding to the reality of the genre under investigation at the present stage of its development. His terms, such as 'Focus', 'Event' and 'Verbal Frame' are substituted by the corresponding 'Headline', 'Main body' and 'Header' as suggested by Porto Requejo and Belmonte's (2016), whereas the move labelled as 'Illustration' is ousted by what Tereszkievicz (2012) calls a 'Visual element' for it is more encompassing when describing multimodal

affordances of online environment. The label suggested for this move by Porto Requejo and Belmonte's (2016), namely, 'Image', does not seem to speak for reality as other multimodal elements accompanying newsbites instead of images, such as videos, audio files, photo sliders, pictures and graphs have been identified in the course of analysis. It should be mentioned that the move called 'reference formula' singled out by Tereszkieicz (2012) as optional has not been encountered in the present data set and therefore will be excluded from the final categorisation. In addition, the analysis has revealed further moves incorporated within the structure of newsbites earlier not described by the researchers investigating this genre. The following table provides an overview of all the moves identified within the structure of newsbites in this corpus indicating the authorship of the term:

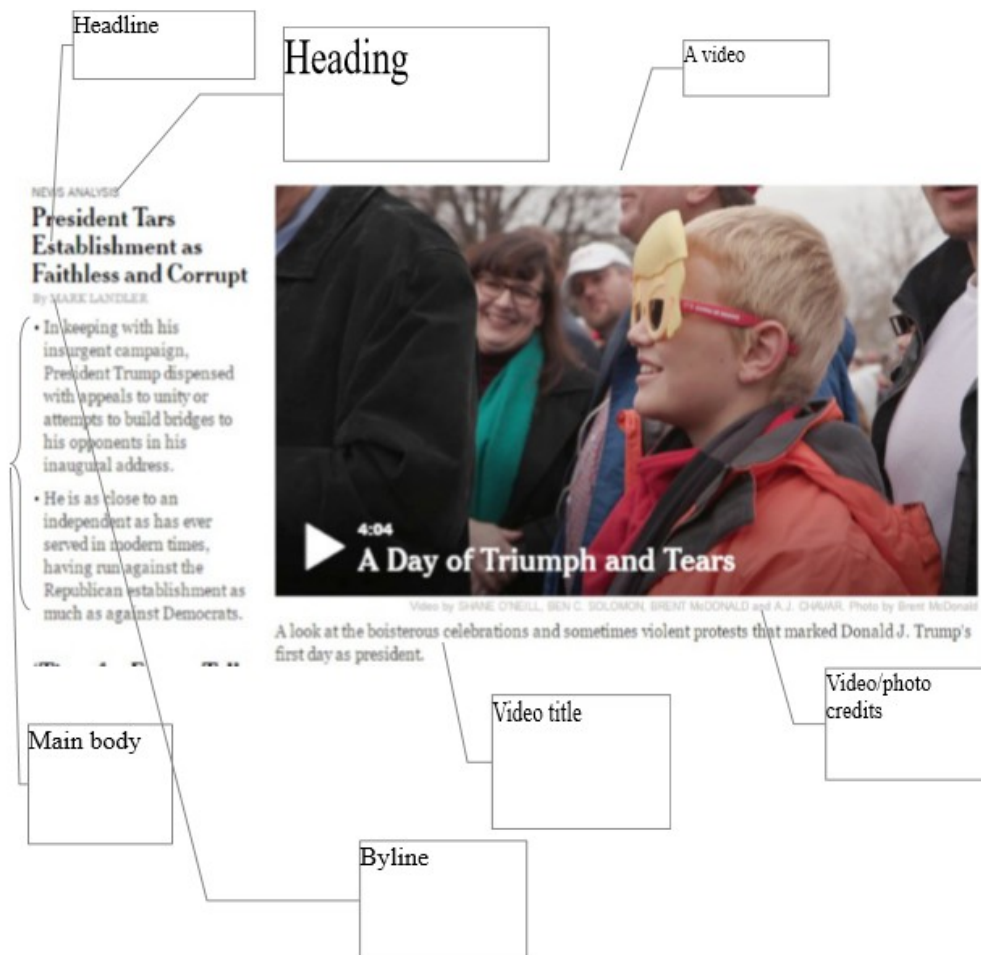
**Table 2 Overview of Moves Terminology**

| <b>Move</b>                  | <b>Author</b>                     |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Heading                      | Porto Requejo and Belmonte (2016) |
| Headline                     | Tereszkiewicz (2012)              |
| Byline                       | Tereszkiewicz (2012)              |
| Main body                    | Tereszkiewicz (2012)              |
| Visual element               | Tereszkiewicz (2012)              |
| Visual element title         | This project                      |
| Credit(s) for visual element | This project                      |
| Hyperlink to a related story | Porto Requejo and Belmonte (2016) |
| Time of publication          | This project                      |
| Number of comments           | Porto Requejo and Belmonte (2016) |
| Number of related videos     | This project                      |
| Number of shares             | This project                      |
| Sharing option sign          | This project                      |

#### **4.5.2 Moves analysis**

The finding of the present research lend further evidence to the results of the study conducted

by Porto Requejo and Belmonte's (2016: 287) who conclude that newsbites “have developed a complex structure, whose components are perfectly combined and integrated in order to construct a communicative event with a whole meaning by itself”. Furthermore, in terms of content, newsbites are similar to traditional printed news that according to Bell (1991: 150) follow the “inverted pyramid structure” foregrounding the most important information followed by secondary details. However, when comparing the structure of digital newsbites with that of printed news, the former do not seem to replicate the latter which, as Bell (1991: 169) posits, are comprised of “abstract, attribution and the story itself”. Instead, digital newsbites incorporate some of or all thirteen moves or structural elements summarised in Table 2, as illustrated by the following example:



**Example 1** *The New York Times* Published on the 21<sup>st</sup> of January 2017

When identifying conventional or obligatory and optional moves within the structure of newsbites, the results of the present research do not support the conclusions of Tereszkievicz's (2012) study who identifies four conventional moves within the structure of newsbites: 'Headline', 'Main body', 'Visual Element', 'Hyperlink to a related story'. Instead, I consider 'Headline' as the only conventional move, which goes in line with Porto Requejo and Belmonte's (2016) observations, as exemplified in a series of newsbites below:

The diagram illustrates the structure of a news article with the following components and labels:

- Heading:** A box labeled "Heading" points to the word "World" at the top left of the article.
- Photo:** A box labeled "Photo" points to a photograph of Donald Trump, Melania Trump, and Ivanka Trump walking on a blue carpet.
- Headline 1:** A box labeled "Headline" points to the first headline: "Trade trumps national security in Trump's worldview. That's really bad news for China."
- Headline 2:** A box labeled "Headline" points to the second headline: "Trump may find kindred spirit in India's Modi, another tough-talking nationalist"
- Headline 3:** A box labeled "Headline" points to the third headline: "Ex-diplomat: 'I've known that there was no future for North Korea for a long time'"

**Example 2** *The Washington Post* Published on the 25<sup>th</sup> of January 2017

Revising the communicative purposes of newsbites discussed in section 4.3, it can be traced that almost all of them are fulfilled by the headline. Thus, by summarising a highlighted event, a headline serves an informative purpose; through attracting the readers to explore the full

version of the same story, it meets the persuasive purpose; by means of evaluative language offering the stance of a news institution towards an event, headlines contribute to evaluative purpose; serving as a link to the full version of the same story, they perform navigation function. Lastly, headlines of newsbites are very responsive to the development of events and are therefore often modified or updated, sometimes even on a minute-by-minute basis, which enables them to keep readers up-to-date, the purpose pertinent to the genre of investigation in this study and not characteristic of the printed news, as can be observed in the following example:



### Example 3 *The Washington Post* Published on the 21<sup>st</sup> of January 2017

It is worth noting that when compiling the corpus for the present study, as described in section 3.5, online newspapers featuring only what Knox (2009) terms as 'headline-only newsbits' on their home pages were dismissed as inappropriate. In the light of the above discussion, I would like to suggest that 'headline-only newsbits' could be attributed to the genre of newsbites for they seem to fulfil most of their communicative purposes which would be worth an investigation on its own and, therefore, is beyond the scope of the present work..

Returning to Example 3, it can be observed that it contains another move, namely 'Time of Publication', first identified as such in the course of the present analysis. The main function of

this move is to inform the reader when precisely the newsbite was published, therefore, contributing to the communicative purpose of keeping readers up-to-date.

If used in a newsbite, the following move, namely 'Heading' precedes the headline and serves the categorising function of newsbites by either attributing the story to a certain section, such as 'news analysis' as can be seen in Example 1, or to a certain event, for example, 'President Trump's second week in power', as exemplified in the following newsbite:

Diagram illustrating the structure of a newsbite from *The Daily Mail*, with labels identifying its components:

- Heading:** PRESIDENT TRUMP'S SECOND WEEK IN POWER
- Headline:** What Donald Trump's HANDWRITING reveals about his personality and health
- Photo:** A photograph of President Donald Trump holding a document, with an inset showing a close-up of his handwritten note.
- Main body:** He's known for being a keyboard warrior with his opinionated tweets. But it's not too often we get to see a handwritten note by President Donald Trump. A recent study revealed what different characteristics say about a writer's personality. Here, we break down two of the commander-in-chief's letters and tell you what his scripts tell about him.
- Number of comments:** 448 comments
- Number of related videos:** 1 video
- Number of shares:** 1.1k shares

Example 4. *The Daily Mail* Published on the first of February 2017

The above example incorporates the three moves which are associated with user-generated content offered by Web 2.0, as discussed in section 2.1.3, namely 'Number of comments', 'Number of related videos' and 'Number of shares'. Interestingly, only the first out of these three moves was identified in broadsheet newsbites and by far not in all of them, whereas all

three of them are present in the majority of newsbites encountered in tabloid online newspapers. Their main function is to attract a reader by high numbers that might suggest that this piece of news was of interest to other readers thus contributing to the persuasive function of this genre.

The next move that was identified in the course of analysis, namely, 'Byline', normally follows the headline in the printed newspapers but tends to have no fixed position within the structure of newsbites. Another difference of online bylines in comparison to those appearing in printed news, which normally include the name of the author(s), date of publication and name of city where a highlighted event takes place, is the time of publishing. When incorporating this element or sub-move, bylines contribute to keeping the readers up-to-date, similarly to the case when 'Time of publication' is opted for as a separate move. Example 1, discussed above, contains Byline at its traditional place, whereas the following example illustrates its online flexibility, being placed after the main body of a newsbite:



**Example 5** *The Washington Post*. Published on the 25<sup>th</sup> of January 2017

As far as the move 'Main body' is concerned, it constitutes the main verbiage of a newsbite providing the most details of the story. In the present corpus, the length of the main body varies from a single sentence containing around nineteen words (Example 5) to two separate paragraphs roughly containing 50 words (Example 1). Fulfilling an informative purpose of

newsbites, the main body gives the most important and striking facts for those readers who do not intend to click on the link to read the full version of the story, therefore, it can be considered as further evidence to regarding newsbites as genre in their own respect rather than being an extract of the full story. This point of view slightly differs from Tereszkievicz's (2012: 215) who claims that “[t]he main body of a news abstract in some respects resembles a lead of a conventional news story”. In fact, the only online newspaper in the present data set does not use specific wording in the main body of a newsbite but rather an excerpt from a lead of a full story is *The Daily Express*. The length of the main body of newsbites in this online newspaper seems to be determined by the background pattern of the web page this news institution uses, as the main bodies of newsbites are interrupted in the middle of an unfinished sentence and followed by ellipsis “...” inviting a reader to explore the full story, thus fulfilling a persuasive rather than an informative function, as shown in the following example:



**Example 6 *The Daily Express* Published on the 29<sup>th</sup> of January 2017**

The main body of the above newsbite ends abruptly with words *the US to become like* followed by the ellipsis '...':

In contrast to newsbites encountered on the home page of *The Daily Express* online newspaper, the wordings of the newsbites of the other five online newspapers included into the present data set are different from the lead of the full story in cases where the latter has one. In other words, the authors formulate the main body of newsbites in a way enabling it to fulfil the main purposes of this move, the informative as well as the evaluative one, as will be demonstrated in the next chapter exploring evaluative language used in newsbites.

The next move which is also capable of simultaneously fulfilling some purposes of newsbites is 'Visual element'. As earlier discussed, this label is preferable for it encompasses a variety of modes that authors can choose from when incorporating this move into the structure of a newsbite due to the digital nature of the environment in which the genre under investigation occurs. Apart from traditional images used in printed news, online newsbites are often accompanied by videos (Examples 1 and 6), image sliders or audio files as is demonstrated in Example 7:



#### Example 7 *The Washington Post* Published on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of January 2017

Whereas images used both in printed and online news mostly aim to accompany a story and to help construe its meaning through appealing to immediate reactions of a reader thus fulfilling the evaluative and the persuasive functions, videos and audio stories used instead add to the informative purpose by providing additional information on the highlighted event for those readers who want to obtain it.

It should be noted that visual elements are sometimes supported by the sub-move that is termed 'Visual element title' (Examples 1 and 7) that briefly introduces the content of the file

to an interested reader. Furthermore, the visual elements are often supplied with 'Credit(s) for the visual element', as is illustrated in Example 1.

The last move singled out within the structure of newsbites is 'Hyperlink(s) to related story' that following Porto Requejo and Belmonte (2016: 292) is “the most characteristic feature of newsbites without a parallel in printed counterparts”, as exemplified by the following excerpt:



**Example 8** *The New York Times*. Published on the 29<sup>th</sup> of January 2017

By clicking on hyperlinks, readers are forwarded to pages featuring stories published on the same topic. In this way, hyperlinks perform the navigation purpose of newsbites. When readers are offered to explore these further stories, they get access to more information on the highlighted event, consequently attributing an informative purpose to this move.

Summing up, the above section provides a moves analysis of the genre of newsbites. It begins with the discussion of terminological issues offering a summary of terms used in the present analysis. Then, each of the thirteen moves is exemplified and discussed with regard to its purposes. It is worth noting that only one move, namely 'Headline' is identified as conventional or obligatory one, which goes in line with Porto Requejo and Belmonte's (2016) findings but contradicts conclusions of previous research (Knox 2009; Tereszkievich 2012). Furthermore, I agree with Porto Requejo and Belmonte's (2016) that the structure of newsbites can be said to have recently been sanctioned by the community of users and recognised as the

genre on its own since newsbites have become a conventional way of presenting news on home pages of online newspapers.

#### **4.5.3 The structure of broadsheet versus tabloid newsbites**

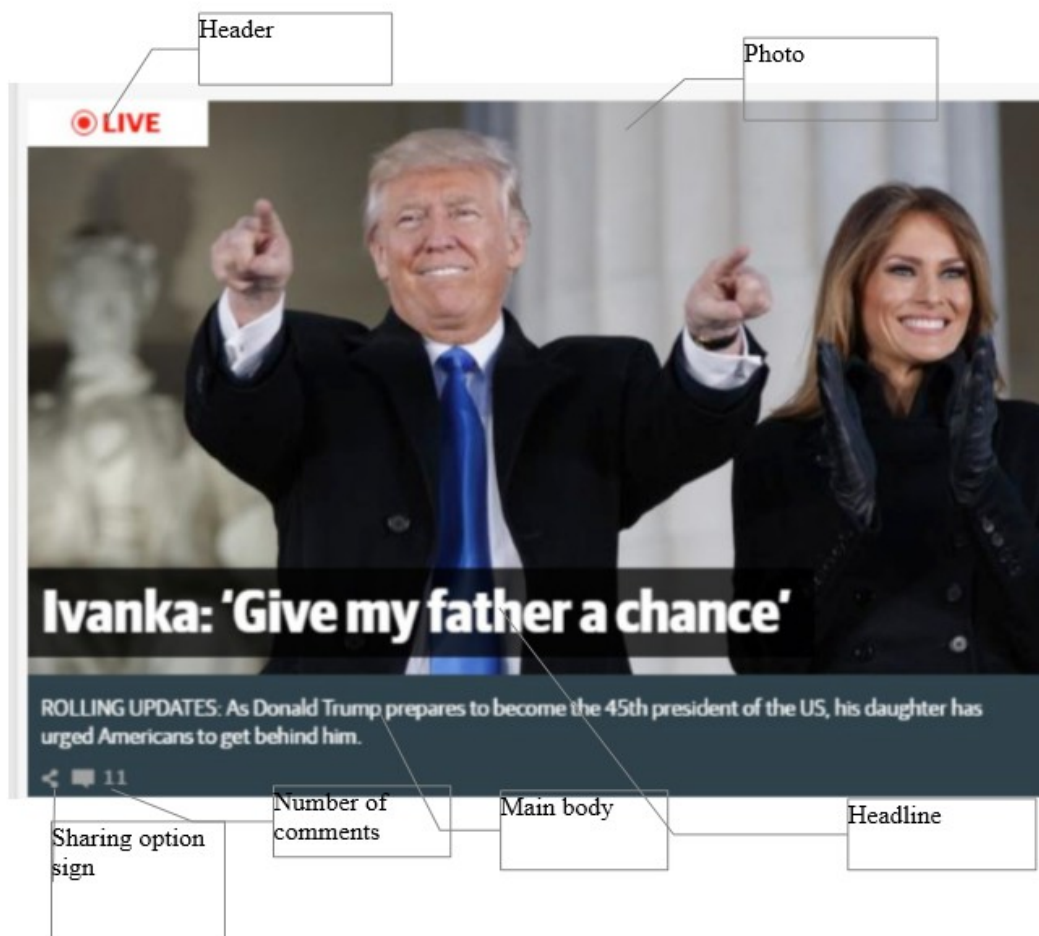
While I was performing the moves analysis of the present data set equally comprised of newsbites taken from broadsheet and tabloid online newspapers, some differences within the structure of the two became salient.

The institutional practice of broadsheet newspapers of what Knox (2009: 306) describes as “putting important news ‘up-front’” is transferred to their online counterparts and is revealed in using a more complex structure of newsbites falling into such a category as opposed to those which are considered less important. Example 1 given above illustrates an up-fronted newsbite of *The New York Times*, a broadsheet online newspaper, whose structure can be subdivided into seven moves. When looking at the structure of newsbites appearing at the bottom of the same home page, as is the case in Example 8, it becomes obvious that its structure is considerably simpler, incorporating only three moves:



**Example 8 *The New York Times* Published on the 29<sup>th</sup> of January 2017**

The same trend can also be traced in the other two broadsheet online newspapers under investigation, *the Washington Post* and *The Australian*. However, this is not the case with tabloid newsbites in the present corpus which do not seem to apply the principle of construing up-fronted newsbites in a more complex manner. Instead, up-fronted newsbites in tabloids use a visual element of a bigger size, as can be seen in Example 4 as well as in the following Example:



**Example 9** *The Daily Telegraph* Published on the 20<sup>th</sup> of January 2017

As can be observed, the above newsbite is dominated by a visual element as contrasted by a newsbite positioned at the bottom of the home page of the same news institution in Example 10.

In fact, newsbites in broadsheets in the present corpus do not contain a sharing option or the number of the times the story has been shared, as is the case with tabloid newsbites which, in their turn, do not feature moves characteristic of broadsheets, namely bylines and hyperlinks to related stories. The presence of a sharing option in tabloid newsbites as well as oversized photos can be attributed to the main function of tabloid newspapers in general, as discussed in section 3.4, the entertaining one. Moreover, this also explains why tabloid newsbites are deprived of bylines and hyperlinks whose main function is the informative one, be it the name of the writing author to add credibility or further related stories to place an event in a relevant

context.



**Example 10 *The daily Telegraph* Published on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of January 2017**

Another striking difference between broadsheet and tabloid newsbites can be observed when analysing their headlines, the only conventional move within the structure of the two, as previously discussed. Thus tabloid headlines seem to be much longer in comparison with those of broadsheets which are normally brief and catchy. Moreover, tabloid headlines tend to be of the same length as the main body of the newsbite which can be perceived at first glimpse in the following example:



#### **Example 11 *The Daily Mail* Published on the 28<sup>th</sup> of January 2017**

This peculiarity of tabloid headlines can be accounted for by their attempt to include as many entertaining details about a highlighted event as possible. In contrast, this is not the aim of broadsheet headlines which perform a variety of functions at the same time, as discussed in section 4.5.2.

All-in-all, broadsheet and tabloid newsbites differ significantly, with the former demonstrating a more complex structure of up-fronted newsbites as opposed to those presented further down the home page; and the latter relying mostly on the size of visual elements in a similar case. Moreover, some elements, such as bylines and hyperlinks, are not included into the structure of tabloid newsbites of the present corpus. By the same token, broadsheet newsbites are deprived of a sharing option or the number of shares pertinent to tabloid examples of the genre under investigation.

### **4.6 Linguistic analysis of the genre of newsbites: level 2**

#### **4.6.1 Overview of evaluative mechanisms encountered in the present data set**

As described in the analytical steps taken in this research (cf. Section 3.6), the newsbites having to do with President Trump within the present corpus were first hand-tagged with respect to the event they highlight. Then, the newsbites highlighting the same event in at least two online newspapers were selected for the analysis at this stage. This resulted in the total number of 162 newsbites meet the criteria described above, 86 of which come from tabloid online newspapers and 76 from broadsheet ones. In the course of the analysis, 476 evaluative mechanisms have been identified, as is demonstrated in the following table:

**Table 3 Overview of Identified Attitudinal Mechanisms**

| <b>Evaluative mechanism</b> | <b>Tabloids</b> |       | <b>Broadsheets</b> |       |
|-----------------------------|-----------------|-------|--------------------|-------|
|                             |                 |       |                    |       |
| Attitudinal inscription     | 105             | 42,7% | 93                 | 40%   |
| Evocation                   | 27              | 11%   | 31                 | 13,4% |
| Provocation                 | 52              | 21%   | 56                 | 24,3% |
| Attribution                 | 62              | 25,2% | 50                 | 22%   |
| Total                       | 246             |       | 230                |       |

As discussed earlier in this paper (cf. Section 3.3), the first mechanism of White's (2006) framework, Affect, Judgement and Appreciation, was blended with the mechanism of Attitudinal inscription in the above count, since the latter is often realised through the former. Furthermore, mechanism 4, Agency and Affectedness, is completely excluded from the present count as any single sentence can be analysed from this perspective thus doubling the number of identified mechanisms. However, some relevant instances of this mechanism will be discussed further. Finally, table 3 gives a total number of cases of Attribution, mechanism 5 of White's (2006) framework, without giving a detailed breakdown of its subcategories, such as Authorial endorsement, Authorial distancing and Evidential standing.

#### **4.6.2 Attitudinal inscription**

The analysis suggests that the most often employed evaluative mechanism in the genre of newsbites is Attitudinal inscription. Such conclusions support White's (2006: 4) remark that “[e]valuative stance is perhaps most obviously conveyed by meanings which have a largely stable attitudinal meaning across of wide range of contexts”, as in the following examples:

##### **Example 12 Published in The New York Times on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of February 2017**

After his administration warned Iran about its launch of a ballistic missile, President Trump

insulted Tehran.

The verb 'to insult' in the above example is responsible for transmitting a negative value to the reader because of its fixed connotation in a variety of contexts. Moreover, it receives an even more negative aspect taking into account the context in which it occurs, namely referring to the President and another country on a diplomatic level, where such heavily-loaded terms are to be avoided.

**Example 13 Published in The Washington Post on the 21<sup>st</sup> of January 2017**

Trump signs executive order that could effectively gut Affordable Care Act's individual mandate.

In the above example the author chooses the verb 'to gut' to suggest that even not destroying or abolishing it completely, the executive order will make Affordable Care Act empty by removing its content which can be equal to cancelling it all-in-all. Therefore, the reader perceives a negative evaluation of the highlighted event.

**Example 14 Published in the Daily Mail on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of January 2017**

Donald Trump has lashed out at the millions of people who took to the streets in protest against his presidency.

Once again, the author communicates his negative stance towards the described event by using the verb 'to lash out' instead of some neutral options, as for instance, 'to criticise' or 'to respond'.

**Example 15 Published in The Daily Telegraph on the 2<sup>4th</sup> of January 2017**

China could replace US after Trump dumps TPP.

This sentence further exemplifies a negative evaluation via the use of 'to dump', the verb with a stable negative implication which, if the author chose to be neutral, could be substituted by, for example, such verbs as 'to discard' or 'to leave behind'.

**Example 16 Published in the Daily Express on the 26<sup>th</sup> of January 2017**

Mexican President loses his cool and cancels US trip to meet Donald Trump over wall fiasco. The negative evaluation of Mexican President's actions is intensified by the use of a double instance of attitudinal inscription in this sentence. The expression 'to lose one's cool' does not present the president in a good light which is then further stressed through the noun 'fiasco' that might suggest that the author believes that Mexican President has already lost the battle with President Trump over a wall that the latter plans to have built along the border between the two countries.

**Example 17 Published in the Australian on the 29<sup>th</sup> of January 2017**

Donald Trump yesterday vowed to honour a deal to take refugees from Australia's offshore detention centres.

Contrary to the examples cited above, this one contains positive evaluation of President Trump's actions by implementing the underlined phrase which cannot but be read positively in a variety of contexts. Moreover, it is not even a neutral expression as, for example, 'to promise to keep a deal', therefore the author wishes to underline that he/she cherishes what he/she is writing about.

The above described excerpts are instances of overt or explicit authorial evaluation which can additionally be classified in terms of original subcategories of the system of Attitude within Appraisal Theory (cf. section 2.4.1). Therefore, as discussed in section 4.6.1, examples of Affect, Judgement and Appreciation were included into the count of cases of Attitudinal inscription in table 3. Examples 18-20 employ the evaluative mechanism of Affect which communicates an emotional reaction to the highlighted event that is difficult to be understood ambiguously, thus shaping the writer's attitude. It is worth mentioning that instances of Affect are very rare in this corpus which can be accounted for by the supposed impartiality of the journalistic discourse that the genre under investigation employs.

**Example 18 Published in The Daily Mail on the 28<sup>th</sup> of January 2017**

Sadly, the BBC's political correspondent, Laura Kuenssberg WAS there to ask a question

having apparently been nominated by the PM's press team to ask the first question.

**Example 19 Published in The Daily Express on the 20<sup>th</sup> of January 2017**

Donald Trump 'INJURED IN GUNFIRE', BBC says in shock BLUNDER.

**Example 20 Published in The Australian on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of February 2017**

Donald Trump is furious because he felt obliged to give in to Malcolm Turnbull on the refugee deal that he hates.

Examples 21-24 make use of the evaluative mechanism of Judgement which assesses human behaviour and character against a system of institutionalised or conventionalised norms:

**Example 21 Published in The New York Times on the 1<sup>st</sup> of February 2017**

Emboldened by the new Trump administration, Israel announced plans for 3,000 more housing units only a week after approving 2,500 homes in the West Bank and 566 in East Jerusalem.

**Example 22 Published in The New York Times on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of February 2017**

Raid in Yemen: Risky from Start and Costly in the End.

**Example 23 Published in the Washington Post on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of February 2017**

'This was the worst call by far': Trump badgered, bragged and abruptly ended phone call with Australian leader.

The author of this newsbite overtly assesses President Trump's behaviour as negative through the choice of verbs that are generally not characteristic of any diplomatic activity.

**Example 24 Published in The Daily Express on the 24<sup>th</sup> of January 2017**

Trump to give green light on controversial Keystone oil pipelines.

Examples 25-26 demonstrate cases of the last subcategory of the system of Attitude, namely Appreciation, whose main goal is to assign a social value to objects, artefacts, texts, states of

affairs, which similarly to cases of Affect are rare in this corpus:

**Example 25 Published in The Daily Mail on the 1<sup>st</sup> of February 2017**

Trump nominates 'brilliant' Neil Gorsuch to the Supreme Court – making him the youngest candidate in 25 years.

Although the evaluative mechanism of Appreciation is realised via Attribution in this example, the choice of the adjective the writer cites speaks for his/her attitude towards the highlighted event.

**Example 26 Published in The Daily Mail on the 25<sup>th</sup> of January 2017**

Armed and dangerous! Did Donald Trump's bodyguard wear FAKE hands during inauguration so he could hold a gun under his coat?

The above examples, 12-26, reveal the use of explicit attitudinal inscription, both positive and negative, by newsbite authors. Interestingly, in contrast to claims of objectivity of journalistic discourse, newbites among them, the number of cases of explicit attitudinal inscription in this data set is relatively high, equalling around 40 % both in tabloid and broadsheet newbites.

#### **4.6.3 Attitudinal tokens: evocation**

Nevertheless, the remaining 60 % of evaluative mechanisms identified in the newbites of this corpus are implicit or covert ones. The mechanism of attitudinal tokens, described by White (2006: 2) in point 3 of his classification, is further subdivided into evocation and provocation. The former mechanism is realised through formulations containing no evaluative lexis with positive or negative assessment being evoked by means of purely factual or experiential material. Such formulations brought by the author into the spotlight of the text are capable of triggering reader's positive or negative attitude towards a highlighted event through processes of attitudinal reference, as in the following examples from 27 through 30:

**Example 27 Published in The Daily Telegraph on the 21<sup>st</sup> of January 2017**

HUNDREDS of thousands of women are marching in Washington DC and around the world as they want Donald Trump to listen.

Taken out of context the underlined phrase contains no evaluative lexis on its own, however in the context of worldwide protests it seems to underline the fact that President Trump does what he wants without consulting his people. Since this is what is expected of a president, via this formulation the author communicates his/her attitude, negative in this case, towards the highlighted event.

**Example 28 Published in The New York Times on the 24<sup>th</sup> of January 2017**

President Trump continued dismantling his predecessor's policies by clearing the way for a project that stirred years of debate over the balance between energy production and preventing climate change.

The verb 'to continue' in the above example stresses that this is not the first thing President Trump eliminates from the legacy of his predecessor, President Obama. Moreover, by foregrounding the issue of climate change prevention, viewed by the global community as a positive cause, Obama's policies mentioned in this example cannot but be viewed as positive thus presenting Trump in a negative light.

**Example 29 Published in The Washington Post on the 25<sup>th</sup> of January 2017**

The plan to sign executive orders today regarding the border represent the president's first effort to deliver on perhaps the signature issue of his campaign...

By implementing the underlined phrase into the sentence, the author expresses his negative opinion on Trump's failure to keep his campaign promises or at least the moves towards their fulfilment until the publication date of this newsbite. Furthermore, the noun 'effort' could suggest that the author does not even believe that it is going to be possible.

**Example 30 Published in The Daily Mail on the 29<sup>th</sup> of January 2017**

The president denied on Saturday afternoon that his executive order, which bars refugees and

citizens of seven predominantly Muslim countries from entering the country, was a Muslim ban.

The introduction of the underlined phrase providing factual support contradicts Trump's statement, thus assessing his words and actions in a negative light.

#### **4.6.4 Attitudinal tokens: provocation**

The second subcategory of the mechanism of attitudinal tokens, described by White (2006: 3) in point 3 of his classification is provocation. Such formulations, albeit being evaluative but not positive or negation in their own right, provoke reader's assessment via intensification, metaphor, comparison or counter-expectation, as demonstrated in the following examples from 31 through 36:

##### **Example 31 Published in The Washington Post on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of February 2017**

About 25 minutes into what was expected to be an hour-long call, Trump suddenly ended it.

Through the underlined comparison between the expected and actual duration of the call, the author stresses Trump's impulsiveness normally unacceptable in any diplomatic activities. This allows the reader to perceive the writer's negative stance.

##### **Example 32 Published in The New York Times on the 20<sup>th</sup> of January 2017**

Only two of his 15 cabinet nominees have been approved, and he has named only 29 of 660 executive department appointments.

The author's critique of the way Trump forms his administration is easily perceived by the reader through the underlined contrasting numbers that do not speak in Trump's favour.

##### **Example 33 Published in The Australian on the 21<sup>st</sup> of January 2017**

President Trump moved to start dismantling Obamacare before his day had ended.

Taking into consideration the date of publication, namely Trump's first day in office after the official inauguration, the author strives to underline that dismantling Obamacare is one of the

first things Trump does as president, therefore suggesting it must have been on his to-do-list in advance. In the light of general positive evaluation of Obamacare, the former administration's legacy, the underlined intensification disfavours President Trump.

**Example 34 Published in The Daily Telegraph on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of January 2017**

POPE Francis has warned that populism could lead to another Hitler while stressing it was too early to judge Donald Trump.

The underlined metaphor enables the author to picture Trump in a very negative light despite that fact that it is realised via attribution. However, by choosing to cite this very Pope's comparison, the writes endorses his position through the verb 'to warn'.

**Example 35 Published in The New York Times on the 24<sup>th</sup> of January 2017**

Donald Trump and a Sea of Empty Desks.

The underlined metaphor intends to refer to a high number of vacant positions in Trump's administration which were expected to have been filled by the publication date, therefore criticising the President.

**Example 36 Published in The Daily Mail on the 26<sup>th</sup> of January 2017**

The Prime Minister dismisses predictions of a character clash between the brash US President and the reserved daughter of an English vicar when they meet face-to-face for the first time tomorrow.

The author chooses to evaluate the characters of the US and the UK leaders not only by presenting them as opposites but also through a metaphor 'the reserved daughter of an English vicar' when speaking of Theresa May, the leader of the Conservative Party in the UK.

#### **4.6.5 Agency and Affectedness**

The next implicit attitudinal mechanism singled out by White (2006: 3) in point 4 of his classification is Agency and Affectedness. By choosing to represent some participant of the highlighted event as agents or the affected upon, authors seem to influence readers' viewing

them as more or less to blame. The following newsbites (examples 37 and 38) taken from different online newspapers describe the same event but do this from slightly different perspectives:

**Example 37 Published in The Daily Mail on the 20<sup>th</sup> of January 2017**

Anti-Trump protesters clashed with police and were pepper-sprayed in Washington DC, with one Donald Trump supporter saying they were hit over the head with a flagpole by one of the demonstrators.

**Example 38 Published in The Washington Post on the 20<sup>th</sup> of January 2017**

Officers used chemical spray after a small group of protesters began throwing trash at Trump supporters leaving gala in D.C.

Despite highlighting the same event, examples 37 and 38 do not assess the protest in question in the same way. Thus, example 37 favours Trump's supporters by presenting the protesters as agents who clashed with the police and supporters as acted-upon who were hit over the head. Example 38, in contrast, depicts police officers as agents who are to be blamed for the clash. Moreover, example 38 describes protesters as *a small group of protesters* and refers to the spray used by police as *chemical spray* whereas example 37 says that protesters *were pepper-sprayed*. Albeit being the same thing, example 38 adds negative valence to the spray, with example 37 trying to soften the implication of the measure. Finally, example 37 cites one of the supporters who mentions being hit by a flagpole, whereas example 38 talks about throwing trash which in comparison looks almost like an innocent act.

#### **4.6.6 Attribution**

The final evaluative mechanism described by White (2006: 3) and extensively used in the present data set is Attribution which is a characteristic feature of journalistic discourse in general and of newsbites in particular. According to White (2006: 16), there are various options through which an author can align with or disalign from the reported stance. The first of these options is Authorial endorsement which explicitly declares support for some reported

opinion which is normally realised through the introduction of the cited material via such verbs as 'reveal', 'show', 'indicate', 'demonstrate' among others, as is exemplified by the following excerpts (39 - 41):

**Example 39 Published in The Daily Mail on the 26<sup>th</sup> of January 2017**

'It's very, very scary': President Trumps reveals what it's like to get America's nuclear codes and insists he'll 'do the right thing' if the time comes as he gives his first interview inside the White House.

**Example 40 Published in The Washington Post on the 26<sup>th</sup> of January 2017**

The lengthy interview revealed a man fixated on his following and eager to provide evidence to his likability, even if that information didn't match reality.

It should be noted that numerous cases of neutral acknowledgement of a reported value position via such verbs as 'say', 'report', 'declare', 'believe' identified in the present corpus tend to be used as authorial acknowledgement, as in the following example:

**Example 41 Published in The Daily Mail on the 25<sup>th</sup> of January 2017**

He also hinted at a comeback for waterboarding and torture, the network's White House correspondent said.

The second option within the mechanism of attribution enables the writer to distance himself/herself from the reported external source is Authorial distancing often realised through the verb 'claim' and its derivatives, as is shown in the following examples (42-44):

**Example 42 Published in The Daily Mail on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of January 2017**

I didn't really mean I want to blow up the White House, says Madonna: Star claims she spoke in 'metaphor' at anti-Trump women's march as Secret Service investigate.

**Example 43 Published in The Daily Telegraph on the 25<sup>th</sup> of January 2017**

DONALD Trump's bodyguard wore a pair of plastic arms while holding a machine gun under his coat during the Presidential inauguration, it has been claimed.

**Example 44 Published in The Australian on the 26<sup>th</sup> of January 2017**

The Mexican President has cancelled a meeting with the US President, but Trump says it was a mutual decision.

Although the author uses the verb 'to say' to incorporate an external voice into the report which is often associated with neutral acknowledgement, the conjunction *but* allows the readers to perceive the authorial distancing.

The last option within the mechanism of attribution is Evidential standing which positions readers to consider attributed material as true, credible or otherwise warrantable. Such credibility is guaranteed in this case by the social standing or authority of the source, as in the following examples (45-46):

**Example 45 Published in The Washington Post on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of February 2017**

President Trump blasted Prime Minister Malcolm Turnbull over a refugee agreement and boasted about the magnitude of his electoral college win, according to senior U.S. officials.

**Example 46 Published in The Daily Mail on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of January 2017**

Pope Francis says he will judge Trump after seeing what he does as president – as he warns people against seeking a savior in times of crisis.

To sum up, 162 examples of newsbites have been selected for the second stage of linguistic analysis of the genre under investigation which focused on the employed evaluative mechanisms. In the course of analysis, 476 mechanisms have been identified lending evidence to all the options described in White's (2006) framework and used as tool for the present investigation. It should be noted that approximately 40 percent of the singled out evaluative mechanisms can be described as overt or implicit, whereas the remaining 60 percent is realised via implicit or covert mechanisms supporting the idea of impartiality of journalistic discourse whose example the genre of newsbites represents.

It should be noted that the categorizations of attitudinal mechanisms described above were not always easy to make, in particular, as far as the difference between invocation and provocation is concerned. To refer an example to the former of the latter mechanism, I tried to look at it taken out of the context. If intensification, comparison, metaphor of counter-expectation was detected, the mechanism was rendered as provocation, whereas examples containing no evaluative lexis encouraging evaluation through facts were categorised as evocation.

#### **4.7 Comparison of evaluative mechanisms used in broadsheet versus tabloid newsbites : level 3**

Addressing the third research question that aims to compare evaluative mechanisms identified in newsbites published on home pages of broadsheet online newspapers and those in tabloid ones, the analysis has revealed only some subtle differences. Such results do not support my original hypothesis as to objectivity pertinent to broadsheet news reporting which is based on the claim of various scholars including White (2006: 4). Following this assumption, newsbites coming from broadsheet online newspaper should employ more covert evaluative mechanism than those coming from tabloid ones. However, the analysis of newsbites of the present corpus has yielded almost similar results both for tabloid and broadsheet newsbites, as summarised in Table 3. As far as the number of explicit evaluative mechanisms is concerned, tabloid newbites demonstrate 42,7 % of cases whereas broadsheet one approximately 40%. These are the most unexpected findings since I had expected to identify significantly more case of explicit evaluation within tabloid than broadsheet newbites.

With regard to implicit or covert evaluative mechanisms, tabloid and broadsheet newsbites seem to generate almost the same results with a few percent difference. This can be accounted for by the fact that in contrast to the full version of news reports, newsbites have to fulfil a number of purposes (cf. section 4.3) within some limited amount of text, a constraint of the genre under investigation. Consequently, when fulfilling evaluative and persuasive goals within a limited number of sentences, which is sometimes reduced to one in case of headline-only newsbits, both tabloid and broadsheet newsbites make frequent use of overt evaluative mechanisms. However, it should be noted that this is a further hypothesis that needs testing by

means of comparing evaluative strategies used in newsbites against those used in full versions of the same stories, instantiations of a different genre.

To exemplify the above discussion, the following newsbites covering the same event (examples 47-49) have been selected from three different online newspapers:

**Example 47 Published in The Daily Mail on the 26<sup>th</sup> of January 2017**

**Edging closer to Armageddon: Doomsday Clock moves to two-and-a-half minutes from midnight- the closest we've come to global catastrophe in 64 years – in wake of Trump presidency**

The Chicago-based Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, who manage the clock, announce the new 'time' in an event that was live streamed today from Washington DC. Lawrence Krauss (left) and David Titly (right), who lead the organisation, said the adjustment by half a minute towards midnight had been made because the international community had failed to deal with humanity's two most pressing threats: nuclear weapons and climate change – because of the Trump presidency (Donald Trump inset). Pictured right is how the clock has changed over the years.

**Example 48 Published in The New York Times on the 26<sup>th</sup> of January 2017**

**The Doomsday Clock Advances Toward Midnight**

With threats of nuclear weapons and climate change, it appears President Trump will only make matters worse.

**Example 49 Published in The Washington Post on the 26<sup>th</sup> of January 2017**

**The Doomsday Clock just advanced, 'thanks to Trump.' It's now just 2,5 minutes to 'midnight.'**

The president's election was among the factors cited by the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists in adjusting the symbolic clock 30 seconds closer to the end of humanity.

The newsbites (47-49) cited above highlight the same event, namely the advancement of the Doomsday clock which was created by the board of the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists in 1947

as a response to nuclear threats. The concept of the clock is as follows: the closer the minute hand is to midnight, the closer the board believes the world is to disaster. Since its creation, the clock has moved backwards and forwards – from seventeen minutes to midnight in 1991 to two minutes to midnight in 1953.

In example 47, four evaluative mechanisms have been identified. The first one is provocation via a metaphoric use of *Armageddon* which, according to the Bible, is the site of a battle during the end times. The author makes use of this provocation to intensify the importance of the advancement of the clock following its original purpose as discussed above. The second evaluative mechanism, again provocation through comparison *the closest we've come to global catastrophe in 64 years*, further stresses the significance of the event. The third one, evocation via *in wake of Trump presidency*, albeit bearing no evaluative burden on its own, names President Trump as the responsible for the event. The last mechanism, broadly used in tabloid newsbites, is attributed via *said* which despite its neutral nature counts more as Authorial endorsement of the external voice.

Example 48 embodies two evaluative mechanisms. The first one is provocation via metaphoric use of *Advances Toward Midnight* suggesting the concept of the clock, as discussed above. The second one is Attitudinal inscription via *President Trump will only make matters worse*. The phrase is characterised by a fixed negative implication across contexts and expresses the author's stance towards the event, namely the author blames Trump for what has happened.

In the course of analysis of example 49, four evaluative mechanisms have been singled out. The first one is evocation via *just advanced* which taken out of context does not provide any assessment but in the context of the Doomsday clock concept signals alarm. The second one is provocation *'thanks to Trump'* through attribution as it appears in quotation marks. Taken in isolation, this phrase can have both positive and negative evaluation but in the context of the clock advancement it obtains a negative implication. The author underlines the scope of the event through provocation via *just 2,5 minutes to midnight* stressing that the world has come so close to disaster. Lastly, the author uses the mechanism of Evidential standing via *cited by*

*the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* to add credibility to the reported news.

The three newsbites analysed above highlight the same event employing similar evaluative mechanisms. Despite the fact that example 47 comes from a tabloid online newspaper, it incorporates only implicit evaluative mechanisms, similarly to example 49 that comes from a broadsheet. In fact, only example 48, also taken from a broadsheet, has a case of Attitudinal inscription, an overt evaluative mechanism. Therefore, it can be concluded that there are no significant differences between evaluative mechanisms found in tabloid and broadsheet newsbites. These findings are only applicable to the present data set and cannot be generalised across all the instantiations of the genre under investigation.

Summarising the findings of the three research questions, it should be stressed that printed newspapers serve as institutional context to the genre of online newsbites. Moreover, the former have over time become dependent on the latter, therefore, breaking the traditional bi-directionality of the digital genre development. Furthermore, the communicative purposes of newsbites can be divided into the ones characteristic of other journalistic genres, such as informative, evaluative, categorising and persuasive; and those which are unique to the genre under investigation, namely, the purpose of keeping readers up-to-date as well a navigation purpose. When analysing the co-texts of newsbites, a distinction between micro-level co-texts, such as structural elements of an individual newsbite; and macro-level co-texts embodied in other newsbites and headline-only newsbits found on the same home page as well as the full stories of corresponding newsbites has been offered. As far as the move analysis is concerned, it has revealed thirteen moves within the structure of newsbites identifying only one of them, 'Headline', as the obligatory one since it is able to fulfil all the communicative purposes of this genre. In this light, comparing the structure of broadsheet versus tabloid newsbites, considerable discrepancies have been found. Thus, the former show a more complex structure of up-fronted newsbites as opposed to those presented further down the home page, whereas the latter rely predominantly on the size of visual elements in a similar case. The subsequent analysis of attitudinal mechanisms has yielded examples of all the categories described by White (2006), 40 percent of which can be regarded as overt or implicit, whereas the remaining 60 percent as implicit or covert lending evidence to the idea of impartiality of journalistic

discourse. Finally, when comparing attitudinal mechanisms found in broadsheet versus tabloid newsbites, no significant differences have been revealed.

#### **4. Conclusion**

The main purpose of the present thesis was to investigate a novel digital genre of newsbites encountered on home pages of online newspapers from a genre perspective paying particular attention to evaluative mechanisms identified within their structure. Despite being found ubiquitously in online environment, this genre has received scant linguistic attention to date. As a starting point of analysis, Bhatia's (1993) seven-step framework for approaching genres was used incorporating some amendments to better cater for the objectives of the present project aimed at investigating a corpus of four thousand one hundred and ten newsbites from home pages of six online newspapers.

Addressing research question one, to show that newsbites can be regarded as genre in their own account, their situational context was outlined by comparing online newspapers, the environment in which newsbites exist, and their printed counterparts. It was concluded that despite competitive nature of their coexistence, online newspapers make use of discursive traditions and social practices of their paper predecessors representing “an evolution rather than a revolution in newspapers” (Knox 2009: 166). Furthermore, bi-directionality of dependence between online and printed newspapers was discussed.

Describing the discourse community of the genre under investigation, it was stated that it was quite straightforward involving a news institution on the one side, mediated through the voice of a newsbite's author, and its readership on the other. In contrast with the readers of traditional newspapers, the readers of online ones are empowered to be active participants of the discourse community, if they choose to do so.

Addressing the issue of communicative purposes of newsbites, it was revealed that they not only fell into the same three categories, namely, informative, evaluative, categorising and persuasive, pertinent to other journalistic genres (Bell 1991), but were also characterised by

the purpose of keeping readers up-to-date as well by a navigation purpose, which were unique to this journalistic genre originating from its digital environment.

As the next focal point, the co-texts of newsbites were analysed offering a distinction between micro-level co-texts, such as structural elements of an individual newsbite; and macro-level co-texts embodied in other newsbites and headline-only newsbits found on the same home page as well as the full stories of corresponding newsbites.

The linguistic analysis of newsbites consisted of two levels, with level one making use of move analysis as a tool and level two applying White's (2006) framework for the investigation of evaluative mechanisms in journalistic discourse. Before the moves analysis could be performed, some terminological issues had to be clarified by discussing the labels of particular moves suggested by the three researcher who had investigated newsbites from a genre perspective, namely Knox (2007; 2009), Tereszkievicz (2012) and Porto Requejo and Belmonte (2016). In the end, an overview of move names used in the present analysis was provided encompassing Heading, Headline, Byline, Main body, Visual element, Visual element title, Credit(s) for visual element, Hyperlink to a related story, Time of publication, Number of comments, Number of related videos, Numbers of shares, and Sharing option sign. Then, each move was exemplified and discussed in the light of its purpose(s). Headline was identified as the only conventional move lending further evidence to Porto Requejo and Belmonte's (2016) findings.

Additionally, the structure of broadsheet newsbites was compared to that of tabloid ones with the former demonstrating a more complex structure of up-fronted newsbites as opposed to those presented further down the home page; and the latter relying mostly on the size of visual elements in the similar case. It was also identified that some elements, such as bylines and hyperlinks, were not part of the structure of tabloid newsbites of the present corpus. In a similar fashion, broadsheet newsbites were deprived of a sharing option or the number of shares pertinent to tabloid examples of the genre under investigation.

At level two of the linguistic analysis, addressing research question 2, that covered 162

newsbites, it was identified that all the evaluating mechanisms described by White (2006) could be singled out in the newsbites of the present corpus. The data suggest that despite claims of striving for impartiality in journalistic discourse, the number of cases of explicit attitudinal inscription in this data set is relatively high, equalling around 40 % both in tabloid and broadsheet newsbites with the remaining 60 % of cases being realised through implicit evaluative mechanisms.

With reference to the result of the third research question that aimed to compare evaluative mechanisms employed in broadsheet and tabloid newsbites, no significant differences have been identified which was further linked to communicative purposes of newsbites.

As far as the limitations of the present study are concerned, they include a restricted number of online newspapers under investigation in the first place. Additionally, it would be interesting to trace the evolution of the genre of newsbites of each news institution in a longitudinal study. Moreover, headlines and main bodies of newsbites could be compared with the full versions of the same story in an attempt to shed more light onto the purposes of newsbites. Lastly, when performing analysis of evaluative mechanisms I sensed that it could also be revealing to take into account the ideological stance of the news institution when analysing individual newsbites.

All-in-all, the present project has once more proven that computer-mediated environment presents scholars of various branches of humanities, including linguistics, with genuine data worth investigation enabling them to obtain a better understanding of our contemporary lifestyles that change as fast as technology itself.

28.853 words

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The Washington Post (Washington DC): <https://www.washingtonpost.com/>

The Daily Mail (England): <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/home/index.html>

The Daily Express (England): <http://www.express.co.uk/>

The Australian (National): <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/>

The Daily Telegraph (Sydney, NSW): <http://www.dailytelegraph.com.au/>

## **7. Appendices**

### **7.1 Appendix A: Abstract**

The advent of the Internet has revolutionised the way we live. The way we obtain information is not an exception. A particular focus of the present research is online newspapers, more specifically on the genre of newbites, first identified by Knox (2007; 2009) and further researched from a genre perspective in only two papers, by Tereszkievicz (2012) as well as Porto Requejo and Belmonte (2016).

The present project uses Bhatia's (1993) seven-step framework as the basis for analysis. As suggested by the author, the model was modified to better cater for the purposes of the research. In particular, step five of linguistic analysis has been changed to incorporate the investigation of evaluative mechanisms alongside the moves analysis. The interest in researching evaluative language in newbites has been prompted by Knox's (2009: ii) claim that their authors have to rely on visuals to communicate the values of the news institution to the readers. For this purpose, White's (2006) framework for the analysis of evaluative language in journalistic discourse based on Appraisal theory (Martin & White 2005) is applied to the present corpus compiled of newbites taken from six online newspapers, three of which can be characterised as tabloid whereas the other three as broadsheet ones. Such constellation of the data set has encouraged the research question whose aim is to tease out any differences and/or similarities between evaluative mechanisms employed in tabloid and broadsheet online newbites.

In the course of analysis, the following genre-related issues of newbites are discussed, such as their situational context, discourse community, and communicative purposes. The moves analysis identified thirteen moves within the structure of newbites, with only one of them, namely Headline, described as a conventional one. Furthermore, the structure of tabloid and broadsheet newbites is discussed revealing significant dissimilarities between the two.

Further linguistic analysis concentrating around evaluative language of newbites lends evidence to all the mechanisms described by White (2006). Despite expected strive for

impartiality in journalistic discourse, approximately 40 % of singled out mechanisms in newsbites of the this corpus can be described as explicit ones. Additionally, the comparison of evaluative mechanisms employed in broadsheet and tabloid newsbites has not yielded any significant differences which is further linked to communicative purposes of newsbites.

### **7.1.1 Appendix A: Zusammenfassung**

Die Einführung des Internets revolutionierte unsere Art zu leben. Die Art und Weise wie wir Information erlangen, ist davon nicht ausgenommen. Besonderer Hauptaugenmerk dieser wissenschaftlichen Arbeit stellen Zeitungen dar, insbesondere das Genre von newsbites, die erstmals von Knox (2007, 2009) bezeichnet und weiterhin in nur zwei wissenschaftlichen Arbeiten von Tereszkiewicz (2012) und Porto Requejo und Belmonte (2016) aus der Sicht einer Genre-Perspektive untersucht wurden.

Das gegenständliche Projekt zieht Bhatia's (1993) siebenstufiges Framework als Analysebasis heran. Wie vom Autor vorgeschlagen, wurde das Analysemodell modifiziert, um den Anforderungen des Projektes besser gerecht zu werden. Dabei wurde besonders Schritt fünf der linguistischen Analyse geändert, um die Untersuchung von Bewertungsmechanismen mit einer Move-Analyse zu kombinieren.

Das Interesse, die Sprache bewertender Mechanismen von newsbites zu untersuchen wurde durch Knoxs (2009:ii) Behauptung geweckt, dass Autoren auf Bildmaterial aufbauen müssen um Werte der Nachrichtenanstalt zu kommunizieren. Zu diesem Zweck wurde Whites (2006) Analyse-Framework, welches auf der Appraisal-Theorie basiert, für die Analyse bewertender Sprache journalistischen Diskurses auf den gegenständlichen Korpus angewendet, welcher aus newsbites sechs verschiedener online Zeitschriften zusammengestellt ist, von denen drei als Boulevardzeitungen und drei als Großformate charakterisiert werden können.

Eine derartige Zusammenstellung eines Datensets hat eine wissenschaftliche Fragestellung motiviert, welche darauf abzielte, Unterschiede und/oder Ähnlichkeiten zwischen bewertenden Mechanismen in Boulevardzeitungs- und Großformatzeitungs-newsbites zu

ermitteln. Im Laufe der Analyse werden folgende genre-bezogene Aspekte von newsbites besprochen, wie Situationskontext, Kommunikationsgemeinschaften und kommunikative Zwecke. Die Move-Analyse identifizierte dreizehn Moves innerhalb einer newsbite Struktur, in der bloß einer, nämlich die Headline (Schlagzeile) als konventionalisiert beschrieben wurde. Weiters wird die Struktur von Boulevardzeitungs- und Großformatzeitungs-newsbites erörtert, wodurch wesentliche Unterschiede offengelegt wurden.

Durch weiterführende linguistische Analyse, die sich auf bewertende Sprache von newsbites bezog, wurden alle von White (2006) beschriebenen Mechanismen nachgewiesen. Trotz erwartetem Streben nach Unparteilichkeit in journalistischem Diskurs, konnten rund 40% der in newsbites identifizierten Mechanismen des gegenständlichen Korpus als explizite Mechanismen beschrieben werden.

Ebenso konnte der Vergleich von bewertenden Mechanismen von Boulevardzeitungs- und Großformatzeitungs-newsbites keine signifikanten Unterschiede hervorbringen, was ferner an kommunikative Zwecke von newsbites geknüpft ist.

## 7.2 Appendix B: Ranking of online newspapers

### Australia's top ten online newspapers:

www.onlinenewspapers.com/Top50/Top50-CurrentAustralia.htm

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**Top 50 Australian Newspapers**  
Accessed on OnlineNewspapers Last Month

1. [The Age](#) (Melbourne, Victoria)
2. [The Australian](#) (National)
3. [The Daily Telegraph](#) (Sydney, NSW)
4. [Canberra Times](#) (Canberra, ACT)
5. [The Courier-Mail](#) (Brisbane, Queensland)
6. [Herald Sun](#) (Melbourne, Victoria)
7. [Brisbane Times](#) (Brisbane, Queensland)
8. [Sydney Morning Herald](#) (NSW)
9. [The Australian Times](#) (National)
10. [ABC7News](#) (Sydney)
11. [Australian Herald](#) (Australia)
12. [Australian Financial Review](#) (National)
13. [Townsville Bulletin](#) (Queensland)
14. [Adelaide Advertiser](#) (South Australia (By Subscription Only))
15. [The Advocate](#) (Melbourne, Victoria)
16. [The West Australian](#) (Perth)

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**Top 50 United Kingdom (UK) Newspapers**  
Accessed on OnlineNewspapers Last Month

1. [Daily Mail](#) (England, IT Supplement)
2. [Daily Mirror](#) (England, London)
3. [Daily Express](#) (England)
4. [The Guardian](#) (England, London)
5. [The Daily Telegraph](#) (England, London)
6. [The Sun](#) (England)
7. [BBC News](#) (England)
8. [The Daily Record](#) (Scotland, Glasgow)
9. [The Cornish Gazette](#) (England, Cornwall)
10. [The Independent](#) (England)
11. [The Times](#) (England, London)

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## USA's top ten online newspapers:

→ www.onlinenewspapers.com/Top50/Top50-CurrentUS.htm

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North America  
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**Top 50 United States Newspapers**

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1. [The New York Times](#) (New York)
2. [Greenwich News](#) (Connecticut, Greenwich)
3. [Daily News](#) (New York, New York)
4. [Washington Post](#) (Washington DC)
5. [New York Post](#) (New York)
6. [Bessemer News](#) (Alabama, Bessemer)
7. [USA Today](#) (National, Arlington, Virginia)
8. [Los Angeles Times](#) (California, Los Angeles)
9. [Sussex County News](#) (Delaware, Georgetown)
10. [Colleton County News](#) (South Carolina, Smoaks)
11. [The Washington Times](#) (Washington DC)
12. [Blount County News](#) (Alabama, Blount County)

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## **7.3 Appendix C: Curriculum Vitae**

### **Karina Matiazh**

Born in Dnepropetrovsk, Ukraine on 07.08.1980

#### **Qualifications**

- 2009 “Tourist guide course” at Marc Apoio, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
- 2009 “Portuguese for foreigners” level II at PUC University, Rio de Janeiro
- 2002 Master's Degree in English Philology (the language and literature) at Dnipropetrovsk National University, Ukraine.

#### **Experience**

- October 2015 – present, English tutor in the project of Vienna city administration and VHS Vienna „Förderung 2.0“
- September 2014 – April 2015 Project Assistant at ANDRITZ Hydro GmbH, Vienna Austria
- March 2011- June 2014 Therapiezentrum Gersthof, Vienna, Austria Assistant Manager
- March – July 2010 NGO “INAPP” (National Institute for evaluation of public policies) Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Assistant for Chief Executive Officer
- October 2009 – February 2010 „Plan Idiomas Direcionados” Language Courses, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
- 2004 – 2008 National Paralympic Committee of Ukraine (NPC)
- 2002 – 2006 Dnipropetrovsk University of Economics and Law, Ukraine