

Different Language Styles in Newspapers: An Investigative Framework

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Abstract

Taking advantage of the linguistic devices such as “modality” and “core-non-core vocabulary”, this paper focuses on four passages taken from the sports commentary pages of different newspapers (i.e. tabloids and broadsheets) published in Britain. The current paper argues that the language used by different type of newspapers is explicitly different even when they refer to the report of the same event, and that linguistic insights into the use of language can be of assistance understanding this diversity. Analyses of the passages by the help of an investigative framework revealed that the report of the same event is reflected differently in tabloids by using a more biased and involved language.

Keywords: Language of Newspapers, tabloids, broadsheets, biased language, involved language.

Özet

Bu çalışma, İngilizce’de “Modality” ve “Core, non-core Vocabulary” olarak bilinen dilbilimsel araçlardan yararlanarak, İngiltere’de yayınlanan farklı gazetelerin (boyalı basın ve ciddi gazeteler) spor yorumları köşelerinden alınmış dört parça üzerine odaklanmaktadır. Çalışma, farklı gazetelerin aynı haberden söz ederken bile farklı bir dil kullandıkları ve bu farkın dilbilimin sunduğu bakış açısıyla anlaşılabilceğini ileri sürmektedir. Önerilen araştırma çerçevesiyle yapılan analizler aynı konunun aktarılmasında dil kullanımına ilişkin belirgin farklar olduğunu ve boyalı basının dilinin daha fazla önyargı ve taraf içerdiğini ortaya koymuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Gazetelerin dili, boyalı basın, ciddi gazeteler, önyargılı dil, taraflı dil.

1. Introduction

The language of newspapers is quite different from, for instance, business language or academic language. As is mentioned by Crystal and David (1969: 173), ‘everything that happens to be printed in a newspaper or written by a journalist is not going to be linguistically homogenous’. Crystal and David (ibid.) also claim that there is not any reason to expect such a “homogeneity” since a newspaper is always very eclectic from the stylistic point of view. We come across a number of “journalises” in the pages of various daily press, and as a striking fact, while they are dealing with the same issue their overall styles are very different.

Everything that is written in a newspaper has to be transmitted through the medium of language. The transmission of a message through language entails encoding values into the message. Therefore, what language encompasses is emotional and cultural loading. The content of this loading, on the other hand, is determined by the nature of the culture or sub-culture in which the language exists (Reah, 1998).

Moreover, as is exemplified by Reah (1998: 55) if a particular culture ‘has little respect for certain groups, concepts or beliefs, then the language for expressing ideas about those groups, concepts or beliefs will reflect that attitude. Therefore, when these things are written about, people reading the text will have their attitudes reinforced by the way the language presents these things to them’.

As is mentioned by Büyükkantarçioğlu (1999) in a study which focuses thoroughly on the biased language of sport commentary, understanding social functions of the language, and social and social psychological features embedded in the language and the reasons for the production of texts, prerequisites an analysis of the systematic organization of ideologies as articulated in language.

In order to illustrate biased and involved language in certain newspapers, taking advantage of the linguistic notions “modality” and “core and non-core vocabulary”, this paper will focus on four passages taken from the sports commentary pages of different newspapers published in the United Kingdom. The passages which were taken from

various tabloid and broadsheet newspapers are all about the same issues. The first issue is related with a British Football star's roller coaster relation with his wife, and the second is about a football match between Manchester United and Turkish side Fenerbahce that took place in the Champions League. The idea for choosing these particular passages is to show how the same event is reflected differently in tabloids by using a biased and emotive language.

In the following sections, after having discussed the previous work on language of newspapers, the biased and emotive use of the language that appear in tabloids will be taken into account by the help of a descriptive framework.

2. Language of Newspapers

The language of newspapers has attracted the attention of many scholars whose interests lie in language and its varieties. Crystal and Davy (1969), who were quoted in the introduction, posit the disparity between tabloid newspapers and broadsheets and they point out the "audiences" envisaged by the two different types of newspapers concerned. They indicate that these papers' target reader is different, therefore they use different language and style. They also maintain that by keeping the subject matter constant, different stylistic colouring which each paper throws over the story can be seen clearly.

Fowler (1991) marks the different language style of tabloid newspapers and broadsheets, and remarks the distinct readership of the two papers. Fowler (1991: 4) suggests that differences in expression stem from ideological distinctions and evaluates the issue from a theoretical point of view emphasizing that 'each particular form of linguistic expression in a text - wording, syntactic option, etc.- has its reason. There are always different ways of saying the same thing, and they are not random, accidental alternatives. Differences in expression carry ideological distinctions and thus differences in representations'. Fowler (ibid.) also argues in favour of adopting a linguistic approach in understanding the language of newspapers since nearly all meanings are socially constructed and all discourse is better understood if it is subjected to critical linguistic analysis.

It must be noted here that, for the purpose of this study, newspapers will be divided into two kinds: the broadsheet newspapers, that is *The Telegraph*, *The Independent*, *The Times* and *The Guardian*; and the tabloids, that is, *The Express* and *The Daily Mail*, *The Sun*, *The Mirror*, *The Star* (the classification is taken both from Reah (1998) and Tunstall (1996)).

Bagnall (1993) emphasizes different aims of tabloid and non-tabloid papers indicating that the aims of the popular press are quite different from those of the heavies. According to Bagnall (op.cit.), although their functions overlap, this is not much; so little in fact, that good writing in the one might well be considered bad in the other and vice versa. Therefore, as the purpose is different so is the language. Bagnall also notes that occasionally a story is of equal interest to both a tabloid and non-tabloid newspaper, but the language which is used by the tabloid in the telling of the story is explicitly different than the language used in the broadsheet. Broadsheets are anxiously aware that their readers want something new everyday, if not new facts, then at least new ideas. “Shock”, says Bagnall (1993: 24) is a favourite tabloid word, but it is the shock of recognition that the tabloids are offering. A reporter for a popular paper, like his or her colleagues on the broadsheets, looks for a story. Unlike them, however, the popular paper reporter wants a story that fits the reader’s conception of the world, and uses a language to match. Bagnall (1993) considers the language of tabloids as a special language and calls it “popspeak”. After dealing with the fact that a writer in the *London Daily Express* or *The Sun* is nearly always a masterpiece of simple and unaffected prose, he gives some examples from the world they deal with, and in this world blondes are *stunning* or all *attractive*, *sizzling*, red heads *vivacious* and dark girls *raven-haired*. Meanwhile, bereaved parents are *tragic*, villages are *tiny communities* (ibid.: 25).

Regarding the sports commentary on newspapers, Ghadessy (1988: 18) notes that the language of written sports commentary constitutes a certain register depending on where this language is found, e.g. in *The Times* or *The Daily Mirror*, and that we can expect marked differences between the two. Ghadessy (1988: 22) also states that in a sense all the language of written sports commentary can be labelled as “involved” since what we read is an “interpretation” of an event. But we can distinguish between two types of interpretation: one in which an objective account of the event is given, and another in which a personal view/opinion is presented. Two writers may agree on the minute a goal was scored, but disagree as to whether it was a brilliant, breath-taking,

clever, simple, etc. goal. Thus the first part, i.e. agreement, related to the objective interpretation and the latter to subjective interpretation. Moreover, Ghadessy (1998: 23) emphasizes that it is possible to measure the degree of involvement in these reports to see which one is, in popular expressions, a very objective report, a rather biased report, etc.

In the following section of the paper, I will argue how this emotive language that appears to be prevalent in tabloid papers` sport commentary pages can be explored by the help of a linguistic framework that focuses primarily on modality and usage of core, non-core vocabulary.

3. Towards the Investigative Framework: Modality, Core, Non-core Vocabulary

In its broadest definition, modality is a category of linguistic meaning having to do with the expression of possibility and necessity (Fintel, 2006). Halliday (1985) defines modality as ‘ the speakers judgement of the probabilities, or the obligations involved in what he is saying’. According to Halliday (1985: 356), “modality refers to the area of meaning that lies between yes and no – the intermediate ground between positive and negative polarity. What this implies more specifically will depend on the underlying speech function of the clause. If the clause is an “information” clause (a proposition, congruently realized as indicative), this means either (i) ‘either yes or no’ i.e. ‘may be’; or (ii) ‘both yes or no’, i.e. ‘sometimes’; in other words, some degree of probability or of usuality. If the clause is a “goods and services” clause (a proposal which has no real congruent form in grammar, by default we can characterize it as imperative), it means either (i) ‘is wanted to’, related to a command, or (ii) ‘wants to’, related to an offer; in other words, some degree of obligation or of inclination”. Halliday (ibid.) also notes that modulation refers to the semantic category of proposals; but all modalities are realized as indicative (that is, as if they were prepositions). Thus, imperative *go home!*, when modulated, becomes indicative *you must go home!*

Halliday (1985: 357) notes the fact that the basic distinction that determines how each type of modality will be realized is the *orientation*: that is, the distinction between subjective and objective modality, and between the explicit and implicit variations. Halliday (1985: 358) provides the following example:

Table 1. Modality: examples of ‘type’ and orientation combined (Halliday, 1985)

	Subjective: explicit	Subjective: implicit	Objective: implicit	Objective: explicit
Modalization: probability	I think [in my opinion] Mary knows	Marry`ll know	Marry probably knows [in all probability]	It`s likely that Marry knows [Marry is likely to]
Modalization: usuality		Fred`ll sit quite quiet	Fred usually sits quite quiet	It`s usuall for Fred to sit quite quiet
Modulation: obligation	I want John to go	John should go	John`s supposed to go	It`s expected that John goes
Modulation: inclination		Jane`ll help	Jane`s keen to help	

Another variable in Halliday`s approach to modality is “value” that is attached to the modal judgment: high, medium or low. These values are summarized below:

Table 2. Three values of Modality (Halliday, 1985: 358)

	Probability	Usuality	Obligation	Inclination
High	certain	always	required	determined
Median	probable	usually	supposed	keen
Low	possible	sometimes	allowed	willing

Simpson (1993: 47), on the other hand, defines modality as ‘the speaker`s attitude towards, or opinion about, the truth of a proposition expressed by a sentence’. In Simpson`s model of modality there are four divisions as shown below:

Table 3. Simpson`s (1993) Modal System

Modal System	
Deontic	obligation, duty and commitment
Boulomic	desire
Epistemic	knowledge, belief and cognition
Perception	perception

Deontic modality is the modal system of duty as it is concerned with a speaker's attitude to the degree of obligation attached to the performance of certain actions. It involves the expression of permission, obligation and requirement (Simpson 1993: 47).

Boulomic modality is closely related to deontic modality and is found in expressions of desire containing verbs indicating wishes and desires of the speaker. It involves the expression of hopes, wishes and desires (ibid.: 48)

Epistemic modality is concerned with the speaker's confidence or lack of confidence in the truth of a proposition expressed (op.cit.).

Perception modality is closely related to epistemic modality and it is distinguished by the fact that the degree of commitment to the truth of a proposition is predicted on some reference to human perception, normally visual (Simpson, 1993: 50).

Under the light of the review of the modality models proposed by Halliday (1985) and Simpson (1993), it would be suffice to say that both models are quite similar. Halliday's classification of modality into modalisation (probability and usuality) and modulation (obligation and inclination) to a large extent is parallel to Simpson's organization of modality into Epistemic-Perception and Deontic-Boulomaic. This study, taking advantage of the afore mentioned models, will not only consider the capacity of primary modal operators to encode degrees of commitment but also examine some other linguistic elements such as core, non-core vocabulary, and verb forms that convey biased language and involvement. The constituents of the model for the study are stated below:

- a) Modal Auxiliaries
- b) Verb Forms
- c) Adjuncts
- d) Core, Non-core Vocabulary

3.1 Modal Auxiliaries

The analysis of modal auxiliaries will be based on Halliday's (1985: 76) model of modal operators. The choice of Halliday's system was due to the clarity of its organization. The modal auxiliaries in this model are classified in the table below:

Table 4. Modal Operators (Halliday, 1985)

Affinity Polarity	LOW	MEDIAN	HIGH
POSITIVE	can, may, could, might, dare	will, would, should, is/was to	must, ought to, need, has/had to
NEGATIVE	needn't, doesn't/didn't need to, have to	won't, wouldn't, shouldn't, isn't/wasn't to	mustn't, oughtn't to, can't, couldn't (mayn't, mightn't, hasn't/hadn't to)

3.2 Verb Forms

Lexical verb forms that express modality have been classified into various categories by different linguists. Among the different classifications are:

- a) verbs of cognition (Stubbs, 1986)
- b) verbs of perception (ibid.)
- c) verbs of conveying and receiving information (ibid.)
- d) performatives (ibid.)
- e) verbs of knowledge (Fowler, 1986)
- f) verbs of prediction (ibid.)
- g) verbs of evaluation (ibid.)
- h) verba sentiendi (ibid.) i.e. verbs depicting the internal consciousness of character or narrator.

Some examples of modalized verbs are given below:

<i>know</i>	<i>believe</i>	<i>realize</i>	<i>suspect</i>	<i>think</i>	<i>feels</i>
<i>appear</i>	<i>looks</i>	<i>sound</i>	<i>tastes</i>	<i>love</i>	<i>understand</i>
<i>promise</i>	<i>convince</i>	<i>imagine</i>	<i>expect</i>	<i>guess</i>	<i>hope</i>
<i>suppose</i>	<i>seems</i>	<i>look as if</i>	<i>argue</i>	<i>threaten</i>	<i>presume</i>
<i>reckon</i>	<i>consider</i>	<i>doubt</i>	<i>assume</i>	<i>assure</i>	<i>claim</i>
<i>tend</i>	<i>look like</i>	<i>estimate</i>			

In this study modalized verbs will be considered as a single unit.

3.3 Adjuncts

It is Halliday (1985: 49) again who provides the direction for the analysis of modality through the adverbial and adjectival functions of words. His classification of modal adjuncts will be used as the unit of measurement. The following table presents the classification of modal adjuncts with examples.

Table 5. Classification of Modal Adjuncts

TYPE	MEANING	EXAMPLES
Polarity	assertions	not, yes, no, so
Probability	how likely?	probably, possibly, certainly, perhaps, maybe
Usuality	how often?	usually, sometimes, always, n(ever), often, seldom, rarely
Typicality	how typical?	occasionally, generally, regularly, for the most part
Obviousness	how obvious?	of course, surely, obviously, clearly
Readiness	how ready?	willingly, readily, gladly, certainly, easily
Obligation	how certain?	definitely, absolutely, possibly, at all costs, by all means
Opinion	I think	in my opinion, personally, to my mind
Admission	I admit	frankly, to be honest, to tell you the truth
Persuasion	I assure you	honestly, really, believe me, seriously
Entreaty	I request you	please, kindly
Presumption	I presume	evidently, apparently, no doubt, presumably
Desirability	how desirable?	(un)fortunately, to my delight/distress, regrettably, hopefully
Reservation	how reliable?	at first, tentatively, provisionally, looking back on it
Validation	how valid?	broadly speaking, in general, on the whole, strictly speaking, in principle
Evaluation	how sensible?	(un)wisely, understandably, mistakenly, foolishly
Prediction	how expected?	to my surprise, surprisingly, as expected, by chance
Temporarily	how frequent?	Yet, still, already, soon, just
Intensity		just, simply, merely, only, even, actually, really, in fact
Degree		quite, almost, nearly, scarcely, hardly, absolutely, totally, utterly, entirely, completely

3.4 Core, Non-core Vocabulary

It is Carter (1988 and 1994) who provides a descriptive schema for the recognition of core and non-core vocabulary. His descriptive schema allows us to discuss the issue of

newspaper language in a more principled way, and provides a basis for examining bias in the lexis of reporting. The analysis of lexical choice in the selected texts will be based on Carter's (1988: 9) following tests which are designed to isolate the main structural and functional features of core and non-core vocabulary. The tests are stated below:

1. Core words often have clear antonyms. Thus, the antonym of *hot* is *cold*, the antonym for *laugh* is *cry*, the antonym of *fat* is *thin*. It is more difficult to locate antonyms for non-core words such as *corpulent* or *skinny* or *emaciated*.
2. Core vocabulary is generally characterized by collocational frequency. A core word such as *fat* has a wide collocational span which includes *fat man*, *fat salary*, *fat cheque*. Words from the same lexical set such as *corpulent* or *chubby* have a much more restricted range; for example, **corpulent cheque*, **chubby salary*.
3. In any lexical set there will be a more neutral or unmarked word which can be pressed into service to define the meanings of the related word. For example, in the set *snigger*, *grin*, *smirk*, *beam*, *smile* all the words except *smile* can be defined by *smile* (the core item) plus an adverb. For example, *beam=smile happily*; *smirk=smile knowingly* and so on.
4. Core vocabulary items are those which do not carry especially marked connotations or associations.
5. Core words do not normally allow us to identify from which field of discourse they have been taken.
6. Core words are often superordinates. Thus, in the set of words *rose*, *tulip*, *peony*, *dahlia*, *carnation* the superordinate item *flower* can regularly do service and stand for the other items in a number of contexts.

As Carter (1988: 10) also states, though these tests are not either final or absolute and there can be no clear yes/no division among words into core and non-core categories, the recognition of these vocabulary items can, at least, enable us to begin to isolate the kinds of neutral expressive vocabulary which will be marked for biased or involved language.

Under the light of the discussion of the related approaches to analyse the language of newspapers, the investigative framework can be described as follows:

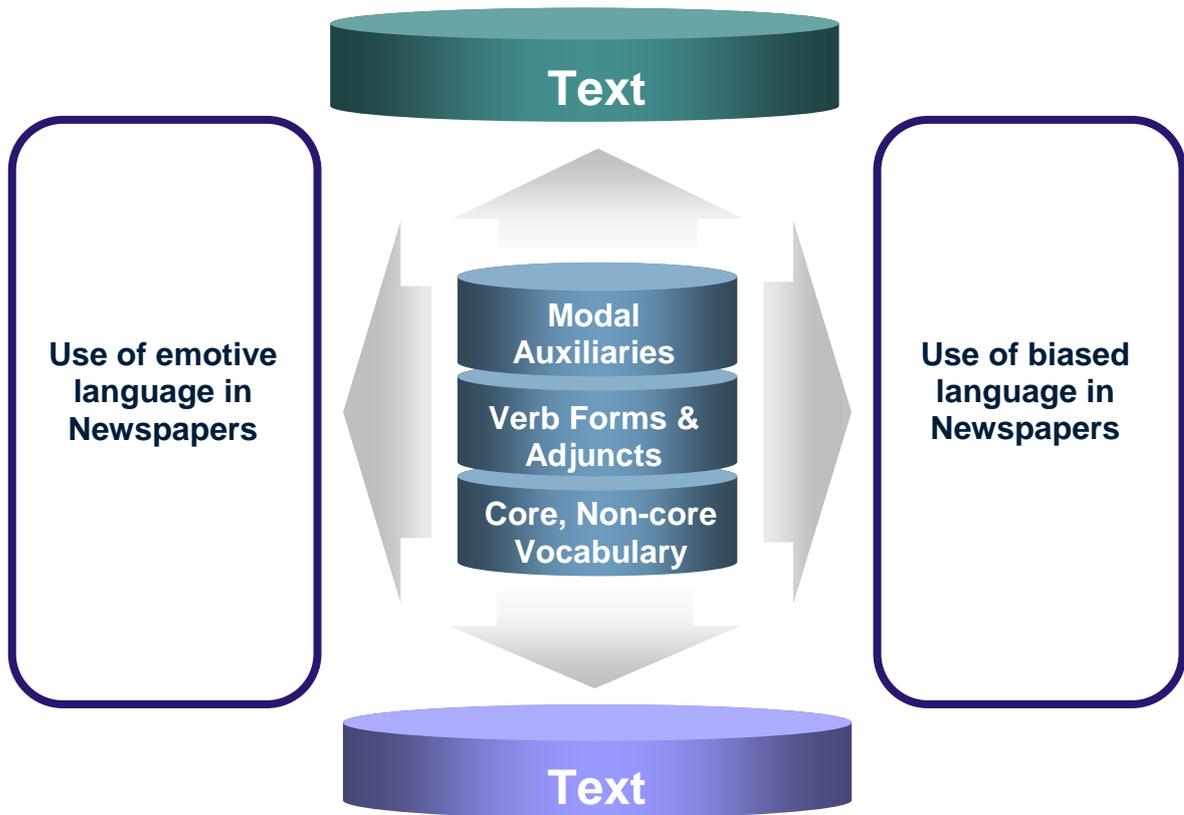


Table 6. The Investigative Framework

4. Hypotheses of the Study

The hypotheses of the study are given below:

- a) the use of different language styles in tabloids and broadsheets can be revealed by using an investigative framework which focuses on modality and lexical choice,
- b) the analysis of modality and lexical choice will help to determine the use of emotive and biased language,
- c) the tabloids tend to use non-core vocabulary items,
- d) the language of tabloids is much more involved than those of broadsheets.

5. Analysis of Texts

The analysis of texts will be carried out one at a time. Each text will be analysed for modality and lexical choice, and almost equal number of words (150-200 words) are taken into consideration for each text.

5.1 Text A: Sports Editorial from *The Sun*

Paul Gascoigne has now **come up** with a **grovelling** apology for his sending of **shame**. But who is going to **fall for** it? His club, Glasgow Rangers **will want** to. His country **most certainly will not**. Gascoigne **admits** he was a **disgrace** to Rangers for the sending off against Ajax-on the night before it was **revealed** that he had **given** wife Sherly **another** beating in a drunken **rage**. We've **heard** his apologies before-**in fact** Gascoigne **admits** as much during his **rumbling** performance. And, if sticks to form, it is only a matter of time before we **hear** again his worthless, empty words of **so called remorse** and **shame**. Why does he **bother**? Everyone **knows** that his England place is **just** about down the **gurgler**. Manchester United's David Beckham **will have wife-beater** Gascoigne's **shorts down pretty soon**. England boss Glen Hoddle **does** well to **keep** his thoughts to himself. But there isn't a fan around who cannot **work out** how a **decent** family man like Hoddle **must feel** about Gazza's **latest disgrace**.

Blue: Verb Forms

Green: Non-core Vocabulary

Red: Modal Auxiliaries

Yellow: Adjuncts

5.1.1 Modality Elements in Text A

Modality Elements	Epistemic	Deontic Boulomic	Total
Modal Auxiliaries	will (2), will not	must	4
Verb Forms	come up, fall for, admits (2), want, revealed, given, heard, hear, bother, knows, does, keep, work out, feel		15
Adjuncts	most certainly, in fact, another, so called, just, pretty soon, latest		7
Total	26		26

Modal structures used in Text A are mainly epistemic. Modal auxiliaries will (positive polarity, median affinity), will not (negative polarity, median affinity) and must (positive polarity, high affinity) refer to prediction and evaluation. The only deontic modality used in the text *must* reinforces the idea that National Team boss Glenn Hoddle should perceive the issue as an imperative duty. The verb forms convey notions of perception and are private to the narrator. The adjuncts operate as qualifiers to support the propositions and are used quite extensively.

5.1.2 Non Core Items in Text A

In the following table certain lexical choices which convey the narrator's involvement in the expressions are given. The analysis of selected words will include their connotation (i.e. positive or negative) and the receiver (i.e. who/what the expression is directed to).

Lexical Choice (Non-core)	Connotation	Receiver
grovelling	negative	Paul Gascoigne
shame	negative	Paul Gascoigne
disgrace	negative	Paul Gascoigne
rage	negative	Paul Gascoigne
rumbling	negative	Paul Gascoigne
remorse	negative	Paul Gascoigne
shame	negative	Paul Gascoigne
gurgler	negative	Paul Gascoigne
wife-beater	negative	Paul Gascoigne
shorts down	negative	Paul Gascoigne
decent	positive	Glenn Hoddle
disgrace	negative	Paul Gascoigne
Total: 12 items		

As can be seen in the table, almost all of the non-core items (11 items) are used to refer to Paul Gascoigne or issues directly related with him, and all these items have negative connotations. Only one item (decent) is used positively and addresses Glenn Hoddle, who is the boss of the English National Team. The message in this clause is quite clear; ‘how a decent man like you (moreover you are a family man) can have a place for such a “lousy” (my own non-core lexical choice) man in our national squad’. This only positive item can also be considered as internally deviant item from a stylistic point of view and thus is foregrounded.

5.2 Text B: Sports Editorial from *The Independent*

Paul Gascoigne is to **see** a councillor specialising alcoholism following the attack on his wife Sherly last weekend that **left** her with a bruised face and four dislocated fingers. The England footballer was so **shocked** by his behaviour, which **followed** an evening of drinking, that he **made contact** with Beech Colclough, who has **treated** a number of celebrities for addictive illnesses, including Elton John and Michael Jackson. The news **comes** after a week that **saw** the **most** talented and controversial player of his generation in trouble on the pitch as well as off it. On Wednesday he was **sent off** for a **petulant** foul while playing for Glasgow Rangers against Ajax of Amsterdam. The two incidents, which have **outraged** women's groups and football followers alike, are the **latest** in a long line that have **sullied** what **should have** been a **glittering** career. From rupturing knee ligaments in a tackle during FA Cup Final to a public drinking **binge** in Hong Kong before the Euro tournament, Gascoigne **seems** to have courted **adverse** publicity.

Blue: Verb Forms

Green: Non-core Vocabulary

Red: Modal Auxiliaries

Yellow: Adjuncts

5.2.1 Modality Elements in Text B

Modality Elements	Epistemic	Deontic Boulomic	Total
Modal Auxiliaries	should		1
Verb Forms	see, left, shocked, followed, made contact, treated, comes, saw, sent off, outraged, sullied, seems		12
Adjuncts	most, latest		2
Total	15		15

In text B, the only modal auxiliary is epistemic (median affinity and positive polarity). Verb forms and adjuncts are not extensive, and overall they are not used as frequently as Text A.

5.2.2 Non-core Items in Text B

Lexical Choice (Non-core)	Connotation	Receiver
petulant	negative	Paul Gascoigne
glittering	positive	Paul Gascoigne
binge	negative	Paul Gascoigne
adverse	negative	Paul Gascoigne

In text B, there are not many non-core vocabulary items. The lexical choice *glittering* appears to be a positive one and refers to Gascoigne's abilities as a football player. Compared to Text A, it would suffice to say that use of non-core items in text B is not as extensive as it is in Text A. Clearly, the narrator of the text distances himself/herself from involvement with the text and tries to present only the account of the events.

5.3 Text C: Match Report from *The Sun*

Cantona silenced the wild eyed fanatics of Fenerbahce with that contemptuous personal belief that he cannot ever be a long term loser. United's self-critical skipper, openly, concerned about his dodgy form, made sure his team were the sultans of swing on the banks of Bosphorus. He delivered a four minute warning with a genius` pass and a goal of simple artistry, that Ferguson`s European campaign might at last go all the way. They know now, with six points tucked securely in the bag, that if they get a favour or two from Juventus, a second defeat of the Turks in a fortnight at Old Trafford, could put them in the quarter finals. For that, the red-shirted warriors whose nerves cracked a month ago, will willingly kneel at the great man. Instantly, Eric had seen the big picture and the ball was swept forward. Alert as ever, Ole Gunnar Solkjaer cruised into space with the surging Beckham as his ally. A neat crossover move fooled Fenerbahce and Beckham was in for his fifth goal of the season. Just four minutes later, Cantona had wiped all the frustration from the memory bank. And that –luckily for United-is that the Turkish heroes out there on the park are just as erratic as their gun-toting followers when it comes to having a shot. Just ask Peter Schmeichel.

Blue: Verb Forms**Green: Non-core Vocabulary****Red: Modal Auxiliaries****Yellow: Adjuncts****5.3.1 Modality Elements in Text C**

Modality Elements	Epistemic	Deontic Boulomic	Total
Modal Auxiliaries	cannot, might, could, will		4
Verb Forms	silenced, concerned, made sure, delivered, go, know, tucked, get a favour, put, cracked, kneel, seen, cruised, fooled, wiped		15
Adjuncts	ever, openly, at last, willingly, instantly, just (2), luckily		8
Total	27		27

There is a high concentration of epistemic modality in Text C. The auxiliary modal *cannot* (negative polarity, high affinity) is a statement of high improbability. *Could* and *might* (positive polarity, low affinity) refer to Manchester United's winning of the European Championship trophy. *Will* (positive polarity, median affinity) is used to express the admiration for Eric Cantona. The verb forms are mostly perception-guided and verbs of evaluation and they all belong to the narrator. The extensive use of adjuncts reinforces the narrator's commitment in the report.

5.3.2 Non-core Items in Text C

Lexical Choice (Non-core)	Connotation	Receiver
wild-eyed fanatics	negative	Fenerbahce Supporters
contemptous	positive	Eric Cantona
self critical	positive	Eric Cantona
dodgy	negative	Eric Cantona
sultans of swing	positive	Manchester United
genious (pass)	positive	Eric Cantona
simple artistry	positive	Eric Cantona
red-shirted warriors	positive	Manchester United
surging	positive	Beckham
ally	positive	Beckham
neat (crossover)	positive	Eric Cantona
erratic	negative	Turkish Team and supporters
the memory bank	neutral?	Manchester United?
gun-tooting	negative	Turkish supporters

In Text C, non-core items are used extensively. It is important to note that all the lexical items with positive connotations are used either to refer to Manchester United or Manchester United`s players whereas lexical items with negative connotations are all reserved for the Turkish side and its supporters.

5.4 Text D: Match Report from *The Guardian*

Manchester United **began** to look part of the modern European football community here last night. Playing with **composure** and **intelligence** after some early scares, they **scored** twice, through Beckham and Cantona, early in the second half to silence the **fervent** Fenerbahce crowd and **take** a significant step towards qualifying for the Champions Cup quarter-finals. It was United`s first away win in eight European games. The situation **demande**d a more positive performance from Alex Ferguson`s team last night than had been evident against Juventus in Turin. On that occasion United **went into** the game set on containing the opposition, with the result that they **lost** to a goal from Boksic without achieving a single shot on the target themselves. This **should not** be what Manchester United are about. Last night they **had** the chance to remind Europe of the force they **intended to** become again on foreign fields.

Blue: Verb Forms

Green: Non-core Vocabulary

Red: Modal Auxiliaries

5.4.1 Modality Elements in Text D

Modality Elements	Epistemic	Deontic Boulomic	Total
Modal Auxiliaries		should not	1
Verb Forms	began, scored, take, demanded, went into, lost, had, intended to		8
Adjuncts			
Total	9		9

Containing only one deontic modality *should not*, referring to “ideal world” for Manchester United, Text D appears to be the least modalized text in the set. There are few verb forms and there is not any adjunct. Evidently narrator refrains using an involved language while reporting the game.

5.4.2 Non-core Items in Text D

Lexical Choice (non-core)	Connotation	Receiver
composure	positive	Manchester United
intelligence	postive	Manchester United
fervent	positive	Fenerbahce supporters

In text D, there are only three non-core lexical items. Two of them refer to Manchester United positively, and the last one refers to Fenerbahce supporters. In this respect, it is clear that Text D tends to use more core vocabulary items reporting the match, therefore it can be claimed that the narrator keeps his/her distance with the reader.

6. Shortcomings of the Study

Although the hypotheses put forward in this study have largely been proved to be correct, it must be noted that the study bears certain shortcomings. First of all, the range of the framework proposed by the study is limited to only modality and lexical items and in this sense can be labelled as being “exclusive”. I am aware of the fact that by the inclusion of other linguistic devices, the framework can have a better shape. Secondly, as is emphasized earlier, there is no clear yes/no division among words into core and non-core categories. Therefore, in many cases my analysis of lexical form in the texts is subjective and based on interpretation. On this account, I am also aware that this section of the analysis is open to criticism and there might be various other interpretations. However, what I hope to achieve through this study is to display the fact that linguistic and discursive tools are extremely serviceable and rewarding tools when it comes to analysing certain language uses in given texts.

7. Conclusion

Throughout the study, four texts have been taken into consideration to find out which type of newspapers (i.e. broadsheets or tabloids) tend to use more biased and involved language. Two texts were taken from what is called tabloids, and the rest were taken from broadsheets. By the help of an investigative framework that focuses primarily on the use of modality and non-core vocabulary, it was revealed that tabloids tend to use more non-core vocabulary in their reporting, and therefore, these papers` language is much more involved and biased than those of the broadsheets.

Although I acknowledge the fact that there is still room for improvement, it would be suffice to say that the study revealed that a linguistically oriented investigative framework constituted by modality and core, non-core vocabulary to analyse the language of newspapers proved to be doing service in the process of figuring out biased and emotive language in written newspapers.

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