

# Critical Discourse Analysis of the titles in online newspaper sources

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**Pranjić, Matej**

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Sveučilište J. J. Strossmayera u Osijeku

Filozofski fakultet

Preddiplomski studij engleskog jezika i književnosti

i hrvatskog jezika i književnosti

Matej Pranjić

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Mentor: izv. prof. dr. sc. Tanja Gradečak

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Mentor: izv.prof.dr.sc. Tanja Gradečak-Erdeljić

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J.J. Strossmayer University of Osijek

Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences

Double BA program in English Language and Literature and Croatian Language  
and Literature

Matej Pranjić

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## IZJAVA

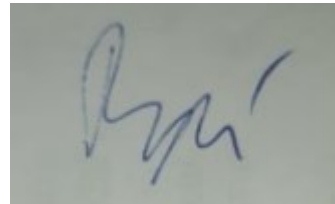
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U Osijeku, datum 25.9.2019.

\_\_\_\_\_Matej Pranjić, 0122218763\_\_\_\_\_

ime i prezime studenta, JMBAG



## Summary

This paper presents a short review of Critical Discourse Analysis and presents some general findings about the language of online news headlines. The paper first summarizes the theoretical and methodological elements of Critical Discourse Analysis as an approach to the study of language in use. Then it follows with a section on news and media discourse, and briefly details aspects of newspaper discourse and the specifics of news discourse in an online environment. The research in the paper is a case study of a small sample size of news articles from some of the most popular Croatian and British English sources. The analysis concerns itself with the level of coherence between the headline and the text, specific linguistic items used and the hidden ideological slant. The conclusion is that all types of newspapers, tabloid, semi-tabloid, and quality newspapers, feature specific linguistic items such as puns, alliteration, word-play and jargon which is connected to the respective ideologies of the papers in question regarding representation of people and events.

**Key words:** Critical Discourse Analysis, media discourse, news discourse, online newspapers, headlines

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## 1. Introduction

News sources today have an immense presence on the internet. Millions of news articles have been published online and people now get their news more frequently from the internet than from their printed versions. Studying news articles in this historically new medium requires accordingly new approaches. The reason for this is that when people encounter online news sources, the first thing they see is the title of the article, and it is widely known that they are designed to catch reader's attention, usually through conspicuous and sensationalist headings also known as "click-bait", for the purpose of attracting as many readers as possible. The more people click on the links which take them to the full article, the more interesting the articles become for advertisers, and in return, it is a source of profit, which is common knowledge. This casts doubt on whether online news sources are sufficiently relevant or whether they have enough quality content, which also poses a question on the extent to which the titles are used as means of ideological propaganda. The aim of this paper, therefore, is to explore the ratio and quality of the content which appears in the titles in relation to the whole text found in online news sources. The research is conducted through the approach of Critical Discourse Analysis, of which history this paper outlines, featuring a transdisciplinary theory and methodology. The corpus which is analysed is taken from popular online news sources in Croatian and English.

## 2. Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis, broadly defined, is a critical approach towards language study. It concerns itself with the dialectical relation between discourse and society to discover how this relation both produces and reproduces things such as power relations, domination or social inequality. The central idea is that language is an instrument of power which influences society and serves to give or legitimize power to dominant social groups, such as classes, and to perpetuate the present state of affairs. Its purpose is to identify such social wrongs and make suggestions about how they could be corrected. What distinguishes critical discourse analysis from other linguistic approaches is mainly that it has a normative agenda (Fairclough 2010: 10-11) and does more than just making a descriptive analysis of a text. Critical discourse analysis is not a single school of thought since there are many researchers, who use different theories and methods, but claim to operate within the critical paradigm of critical discourse analysis. There are several approaches, e.g. Breeze lists Fairclough's Systemic Functional Linguistic approach, which is the first that articulated the term "critical discourse analysis"; the "socio-cognitive model" of van Dijk, the Viennese "discourse historical school" of critical discourse analysis, as well as several other groups (Breeze 2011: 494).

The approach employed by Fairclough has these three properties: "it is relational, it is dialectical, and it is transdisciplinary" (2010: 3). This approach studies relations both within discourse and between discourse and society which are dialectical in character, i.e. they connect separate, but not unrelated entities, e.g. the relation between discourse and power. Power can be exercised or drawn from discourse, but discourse may not be a source of power and power has other sources than discourse, such as physical force and violence. Fairclough's three level schema sets to explain power dynamics in a society through discourse. The text has specific words and grammatical structures which are produced under specific discursive conditions, such as newspapers, who ought to be objective, neutral, immediate etc., but they nonetheless pass off intended meanings covertly. Then the discourse is consumed, that is, understood by the readers a certain way; and if the discourse is successful in passing off secretly biased view of the world, this inevitably is of interest to the social groups that are related to the discourse producers. E.g. nationalist and racist discourse is of interest to the bourgeoisie, i.e. capital, in order to keep the working class turned against itself, which means that discourse is then successful in shaping society through its use.

The approach established by van Dijk makes use of cognitive and social psychology in order to explicate how discourse is consumed, i.e. how discourse influences the minds of people (van Dijk 2002). The discourse-historical approach of Wodak “adheres to the socio-philosophical orientation of critical theory” (Wodak 2001: 64) and relies on the available historical, social and political knowledge in which discursive events are embedded (Wodak 2001: 65).

The other noteworthy approach is the corpus-driven critical discourse analysis which utilizes tools and methods from corpus linguistics. This is pioneered by Mautner and Baker (Wodak 2011, Jun.6: 13-14). The purpose of combining critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics arises from the need to move from qualitative analysis of individual texts to broader analysis of a large number of texts. There are several reasons for this, such as greater empirical representation, analysis of types of text such as genres, avoidance of cherry-picking, reduction of researcher’s bias for increase in objectivity of the study (Lukač 2012: 35). With more empirical findings, the scope of the research explores more thoroughly to what extent linguistic patterns appear across a corpus. Moreover, a certain type of genre may be studied on its own terms. Criticism against scholars in the field of critical discourse analysis that they engage in cherry-picking when studying a small amount of texts is countered this way. If a researcher has a bias towards the discourse they study, a greater number of texts studied may mitigate this effect, e.g. if they have prejudice against a certain newspaper, studying them using larger corpora might yield findings which could correct the researcher’s opinion.

When it comes to critical discourse analysis as “a self-conscious movement with an explicit agenda” it “abounds in definitions of what it purports to be and do” (Breeze 2011: 495). With different approaches to critical discourse analysis, there exist different claims on what its aims are. Breeze mentions Fairclough’s view, which is “to explain existing conventions as the outcome of power relations and power struggle” and Rogers’ “to answer questions about the relationships between language and society” (ibid). However, she adds that what unites all those approaches is the political concern with the relations between power and ideology in society on the one hand, and language, i.e. discourse, on the other hand, as the medium through which power and ideology operate. In other, words, what unites all linguists working in critical discourse analysis is the common knowledge that there are certain social wrongs and the observation that language relates to them significantly. Another synthesis of critical discourse analytic approaches is that of Jørgensen and Phillips, which outlines the similarities of the approaches more precisely. In their view, there are four commonalities in the field of critical discourse analysis: “character of social and cultural processes is partly linguistic-discursive”, “discourse both constitutes social

reality, and is constituted by social practices”, “language use should be empirically analysed within its social context”, and “discourse functions ideologically” (Jørgensen and Phillips 2002: 61-63). All of the common features stress the connections between discourse and society, the relational and dialectical ones. The third feature perhaps emphasizes the method which points to the general purpose of critical discourse analysis, and that is to understand discourse within a social context in order to be relevant in pointing out and suggesting solutions for social wrongs.

In order to study these relations of obviously different things, since it has no unique theory of its own, critical discourse analysis relies on transdisciplinarity of theory and methods, so that in addition to linguistics it draws concepts and methods from pragmatics, conversation analysis, narrative analysis, rhetoric, stylistics, sociolinguistics (van Dijk 2008: 352), as well as sociology, politics, media studies etc. Another fact about discourse which necessitates the interdisciplinary approach is that there are types of discourse such as legal, medical, political and media discourse.

For the purpose of this paper, the terms discourse, critical and analysis are described. A basic definition of discourse would be that it is language in use, i.e. within a social context, or as Matheson adds, it is language used by “real people in real social contexts” (2005: 178). However, this definition is one out of many since many scholars use different definitions in different contexts. Wodak notes that there is a distinction between text and discourse in the Central European context “relating to the tradition in text linguistics as well as to rhetoric” and the Anglo-Saxon tradition where discourse means both written and oral text (Wodak 2002: 13). The distinction is that scholars such as Wodak view “‘discourse’ as a form of knowledge and memory, whereas text illustrates concrete oral utterances or written documents” (Reisigl and Wodak 2001), while Anglo-Saxon scholars do not distinguish discourse and text in such manner. Fairclough and Chouliaraki provide a specific description of discourse saying that it “includes language (written and spoken and in combination with other semiotics, for example, with music in singing), nonverbal communication (facial expressions, body movements, gestures, etc.) and visual images (for instance, photographs, film)” (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999: 38). In other words, their description of discourse goes beyond than just taking linguistic properties into consideration. Nevertheless, one general idea about discourse which is common among critical discourse analysts is that “language is structured according to different patterns that people’s utterances follow when they take part in different domains of social life” (Jørgensen and Phillips 2002: 1), which means there are such things as philosophical, religious, media, scientific discourse etc. With this in mind, it is obvious that discourse is formed by society and that it in turn influences society, i.e. the dialectical relation is made visible. An example of this dialectical relation would be medical

discourse on vaccines which explains the benefits and vitality of taking vaccine shots. This prompted governments worldwide to enforce mandatory vaccination. However, another discourse, that of anti-vaccine ideology, has become a reaction to the well-established medical discourse which is now brought back into the public discourse in order to counter the effects of the former. Following this outline of the concept of discourse, this paper views discourse as real text situated within a real social context and as a part of the dialectical relation of language and society.

The critical aspect of critical discourse analysis is understood in the sense of critique, a criticism. There are several outlooks on what constitutes the critical element of critical discourse analysis as well. For Fairclough, critique “focuses on what is wrong with a society (an institution, an organisation etc.), and how ‘wrongs’ might be ‘righted’ or mitigated, from a particular normative standpoint” (2010: 7). From this it follows that critique necessarily involves a value system for its judgements, and without it, it is impossible to criticise in the first place. This leads to issues of what value system is correct, more appropriate; and ultimately, how values (such as freedom, justice, equality) are defined. What he stresses is that “critique assesses what exists, what might exist and what should exist on the basis of a coherent set of values” (Fairclough 2010: 7). He also distinguishes between positive and negative critique; whereas the positive critique analyses “how people seek to remedy or mitigate” social issues, the negative critique deals with “how societies produce and perpetuate social wrongs” (Fairclough 2010: 7). That is why this formulation of critique is the basis and the purpose of critical discourse analysis, a “raison d’être for analysis” (Billig, in Wodak and Weiss 2003: 39). Others add that critique is, in addition, directed towards non-critical or uncritical paradigms, namely “other academic approaches that are not primarily addressed to the critique of existing patterns of dominance and inequality” (ibid: 38), with the examples being conversation analysis and most of discursive analyses which are well established in the academic community. This paper uses the term critique in the sense of social critique, specifically, the critique of the journalistic practice of creating news stories.

‘Analysis’ remains as the final term to be explicated. In Fairclough’s view, analysis is transdisciplinary, and accordingly utilizes transdisciplinary methodology, which is, again, based on a transdisciplinary theory. To form a proper analysis is to go beyond “the selection and application of pre-established methods” through the “theory driven” construction of “objects of research [...] for research topics” (Fairclough, 2010: 5). The objects of research simply refer to research questions, and in the framework of critical discourse analysis, they are created based on transdisciplinary theory, meaning “in terms of the categories and relations of not only a theory of discourse [...] but also other relevant theories” (ibid). This means that an analysis should relate

terms and concepts, such as discourse and genre, with say, concepts of power and domination. In any text, the linguistic categories and relations need to be linked to the other ones, be it politics, sociology, economics, media studies etc.

A simple example would be how certain linguistic categories serve to give legitimacy to a political group. One such research, which explored the relation between language and politics, was done in 2006 where the topic of research was how immigration metaphors used by the right-wing parties during the 2005 British election campaign helped to give them political legitimacy and favour among the voters (Charteris-Black 2006: 563). The objects of research are the questions how metaphors contribute to giving legitimacy to right-wing parties in discourse on immigration and whether there is a difference between centre and far-right groups in political discourse (ibid: 568). The research discovered that metaphors of immigration as a “natural disaster” and metaphors of Britain as a form of container proved to be useful for the right-wing parties to gain popularity and legitimacy. It means that presenting immigrants and Britain through vivid metaphors appeals to the emotional domain invoking “emotions such as fear and the desire for protection” (ibid: 579). It also shows that the metaphors are persuasive, especially the container metaphor, because it relates time and space, so that the resulting conceptual metaphor means “control over social change is control over movement of peoples”, which translates into a demand for stricter border control which would slow down the rate of social change. Here it is visible how critical discourse analysis goes beyond than mere discourse analysis of texts in the research, and instead relates the linguistic terms to the fields of politics, rhetoric, cognitive psychology and cognitive linguistics. Moreover, the evidence of transdisciplinary methodology is in the fact that the research incorporated methods from corpus linguistics as well. This was done through checking the frequency of occurrence of metaphors in the texts and their classification based on their source domains. All this outlines the way critical discourse analysis is conducted, from the theory-driven construction of objects of research to transdisciplinary method of analysis.

### 3. News and newspaper discourse

#### 3.1. News

News is “information about recent events that are of interest to a sufficiently large group, or that may affect the lives of a sufficiently large group” (Reah 2002: 4). They are always transmitted through a medium since they are almost universally information presented through a human semiotic system, namely language, and so can be delivered through talk and text. Delivering news through talk is possible on an individual or a small group level, when for example, people talk to each other directly in person or they use a medium, such as telephone lines, whether land or mobile. Relaying news through speech on a mass level was historically done through newsreels, albeit with motion-picture input, and today can be done through radio, television and the internet. Text variants are further transmitted through various media; on the individual level, this is done through text messages, e-mails and social networks; and on the mass level, this is done through newspapers and the internet. The specific interest of this paper are online news sources, which are, in effect, internet versions of newspapers. This brings into view the nature of newspapers and, for the purpose of this paper, the need to understand what they are.

#### 3.2. Newspapers

Newspapers are a form of publication which present their readers with news, opinions, features, advertisements and other texts, and it is “usually distributed on a daily or weekly basis” (Rapeepat So-In, 2002: 17). They are a form of mass communication since it possesses the necessary qualities to label them as such. These qualities are, according to Bell, that a mass medium has multiple originators, a mass simultaneous audience, a fragmented audience, absence of feedback, and general accessibility to the public (1991: 2). The content of newspapers are reports on recent events, however, the matter of quantity and quality of content is decisive in drawing distinctions among newspapers. When it comes to quantity, newspapers are faced with spatial limitation concerning the amount of relevant content they contain. A daily publication, for example, can only report on a relatively small number of relevant stories since it is impossible to report on all the events that transpire over a timespan of twenty-four hours. On the other hand, when it comes to quality, newspaper editors select specific content to be published, therefore they choose whether to include or omit pieces of information, and if they do so, “the reader will probably not be aware that the omitted item of information exists” (Reah 2002: 4).

This raises obvious questions regarding manipulation of a society in this way. Additionally, the production of newspapers in the framework of capitalism, as well as most

production, is oriented towards profit, and therefore the market of consumers. A successful product appeals to its market, and in the same vein newspapers relate to their respective audience. In other words, newspapers are “a product- a product that must be made attractive or appealing to a market of consumers” (Richardson 2007: 77), which is done through selection of content. The type of content determines the type of newspapers.

There are two basic types of newspapers, popular and quality newspapers. Popular newspapers report on stories which are of interest to many people and in a language understood by the general population. They present soft news, which includes topics such as crime, accidents, disasters and entertainment. Negative news particularly piques the interest of many people since people usually focus more on negative news than they do on positive ones (Lovell 1980: 17). To catch the attention of the potential readers, soft news incorporates sensational lexical choice as common as “scandal”, “disaster”, “unexpected” together with graphic signifiers such as bright colours of red, yellow and orange. These are intentional choices made in the production of popular newspapers to raise their perceptibility to foster greater sales record than that of quality newspapers (Natta 2002). The term for this sensationalist language and lexical choice invoking feelings of shock, fear and outrage is tabloidization. Not only does tabloidization enable newspapers to capture the attention of the readers, present a certain view of the world depending on the category the stories fall under, but also detract from social and political matters, which are arguably more important (Fogec 2014).

As opposed to popular newspapers, which report soft news, quality newspapers report hard news. Hard news means reports from the areas of politics, economics, society, the environment etc. The language of hard news is more indirect and informative than the language of soft news, as well as being significantly more complex and requiring sufficient background knowledge from the reader in order to understand them fully.

The journalistic discourse has “some very specific textual characteristics, some very specific methods of text production and consumption, and is defined by a particular set of relationships between itself and other agencies of symbolic and material power” (Richardson 2007: 1). In other words, these three characteristics of journalistic discourse refer to its production, consumption, and relation of journalism to the society in terms of influence to ideas and institutions.



### 3.3. The goal of newspaper reports

Since newspapers contain more types of information other than news, such as opinion editorials, entertainment articles and advertisement, there is obviously more than one goal which newspapers aim to reach. The goals of newspaper reports are to inform the audience, to give an opinion, to entertain, and to advertise (Dunanprakhon 2012: 12). Newspapers may also present public and political events or a world “in which the boundaries between public and private events have become blurred”, which is typical for tabloids. (Kress and van Leeuwen 1998: 210). On the other hand, some newspapers focus more on fulfilling certain goals more than the other, which depends on the type of the newspapers. For example, popular and tabloid newspapers focus more on advertising with more pages devoted to adverts (Reah 2002: 3).

### 3.4. Online news sources

Online news are published on many different platforms: digital versions of print newspapers, news aggregators, social media networks and blogs. With the widespread availability of the connection to the internet, online news are “the biggest source of information today, while printed newspapers have seen a significant drop in readership in the past decade” (Newman et al. 2017). One of the reasons for this is the competitive dynamics of the journalist practice. Traditional newspapers mainly developed online versions as a reaction to numerous new digital competitors (Boczkowski 2004). Another reason is the fact that online news sources changed news consumption because they feature more interactivity through incorporating videos and comment sections and increased sharing capabilities. Online news sources are much more immediate, up-to-date and journalists constantly update them. One other key finding is that “people are only willing to spend a limited time for consuming news” and that “it is critical for news sites to have effective strategies to catch people’s attention and attract their clicks” (Reis et al. 2015: 357). This, together with people’s increased focus on individual articles rather than entire newspapers redefined, journalistic practices (Choi and Kim 2017). This redefinition came to mean that, as stated, online news sources sometimes focus less on values of inquiry, independence and verification, and focus more on eye-catching and shareable content. This has resulted in online news sources being more profitable than print versions (Blom and Hansen 2015). In this way they become more akin to tabloids, i.e. a sort of tabloidization has taken place.

### 3.5. Headlines

They are the first element of the news article which the reader sees. Headlines are placed right above the news article or otherwise on the front page of a newspaper, and feature a larger font than the rest of the text. Nonetheless, words used in the headlines need to be short for preserving space on the newspaper page, yet still need to be effective to grab attention. More specifically, headlines are “a unique type of text that consists of a range of functions that specifically dictate its shape, content, and structure, and it operates within a range of restrictions that limit the freedom of the writer” (Reah 2002: 13).

Headlines have two main functions. The first is to summarize the article to which it refers, however this is not always the case because tabloids tend to summarize a single point rather than abstract the whole news story. In the terms of the news story, headlines also introduce the events and the actors of the story. The second is to capture the attention of the reader. However, in addition to summarizing the content of the article and grabbing attention of potential readers, headlines indicate style and values of the newspaper or news agency, which is important for the appeal to their audience, i.e. they communicate a specific worldview that the newspaper holds (Conboy 2007). Another function of the newspaper headlines is to tell the importance of news, i.e. allow readers to choose what piece of news is important to them. (Thanomsak 1999: 13)

One important fact about headlines is that they “work in conjunction with the other visual aspects of the newspaper text, particularly the pictures” in order to grab attention of readers (Reah 2002: 23). To catch the readers’ attention headlines feature a specific language which creates impact upon the readers. Headlines create this necessary impact through the use of “puns, alliteration, the choice of emotive vocabulary and other rhetorical devices” (Develotte and Rechniewski 2001). Puns, rather than normal statements, appear more “fun” and exciting, they stand out more and have a sense of “personality”; alliteration facilitates memorability, and emotive vocabulary is more relatable and engaging to an average reader.

The specific language of headlines is crucial because “the language of the news reinforces the ways things are” (Conboy 2007: 26). In other words, the language used in headlines is very significant because some readers never read more than the headlines of news articles, which means that in such cases the language of headlines is all that is necessary to inform readers with insufficient understanding of the news story, i.e. give a biased representation of news stories (Fairclough 1992). Notwithstanding, headlines may not be understood by readers without sufficient cultural knowledge or knowledge of the events which precede the news story, i.e.

without the knowledge of the reality that the newspapers assume their readers already know, e.g. “Canada’s special adviser [sic] on LGBTQ2 issues urges people to communicate with senators on Bill C-16”. (<https://globalnews.ca/news/3403700/canadas-special-adviser-on-lgbtq2-issues-urges-people-to-communicate-with-senators-on-bill-c-16/>, accessed 6.9.2019.) People who are not familiar with the content of the Bill C-16 may not be aware of its importance or the controversy it sparked during 2016.

A typology of headlines can be made according to content and form. Content of headlines most commonly are topics pertaining to politics, economics, celebrity, and various types of events, such as crime and disaster. Headlines assume various forms such as plain headlines or statements, reported speech, headlines with a pointer and questions. Plain headlines are statements such as “New government regulation causing outrage among the general public”; reported speech is acquired in the form of quotations which somebody has uttered, headlines with pointer look like “Scandal: corruption in the government”, where the pointer is the first word followed by a colon which “points” to the rest of the headline; and questions such as “Woman gives birth to a goat?”

Another key type of headlines for this paper are the online headlines and their properties. Daria Lombardi notes three most important facts about online news headlines: “[...] online headlines are able to reach a broader audience than the articles themselves”, “[...] the words used in the headlines alone contribute to creating particular ideological representations of the events, regardless of whether the article is read further”, and “headlines do refer to the content of the article, but can be considered as a separate unit, especially in the online environment where all we see is those few words of the headlines, whether it is on social media networks or on Google Search results” (Lombardi 2018: 11).

#### 4. Methodology

The research for this paper has two main hypotheses regarding headlines from online news sources. The first hypothesis is the degree to which headlines cohere with the rest of the article. To test this, firstly a small sample of twenty news articles is collected from Croatian and British sources. This paper features both popular and quality or semi-quality newspapers, i.e. their online versions in order to outline the differences in quality. From Croatia there is the tabloid “24 Sata” (24 Hours) and the semi-tabloid “Jutarnji list” (The Morning Paper). The English publications are The Sun, the tabloid; and The Guardian, the historical broadsheet. Then, the coherence of each headline with the rest of the text is analysed in terms of whether the headline summarizes the whole article completely, partially or just a single element from the news story. To determine the degree of coherence, each article is divided into paragraphs or sentences; only The Sun articles feature sentences as text subdivisions rather than whole paragraphs, whereas The Guardian features both sentences and paragraphs, but is regarded as subdivided into paragraphs. Leading sentences or the first sentences right below the headline or the image are not taken into account since in all cases they are repeated almost verbatim in the articles. The analysis then counts each subdivision that refers to the content of the headline. In other words, if the paragraph or sentence contains words, phrases or clauses that refer to the same people or events exactly as does the headline, they are regarded as referring to the content of the headline. The paragraphs or sentences are not regarded as referring to the headline if words, phrases and clauses refer to people or events which are not strictly related to the content of the headline.

E.g., in case of the headline “‘SO MUCH FOR BBC NEUTRALITY’ BBC presenter Steph McGovern accused of bias after telling Boris Johnson: ‘I’m a girly swot. Let’s see who’s in the job the longest ’”, sentence “The 37-year-old fired the shot at the Prime Minister in response to the leaking of an old note where he slammed David Cameron as a "girly swot"” is regarded as referring to the content of the headline because it contains the clause “the 37-year-old fired the shot at the Prime Minister”, which clearly refers to the content of the headline. The sentence “Last week a handwritten jibe by Mr Johnson calling Mr Cameron a "girly swot" was leaked” does not refer to the content of the headline despite containing words that refer to elements of the headline (Mr Johnson, “girly swot”) because they are used in a different context than in the headline.

The second hypothesis is the specific language features and tabloidization present in the headlines and how it relates to ideology. Here, the focus is on the use of, or a lack of, specific

linguistic items such as puns, alliterations, irony, word play as well as specific lexical choice which either represents people and events negatively or positively according to an ideology.

In addition to the first points of analysis, every headline is categorized according to type, statement-like headlines, direct speech, questions, headlines with pointers and hybrid types.

## 5. The research

Table 1: all the headlines set side by side

Croatian sources		British sources	
24 Sata	Jutarnji list	The Sun	The Guardian
Sad se skrivaju, 'junačine': Ovo su napadači na Srbe kod Knina	VIDEO: INCIDENT U ŠIBENIKU TIJEKOM PRIVOĐENJA NAPADAČA NA SRBE Skupina mladića vrijeđala novinare, pokazivala im srednji prst i zaklanjala im kamere	'SO MUCH FOR BBC NEUTRALITY' BBC presenter Steph McGovern accused of bias after telling Boris Johnson: 'I'm a girly swot. Let's see who's in the job the longest'	BBC's Steph McGovern apologises for Boris Johnson comment
Huligani su opet skrivali lice, prijatelji im vrijeđali novinare	ONI SU NEPOPRAVLJIVI! Huligani koji su napali Srbe u Uzdlju dovedeni na policiju u Šibeniku, ispred zgrade urlicali: 'Srbi novinari, j**** vam majku'	BACK-STOPPED Boris rules out Northern Ireland only back stop in People's PMQs after Irish EU chief says chances of deal are rising	Boris Johnson rejects Northern Ireland-only backstop
Kamenovali kuće Srba pokraj Zadra? Policija provodi istragu	NOVA HAPŠENJA ZBOG NAPADA U UZDOLJU PORED KNINA Policija privela još 10 osoba koje dovodi u vezu s premlaćivanjem građana srske nacionalnosti	NO MORE MR NIGE GUY Boris REJECTS Nigel Farage's offer of election pact as Tory aides slam Brexit Party boss as 'not fit and proper'	Nigel Farage won't be allowed anywhere near government, say Tories
Napadač na Srbe torcidaš koji je uletio na teren nakon Gzire?	FOTO: ODALA GA TETOVAŽA Jedan od napadača na Srbe je pripadnik Torcide koji je upao na teren nakon šokantnog poraza Hajduka?	ROYAL RUMBLE Boris DENIES lying to the Queen over Parliament shutdown and insist bitter Remainer claims are 'absolutely not' true	Boris Johnson says it is 'absolutely' not true he misled Queen over prorogation
'Napad pokraj Knina motiviran mržnjom prema nacionalnosti'	REKONSTRUKCIJA RUŠILAČKOG POHODA HULIGANA IZ SPLITA S Kmana su Opelom krenuli prema Uzdlju, [sic] čekali su da padne mrak...	FLOPS AND ROBBERS Outgoing Speaker John Bercow compares Boris Johnson to BANK ROBBER over refusal to delay Brexit	John Bercow: I'll stop Boris Johnson breaking the law on Brexit

Each category contains five articles. In the first and second category are the headlines from 24 Sata and Jutarnji list respectively. The headlines are taken from articles which report on people and events related to the attacks on Serbs during the summer of 2019 in south Croatia. In the third and fourth category are the articles reporting on some of the events surrounding Brexit from The Sun and The Guardian respectively.

The first category, the articles from 24 Sata, contains two articles that are wholly coherent with the headline, two in which the headline only summarize a single element, and one in which the headline only partially summarizes the article. The types of headlines appearing are two questions, one statement-like headline, one headline with a pointer and one direct speech headline. The language is informal and contains derogatory jargon in statement-like headlines and the headline with a pointer, question headlines create a sense of mystery and the direct speech contains

emotional language. The ideological slant of 24 Sata appears to be left-liberal, the attackers are represented as aggressive and violent oppressors of a minority ethnic group.

The second category contains articles from Jutarnji list. Four headlines summarize a single element from the news story and only one summarizes the whole article. There is one hybrid between a question and a pointer headline, one regular pointer headline, two statement headlines and one statement headline with direct speech. Three out of five headlines contain normal and neutral vocabulary, and two contain derogatory jargon, where the attackers are presented as incorrigible and malicious delinquents. The ideological slant seems to be identical with 24 Sata, i.e. left-liberal.

The third category features articles from The Sun. Only one headline summarizes the article partially, and remaining four all summarize a single element. The typology of the headlines is as follows: four statement-like headlines and one statement with direct speech. The headline with direct speech contains idiomatic and dismissive language, the others contain three puns and one alliteration. The ideology hidden in the headlines seems to be right-liberal.

The final category presents headlines from The Guardian. Three headlines summarize a single element, one summarizes the article partially and only one summarizes the whole article. The types of headlines appearing here are four statement headlines and one pointer headline. The language is normal and neutral in all headlines, the slight exception being the one headline where there is the word “absolutely” in quotation marks. The ideology of The Guardian is left-liberal.

## 6. Conclusion

Given the fact that the research only has a small sample size of articles, the conclusion is only tentative. The Croatian articles are similar ideologically, and 24 Sata, an actual tabloid, appears to have made more articles in which headlines cohere with the text than Jutarnji list, which could be interpreted as having better coverage. However, Jutarnji list features more articles with neutral vocabulary, but uses similar language as 24 Sata when it does not represent people and events neutrally.

The English papers differ ideologically and linguistically. The Sun features sensationalist language containing puns, alliteration and idiomatic expressions, whereas The Guardian uses much more formal and neutral language. Nonetheless, the news coverage in terms of coherence between the headlines and text appears to be only slightly better in The Guardian than in The Sun.

The critique of the paper is not pointed at the ideology of the newspapers as much as it is pointed at the sensationalism and lower levels of coherence between the headlines and the articles, and hence poorer coverage. Every online news source examined in the paper represents people and events through an ideological lens. However, to determine the full extent of ideological bias in Croatian papers obviously needs a bigger sample size and a more systematic analysis. The British papers are already established ideologically. One thing, though, is certain: this paper confirms the fact that there is always bias in news sources, especially in emotive topics of violence and great political change, and there can be no objective reporting.



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