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**LINGUISTIC PECULIARITIES OF HARD NEWS
ARTICLES**

SVARĪGU ZIŅU RAKSTU LINGVISTISKĀS IEZĪMES

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ANOTĀCIJA

Sakarā ar to, ka mediji mūsdienās ir gan galvenie iekšzemes un ārzemju ziņu izplatītāji, gan arī sabiedrības viedokļu veidotāji par notikumiem pasaulē, mediju diskursa analīze ir svarīga un aktuāla tēma. Turklāt, tā kā svarīgās ziņas ir veids, kas nodrošina lasītājus ar būtisku informāciju par politiskajiem un militārajiem notikumiem pasaulē, ir nepieciešams izpētīt valodas, kā galvenās ziņu diskursa sastāvdaļas, lietojumu. Bakalaura darba mērķis bija noskaidrot, kuras lingvistiskās iezīmes tiek visbiežāk lietotas svarīgu ziņu rakstos no dažādos laikos un dažādās valstīs publicētiem laikrakstiem angļu valodā, un kādas ir šo lingvistisko iezīmju veiktās funkcijas. Izmantojot salīdzinošo diskursa analīzi, tika noskaidrots, ka visbiežāk lietotās svarīgu ziņu rakstu lingvistiskās iezīmes ir īpašības vārdi, modalitātes marķieri un personu vietniekvārdi, kuri parāda reportiera attieksmi, vērtējumu, kā arī veido atsauces un uzrunā lasītājus. Citas lingvistisko iezīmju (netiešās runas, personu vietniekvārdu un māksliniecisko izteiksmes līdzekļu) funkcijas svarīgu ziņu rakstos ir saistītas ar politisko manipulāciju. Tāpat tika secināts, ka lingvistisko iezīmju lietošanas biežumu svarīgos ziņu rakstos ietekmē četri faktori, proti, izdošanas laiks un vieta, raksta apjoms, un rakstu publicējušā laikraksta veids.

Atslēgvārdi: mediju diskurss, svarīgi ziņu raksti, lingvistiskās iezīmes, īpašības vārdi, modalitāte, personu vietniekvārdi

ABSTRACT

Due to the fact that the media nowadays are the main vehicle communicating domestic and foreign affairs across the world and shaping the opinions of society about the events, the study of media discourse is both essential and topical. Moreover, since hard news is the type of news which provides the readers with timely and crucial information about political and military affairs in the world, it is necessary to study the language of the media representatives as the main constituent of news discourse. Thus, the aim of the present study was to explore the most frequently used linguistic peculiarities and their functions in hard news articles from English language newspapers across the world diachronically. The comparative discourse analysis showed that adjectives, personal pronouns and modality markers were prevalent showing the attitude and evaluation of the reporter as well as making references, addressing and establishing proximity with the reader. Other functions carried out by the linguistic peculiarities, that is, the passive voice, personal pronouns and lexical stylistic devices, are interrelated with political manipulation. It has been also concluded that the frequency of the use of linguistic peculiarities is influenced by four factors, namely, the time and space of publishing, the length of the article and the type of newspaper in which the article is published.

Key words: media discourse, hard news articles, linguistic peculiarities, adjectives, modality, personal pronouns

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INTRODUCTION

One of the most essential aspects of human life is communication, and the most ‘powerful tool for communication’ is the media (Encyclopaedia Britannica). All people as individuals as well as their opinions ‘are influenced, shaped, reinforced, altered by [...] their exposure to the media’ (Macarro, 2002:13). The media communicate both the most important information to be known to society and less important information for the pleasure of people.

The information provided by the media is referred to as news and can be classified into soft news and hard news. Soft news comprises the information which is not urgent and probably not of high significance, whereas, hard news comprises all the crucial information about the events in the world which influence the lives of people. Hard news has been described as relating to ‘the circumstances of a recent event or incident considered to be of general local, regional, national, or international significance’ (ibid.). Considering that hard news is the most significant and crucial information to be communicated, it can be said that the use of linguistic peculiarities in hard news articles is an important theme to be studied.

The theme of media discourse has been discussed by various scholars, i.e. Newsom and Wollert (1985), Van Dijk (1985), Macdonald (2003), Matheson (2005), O’Keeffe (2006), Devereux (2007), Conboy (2010), Dahlberg and Phelan (2011), Busà (2013), Van Hout and Cotter (2014). Such scholars as White (2000), Mnookin (2004) and Bednarek (2006) have discussed the concept of hard news, its place in media discourse and its social and linguistic aspects. The aforementioned scholars have explored media discourse starting from its broader sense as a general term encompassing ‘broadcast and print media’, i.e. television and newspaper, to narrower themes, e.g. language in newspapers, the description of hard news articles and American hard news reporting (O’Keeffe, 2006:1). The language in hard news articles from British broadsheets and tabloids has been studied by Bednarek (2006); however, no study seems to have been done on the linguistic peculiarities of hard news articles in newspapers across the world; therefore, there is place for the present research in the field of media discourse studies.

Considering the current situation with the conflict between Russia and Ukraine and its impact on the economy and relations in the world, the author of the present paper assumes that an in-depth study of language use in hard news articles depicting military conflicts in the world diachronically might provide some insight into whether and how the language use to depict military conflicts has changed over time.

In order to achieve this, a corpus of fifty articles from ten English language newspapers printed in the United Kingdom, Russia, the USA, Germany and France depicting military

conflicts in the twentieth century and the twenty-first century has been chosen as **the research object**.

The goal of the present research is to investigate which linguistic features dominate in hard news articles in English language newspapers of several countries and how their use has changed over time.

In order to achieve the goal, the following **enabling objectives** are set:

1. to review and analyse theoretical literature on media discourse, discourse analysis and hard news articles;
2. to investigate the linguistic aspects used in hard news articles and their functions in communicating information;
3. to compile a corpus of hard news articles in the English language from newspapers printed in the UK, the USA, Russia, Germany and France in different periods of time depicting military conflicts in the world;
4. to carry out a comparative discourse analysis of linguistic peculiarities in the selected articles;
5. to draw relevant conclusions.

The research questions posed for the present study are:

1. Which linguistic peculiarities of hard news articles are most frequently used and what are their functions?
2. How does the use of language in hard news articles from different English language newspapers vary across countries and how has it changed over time?

In order to carry out the present study, the following **research methods** were applied:

1. Literature review
2. Comparative discourse analysis of hard news articles from different English language newspapers across the world diachronically.

Chapter 1 presents the relevant literature review on the concept of media discourse as well as discusses various approaches to media discourse analysis. The concept of print media discourse, the characteristics of news and the types of newspapers are also reviewed in Chapter 1. Chapter 2 comprises the discussion on the concept of hard news and the characteristics of hard news articles as well as linguistic peculiarities and their functions in hard news articles. Chapter 3 contains the description of the research methodology and outlines the results of the comparative discourse analysis of hard news articles. The encoded corpus of hard news articles, graphical presentation of the frequency analysis and examples of the analysed hard news articles are located in the Appendices.

1. CONCEPT OF MEDIA DISCOURSE

Chapter 1 comprises a theoretical study on the concept of media discourse and print media discourse as well as various linguistic and non-linguistic approaches to media discourse analysis. First, the definitions and descriptions of media discourse provided by different scholars are reviewed. Second, approaches to media discourse analysis are discussed. After that the concept of print media discourse is introduced and the characteristics of news are described. Finally, the differences between tabloids and broadsheets are outlined.

1.1. Defining Media Discourse

The study of mass media and furthermore the study of media discourse are neither new nor narrow; the field of both mass media studies and media linguistics is voluminous. As a result, since the time when the term ‘mass medium’ appeared and the media started the work in communicating foreign and domestic affairs in the world, the concept of media discourse has come to be discussed by a variety of authors (e.g. Macdonald, 2003; Matheson, 2005; O’Keeffe, 2006; Devereux, 2007; Talbot, 2007 and O’Snaughnessy and Stadler, 2012).

Each of the aforementioned authors aims at defining and describing media discourse according to one’s own specific terms of interest; nevertheless, a shared opinion among the scholars is that mass media discourse is an immense study field and a demanding subject to be researched. Consequently, in order to select the working definition of media discourse in the present study, the definitions and considerations of the aforementioned authors, relevant to the subject of the present study will be discussed further in the chapter.

First of all, it should be noted that the media ‘are the mechanisms that connect the senders and the receivers of messages’, as the term ‘media’ literally comes from Latin and has the meaning of ‘in the middle’ (O-Snaughnessy and Stadler, 2012:4). The media can also be seen as ‘intertextual pedlars in image, sound and word, concerned less with making meaning than with producing stunning effects’ (Macdonald, 2003:1). Nevertheless, as Macdonald (2003) indicates, ‘the media still figure strongly as narrative-makers, capable of influencing public perceptions of a reality beyond their borders’ (ibid.). Thus, a conclusion follows that the media are professionals who ‘are able to write and speak in authoritative ways about the world’ (Matheson, 2005:2). Moreover, discourse analysts have suggested that ‘the powerful ideas’ of the media professionals ‘do not precede particular media texts, but are made and renewed through each instance of language use and thus each text [...] produced by them is potentially important and valuable to study’ (ibid.).

Devereux (2007), however, speaks of the media by referring to the term in the singular and avers that ‘mass medium [...] is designed to reach a very large audience, for example, newspapers, magazines, radio, television, books’ (2007:62). Traditionally the content under the media categories was delivered in three forms, namely, textual, visual and aural media, but nowadays the mentioned ‘strict divisions’ no longer exist, because of the internet and its ability to ‘intermingle’ the three forms into ‘a multi-media format’ (Devereux, 2007:66). Thus, one of the purposes the media serve for, alongside with ‘profiting commercial interests’, is also the facilitation of communication ‘across distance and time’ (O’Snaughnessy and Stadler, 2012:4). Summing up the reviewed definitions, it can be concluded that the media are the main communicators of global matters across countries and one of the fastest developing ‘technologies’ in the world.

Further on, given the definition of the terms ‘medium’ and ‘mass media’, the concept of media discourse should be outlined. It is noteworthy to point out that many attempts to define discourse as a language or as a representation exist, when actually the term is ‘much more [...] abstract than that’ (Macdonald, 2003:2). Notwithstanding the overall complexity of the term, discourse can be described as ‘a system of communicative practices that are integrally related to wider social and cultural practices, and that help to construct specific frameworks of thinking’ (ibid.). Scholars such as Fairclough (1995) and Bell (1998) have regarded media discourse primarily as concerned with its linguistic features, when in the 21st century there appear also ‘visual and verbal’ approaches to the media discourse analysis (in Macdonald, 2003:4). Thus, media discourse comes to signify more than the language printed or spoken by the media; it is also the historical and social context of the information to be communicated and it is ‘a changing pattern’ (ibid.: 25). In other words, ‘media discourse is a broad term which can refer to a totality of how reality is represented in broadcast and printed media from television to newspaper’ (O’Keeffe, 2006:1).

Matheson (2005) describes media discourse analysis as ‘a large and rather messy hotchpotch’ and mentions that a ‘diversity of approaches to discourse’ exist (2005:2). Devereux (2007) has discussed media discourse analysis and reviewed various approaches and methodologies to be applied for media discourse studies. The author argues that not only does media discourse analysis ‘involve a close examination of a text’ but it also aims at analysing how ‘visual imagery and sound’ works together with the text as a language ‘spoken or written’ (2007:78). Moreover, media discourse analysis is concerned ‘both with the form of the text and its social context, construction, distribution and reception’ (ibid.). Hence, media discourse analysis is aimed at understanding and ‘elucidating the meaning and social significance’ of media texts (Devereux, 2007:78).

Talbot (2007) describes media discourse in similar terms to the aforementioned authors conceding that it is ‘a multidisciplinary field’ and that the ‘disciplinary diversity of media discourse as a field is reflected in its methodologies’ (2007:3). The methodologies mentioned by Talbot (2007) and Devereux (2007) are ‘critical linguistic analysis, conversational analysis, critical discourse analysis, ethnography of communication, linguistic anthropology, genre analysis, content analysis, narrative analysis, literary analysis, social linguistics and pragmatics’ (Talbot, 2007:4; Devereux, 2007:79). Talbot (2007) continues his description of media discourse by clarifying the term ‘discourse’ and explaining that it is rather a ‘process [...] not a product’. Thus, in order to analyse a discourse in general and subsequently the discourse of the media, it is essential ‘to look at [...] the text itself, the interaction and the context in which the text is embedded in’ (2007:10). In other words, ‘a text is a part of the process of discourse’, and there is no point in studying text and discourse separately, because ‘it is the product of meaning-producer (encoder) and a resource for meaning-interpreter (decoder)’ (ibid.).

In order to understand media discourse, it is customary to know about the ‘effect [...] the media has on larger society’ and that the media may also deliver information which is influenced by the subjective views of the media representatives (Online 1). The subjectivity of the media can be explained by reviewing the inter-relation between the media and language. First, given the definitions of the media discussed above, it can be concluded that the media are communication. Second, language equally ‘is the primary means of communication [...] and the central medium used for understanding, interpretation and construction of reality’ (O’Snaughnessy and Stadler, 2012:63). Furthermore, considering that language is produced by human beings, it can be said that ‘language is not natural’ and, thus, it is not neutral either (ibid.: 66). In other words ‘language and media are both systems of representation’ and accordingly are the ‘key terms in media studies’ (ibid.: 74). All in all, it can be said that the ‘social and personal beliefs’ of the media can have an impact on ‘the semantics [...] or choice of wording of a particular article’ or that the media ‘may use factors such as tone to slant information for a particular effect on audiences’ (Online 1). The media representing political affairs may as well ‘foster discourse that favours either conservative or liberal principles’ (ibid.). Thus, it can be stated that a number of principles ‘that guide and define media discourse’ exist, such as, ‘regions, ideological groups’ and the value of objectivity to the reporters who choose whether a fact-based approach to the news reporting without ‘prejudice or bias’ or an opinion-based account of events.

Consequently, a conclusion can be made that a news report may not always be neutral, value-free and content-based, because journalism is a sphere which is influenced by various

factors including reporter's personal judgements and the owners of particular media industries. Thus, it is essential to study and analyse media discourse from diverse perspectives and using various approaches. Moreover, the author of the present paper concludes that notwithstanding the fact that media discourse is an immense field of study, and it is described in a variety of ways, it can be defined as a tool for communicating foreign and domestic affairs primarily via language (spoken and written).

1.2. Approaches to Media Discourse Analysis

The complexity of media discourse studies from various perspectives has been discussed at the beginning of the chapter. Bednarek (2006) has quoted Bell (1991) stating that 'the analysis of media language demands decisions in three areas' (in Bednarek, 2006: 5). The mentioned areas are:

- the genres: news [...] or advertising (type of media content)
- the outlets: the publications, radio stations etc. (carriers of content)
- the outputs: specific newscasts, programmes and the time period to be covered [...]. (Bednarek, 2006:5)

The present paper accordingly deals with the news genre as a type of media content, publication outlet as a carrier of content and specific newscasts and time period outputs.

The importance of analysing news discourse is discussed by Devereux (2007) who claims that first of all it should be noted that the influence of mass media in 'reflecting, constructing and expressing' the reality in the lives of society is not to be 'underestimated' (2007:85). The author points out that 'news is a creative process that transforms raw materials [...] such as linguistic, social and historical determinants into recognisable products which the society accepts as familiar'; therefore, a special care should be taken in providing that the products provided by the media are not 'promoting mythologies and false understandings' (ibid.). In order for the news media to 'contribute towards greater equity amongst people', 'more sophisticated means of media analysis' have been introduced (ibid.).

Several approaches and frameworks for analysing both media discourse and the language of news may be discussed. The first approach is 'an analytical framework for the structures of news discourse in the press' introduced by Van Dijk (1985), who has combined the 'production and interpretation of discourse as well as its textual analysis' (1985:69). The approach termed 'thematic analysis [...] goes beyond micro-analysis of language [...] concentrating on the arrangement of themes in news reports' (ibid.). Thematic analysis reviews different categories of news report, namely, 'headlines, lead paragraphs, previous events, background and the main event' (Van Dijk, 1985:69).

The next framework is 'Bell's step-by-step guide' to news analysis, which aims at 'determining the event structure in a news story and establishing what the story actually says happened' (in Devereux, 2007:86). In other words, the framework concentrates on analysing the gaps and imperfections of a news story. In this framework, Bell (1998) focuses the attention on three subjects i.e. 'the processes which produce media language; the notion of the news story; and the role of the media audience' (ibid.). Thus, in contrast to the above mentioned two authors and their frameworks, Bell's framework 'emphasizes the concept of the story as being central to the news' (ibid.).

One of the oldest approaches to media discourse analysis is 'Hall's encoding/decoding model' (1973:507). The model is concentrated on the importance of how audience perceives and 'interprets media language [...] via signs and codes' (ibid.). The 'signs and codes' of the media language can be interpreted 'in ways that differ from what the creator of [...] the codes has intended' (ibid.). According to Hall's (1973) model, the audience does not always perceive the information as it is put forward and tend to decode the 'messages according to their own social identity' (1973:508).

A similar approach focusing on the significance of how the audience perceives the media language is described by Cotter (2010). The author introduces 'an interactional and ethnographic approach' outlining its key points as follows:

- Contradictory perceptual boundaries create the clash between the news media and the public [...] because perceptions are developed by on-going, shared group experiences i.e. a reporter reads [...] news differently than a reader and sees partitions in the text and presentation that a reader does not.
- The shape or content of media discourse is influenced by context (local and professional), structure (how news is gathered and assembled), and interaction (of practitioners and a community of readers and listeners).
- The approach [...] allows one to study the process of news production, the practice of journalists, and their relationships internally and externally.
- Constraints of different orders work simultaneously to influence practice: technical, textual, relational, and socio-political (i.e. technology, text, audience, and ideology). (Cotter, 2010: 15)

Cotter also remarks that 'the value of linguistic approaches to the analysis of news media communicative actions has the net goal of understanding news language of all levels and allowing for a comprehensiveness and understanding of media outputs and news discourse' (2010:16). The interactional and ethnographic approach deals with analysing the different influential factors which have impacts on news media language and media discourse. It should be noted thought, that when discussing the factors that influence news reporting, media language and media discourse are not to be confused, because each of them is governed by different factors. When referring to the influences of news discourse, 'context, structure

and interaction' elements should be discussed, because they are 'to be looked at in any speech situation to determine what affects the shape and content of a discourse' (Cotter, 2010:25). According to Cotter, 'context, structure and interaction [...] are discursive operational elements [...] present in any journalistic communicative situation' (ibid.). News language, however, is influenced by 'profession-specific factors' i.e. 'constraints of the medium, journalists' consideration of audience, and the language attitudes [...] of journalists' (ibid.).

Media discourse apart from all the above discussed approaches can also be analysed in the framework of 'at least eight linguistic approaches to media language' (Bednarek, 2006: 11). The first approach is '*the critical approach*' which studies the social and ideological aspects of media discourse (ibid.). The second '*narrative/pragmatic/stylistic*' approach, as the name suggests, studies 'the structure and language of news discourse' from the narrative, stylistic and pragmatic perspectives (ibid.). The third approach termed '*the corpus-linguistic approach*' is defined as 'research of newspaper discourse with the help of corpora' (ibid.: 12). The fourth '*practice-focused approach*' has been introduced by Bell (1991) and focuses on studying the 'news making practices' (in Bednarek, 2006:12). The last four linguistic approaches to media discourse analysis described by Bednarek (2006) are 'the diachronic approach, the socio-linguistic approach, the cognitive approach and the conversationalist approach' (ibid.). The *diachronic approach* accordingly deals with studying news texts from the historical point of view; *the socio-linguistic approach* focuses on the study of 'the correlation between style and social factors'; *the cognitive approach* deals with 'the relations between cognitive processes, conceptual metaphors etc.'; and *the conversationalist approach* deals with methods of conversation analysis (Bednarek, 2006:12).

Furthermore, it should be noted that apart from all the above mentioned aspects of media discourse to be studied, it is essential to pay attention to the space and the time in which a particular media story is created. The reason is that media texts 'do not just appear on their own' instead they are created in specific situations and contexts which influence the meaning of the texts (O'Shaughnessy and Stadler, 2012:94). Hence, 'time and space' are the two main contexts in media discourse analysis (ibid.). Space can be further discussed in terms of the physical place where a particular text/article is produced and later where it is read; time, however, concerns the specific periods of events covered by the media as well as when the media text is produced.

All in all, the author of the present paper concludes that there exist many approaches to news and media discourse analysis starting with text-based approaches and frameworks in the 20th century and ending with audience oriented approaches at the beginning of the 21st century. There are no arguments, however, that the combination of various approaches is

required when producing an up-to-date, objective and valuable study of news discourse. The combination of approaches and methods can be referred to as 'eclecticism'. The term has been also applied to media discourse analysis by O'Keeffe (2006) who avers that due to the fact that there exist a certain difficulty in applying a single method to media discourse analysis, 'media interactions require an eclectic approach' (2006: 157). In other words, media discourse analysis should be carried out by considering at least few if not the sum of various approaches to it. Nevertheless, since the present research concerns print media discourse and specifically the linguistic peculiarities of newspaper articles representing hard news, the author of the present paper will apply an eclectic approach including corpus-linguistic, spatial and temporal approach to the comparative discourse analysis of hard news articles.

1.3. Defining Print Media Discourse

Print media discourse as a type of media discourse has been discussed by a number of scholars including Newsom and Wollert (1985), Matheson (2005), Bednarek (2006), Silverblatt (2008), Conboy (2010), Van Hout and Cotter (2014). Taking into consideration the fact that the print media are considered to be the first representatives of mass media communication, the definitions and descriptions of the print media and print media discourse from the earlier times in history will be reviewed first.

Thus, the print media are divided into two main types, namely 'newspapers and magazines', the reading of which 'requires a conscious effort' (Newsom and Wollert, 1985:8). The conscious effort is the factor that makes the print media well received and approved, because the audience can 'read and re-read' what they do not understand in the text and later 'return for reference' (ibid.). A more contemporary opinion is expressed by O'Keeffe (2006), who proposes that print media discourse should be looked upon from the perspective of genre studies, claiming that the 'language of newspapers is one of the four major registers in English' alongside with academic language, spoken language and the language of fiction (2006: 442). Thus, print media discourse in terms of its linguistic values is discussed as a separate genre due to the reason that the language of the print media differs from traditional linguistic genres.

Notwithstanding the fact that the print media have been regarded as the most popular mass media representatives, a different view has been expressed by Silverblatt (2008), who remarks that the print media have lived through the 'most radical decline with regard to the consumption of news' (2008:216). Silverblatt (2008) backs up the opinion expressed by providing different examples and statistics of the decreasing popularity of newspapers in the United States. Although the author expresses a rather topical concern, the opinion that the

number of newspapers bought decreases because the information distributed by the print media is not of interest to the readers can be opposed. The actual reason is discussed by several of the above mentioned scholars (e.g. Matheson, 2005; Bednarek, 2006 and Conboy, 2010), who maintain that the influencing factor is the development of media and technology and the fact that a variety of the most consumed newspapers are nowadays available on the internet. Another probable reason for the decrease of popularity of newspapers is the fact that newspaper 'has emerged as an elite medium' meaning that it is not of interest to any kind of audience (Silverblatt, 2008:230). Silverblatt (2008) has also opined that the target audience of newspapers can be characterised as being 'older, well-educated, and of relatively high income' (ibid.). The statement can be debated, however, by repeating the abovementioned fact, that due to the development of mass media, newspapers are now available to any kind of readership interested in the events represented by the discussed type of print media. Thus, it can be concluded that although media technologies have developed 'journalism, [...] both controlled and uncontrolled' has remained a 'permanent social and political phenomenon' (Conboy, 2010: 32).

The most thorough and up-to-date definition of print media discourse has been provided by Van Hout and Cotter (2014), who state that it 'can be defined as written language embedded in identifiable genres for mass public consumption through recognizable modes of transmission produced across local and global contexts' (Van Hout and Cotter, 2014:1). These modes of transmission or 'hallmarks of print media discourse' are 'written word and image' (ibid.). Thus, print media discourse can be considered a 'public discourse, the language of which is socially situated or reflective of the norms and routines of the people who either produce or consume media' (ibid.).

Further on, it can be stated that given the present day development of technology, it is logical that everything including media discourse develops with technology. Due to the fact that the media and the print media in particular succeed to 'adapt' to the aforementioned changes of technology and information era, nowadays the study of print media discourse attracts more and more attention from scholars and language researchers (ibid.). This is due to the fact, that today the necessary information can be found in the newspaper archives on the internet. Moreover, it can be pointed out that 'in addition to being a convenient and popular source of socially meaningful data, print media discourse is linguistically interesting' (Van Hout and Cotter, 2014:2). The reason for the preoccupation of linguists with media discourse is the fact that 'language is used in significant ways to mediate social events and index social meaning, attitude, value, hierarchy, and structure, both explicitly and implicitly' (ibid.). Thus,

a conclusion is made that print media discourse is the written version of the news delivered by the media, and the two major types of the same are magazines and newspapers.

1.3.1. Characteristics of News and Newspapers

To begin with, a theoretical background and the characteristics of news will be introduced in order to establish the basis for further analysis. Hence, news as a term according to McKane (2006) can be defined as ‘something somebody wants suppressed [...] or anything which interests a large part of the community’ (2006:1). News can also be described as ‘new information and event or issue that is shared with others in a systematic and public way’ (Zelizer and Allan, 2010: 80).

McKane (2006) proposes fifteen criteria for evaluating news namely, frequency, threshold, unexpectedness, elite persons, elite nations, negativity, continuity, unambiguity, meaningfulness, consonance, composition, personalisation, exclusivity and conflict (McKane, 2006: 2). The criteria can be further classified into three groups: ‘criteria about the event, criteria about the nature of the event, and criteria about the treatment of the event’ (ibid.: 3).

The criteria about the event are frequency and threshold. **Frequency** or ‘timescale’ shows the topicality of the news i.e. the ‘immediate representation’ of an event (McKane, 2006:4). The time of the representation of a news event may vary depending on the type of newspapers. For a daily newspaper, for example, the time limit would be a day, and for a monthly newspaper accordingly it would be a month. Another aspect which influences the ‘frequency’ of news is the availability of the information about a particular event, because an exception can be made when the information becomes available only after a while (ibid.). **Threshold** is ‘the scale of an event’ or ‘impact’, namely, the size of the readership interested in the news, e.g. local or global readership (McKane, 2006:4).

The criteria about the nature of the event include: **unexpectedness** (i.e. the unlikelihood of an event). In other words, in order for an event to be considered newsworthy it should be both rare and unexpected. The **elite persons** criterion refers to celebrities, i.e. in order for an event to be newsworthy it should be about famous people. The **elite nations** criterion means that a newsworthy event would also be one which is about something happening in well-known or influential countries of the world, e.g.: the USA, Russia, Germany. The **negativity** criterion is newsworthy because ‘bad news stories [...] are more interesting than good news’ (McKane, 2006:4). The **continuity** criterion is about a repeated representation of an event in news, e.g. a continuing conflict between states. **Unambiguity** in terms of news has the same meaning as the unambiguity of language in linguistics i.e. ‘the story should be easily understood’, meaning that redundancy is not a good style (McKane, 2006:5). The

meaningfulness criterion means that the readers usually like to read news about people who are similar to them, and the **consonance** criterion means that a news story needs to meet the expectations of its readership (i.e. include the other evaluation criteria of news).

The criteria more concerned with the language and the representation of the news, namely, the *treatment of the news* are described as follows: **the composition** criterion is about the structure of the story; the **personalisation** criterion is about making the readership feel closer to the news event (e.g. via use of personal pronouns). The **exclusivity** criterion means that an event should be exclusive i.e. not yet discussed by other representatives of media. The **conflict** criterion is connected with the subjectivity vs. objectivity of representation of an event, especially ‘a political or international affairs event’ (McKane, 2006:6). The conflict criterion or subjectivity of the news has been discussed by a variety of scholars, e.g. Bednarek (2006), Machin and Leeuwen (2007), Talbot (2007), Cotter (2010). Bednarek (2006) has outlined the above discussed criteria in similar terms and called them ‘news values’ (2006:20). The author further has reviewed the subjectivity of news in contrast to evaluation stating that subjectivity is connected with the expression of journalist’s attitudes via ‘speaker’s perspective and modality’ in broad sense, while evaluation is concerned with emphasizing attitudes (Bednarek, 2006:20).

The contemporary language of news and newspapers has also been discussed by Conboy (2007) who states that ‘newspapers are language-forming institutions meaning that [...] the language of the newspapers is influenced by broader linguistic trends’ (2007:8). In other words, language development also influences media language, which is one of the first to introduce the new language trends to the society. Machin and Leeuwen (2007) contend that in the ‘early nineteenth century newspapers were important vehicles of political communication’ (2007:7). The authors speak about the fact that the nineteenth-century newspapers from the perspective of the 21st century may be characterised as subjective, because the newspapers of the nineteenth century ‘openly took sides in political issues [...] and did not separate fact and comment’ (ibid.). The authors also discuss the development of newspapers which started in the mid-nineteenth century with the spread of discussions on the global matters in journalism. The mentioned development changed the newspaper style for more objective and ‘neutral’ in order to be ‘saleable to editors of different political persuasion’ (Machin and Leeuwen, 2007:7). The changes which took place in the mid-nineteenth century over the world of journalism were called ‘standardization’ (ibid.: 8). The term suggests that in order to be able to sell news to people of different political views, ‘news had to become politically neutral, pure information, pure fact’ (ibid.:9). It should be noted that the neutral approach of representing political news is commonly used in newspapers all

over the world even today. The term ‘neutrality’ in terms of journalists and media implies that news should be discussed in terms of a ‘quality of having no perspective on a news event or issue, balance, objectivity and impartiality’ (Zelizer and Allan, 2010:81).

To conclude, it can be stated that newspapers ‘are valuable information sources [...] because in all communities the newspaper is the medium of record’ (Newsom and Wollert, 1985:150). In other words, the information provided by newspapers apart from other factors is also valuable because ‘newspaper research is always timely’ i.e. can be reviewed in whichever time preferable to the reader (ibid.).

1.3.2. Types of Newspapers: Tabloids and Broadsheets

Tabloids and broadsheets as types of newspapers have been described by scholars such as e.g.: Bednarek (2006), Sterling (2009), Zelizer and Allan (2010) and Busà (2013). Bednarek (2006) refers to tabloids and broadsheets as ‘popular press’ and ‘quality press’ (2006: 13). According to Bednarek (2006), both types of newspapers differ in various aspects of both linguistic and non-linguistic nature. Although the author only reviews British popular press (*The Daily Mail, The Daily Mirror, The Sun*) and quality press (e.g. *The Guardian, The Independent, The Times*), it can be stated that the aspects discussed by Bednarek apply to tabloids and broadsheets of all around the world. Some of the linguistic and non-linguistic aspects of tabloids and broadsheets are the following:

- Tabloids are sold four times as much as broadsheets and are read by the majority of people in comparison to broadsheets;
- Majority of the broadsheet readership are middle-higher class educated people, tabloids, however, are read by people representing a variety of social classes;
- Tabloids and broadsheets differ not only in the target readership, but also in the register of language and subjects to be discussed in the papers;
- Both tabloids and broadsheets (of British press) are free from political influences (Bednarek, 2006:13).

The term broadsheet thus ‘refers to [...] the large size of the paper used for a newspaper and traditionally has dominated the daily newspaper industry’; however, over time many broadsheets have lost their popularity and given place for newspapers with smaller format (Sterling, 2009: 223). Nevertheless, the format is not the only aspect which makes broadsheets different from tabloids, because ‘the term broadsheet [...] carries particular connotations of journalistic quality and seriousness’ (Sterling, 2009: 224). Zelizer and Allan (2010) describe broadsheets in similar terms stating that ‘it is a term used to describe a relatively large format of a newspaper [...] and is typically situated in the serious end of quality continuum’ (2010: 13). Sterling (2009) and Zelizer and Allan (2010) agree that over

time the two terms have overlapped, and nowadays the margins between tabloids and broadsheets are thin. The reason is that many traditional broadsheets in the world have now taken the tabloid format, although there are some exceptions as, for example, *The Daily Mail* and *The Guardian* in the United Kingdom and *The New York Times* in the United States (Zelizer and Allan, 2010:13).

Busà (2013) has defined broadsheets as ‘typically covering the most important national and international news and being written using formal language with a sober tone’ (Busà, 2013:89). Tabloids, however, differ considerably when compared to broadsheets because ‘tabloids provide less in-depth news and give more coverage to gossip, entertainment, and sports news’ (ibid.). The language of tabloids is ‘informal and [...] is characterised by an extensive use of slang and often irrelevant tone’ (ibid.). Apart from the functions and language of broadsheets and tabloids, they also attract different types of readership. Broadsheets attract ‘educated middle-class’ people, whereas tabloids are said to be of interest to ‘less educated working class audience’ (ibid: 90). Tabloids are further on characterised as displaying visual effects (pictures) in their articles and less factual headlines in contrast to broadsheets (Busà, 2013:90). As to the web-pages of broadsheet newspapers and tabloids it can be stated that the web-versions of the newspapers whether broadsheets or tabloids use the same characteristics as their printed counterparts (ibid.). Sterling (2009) provides a less contrasting description of tabloids as compared to broadsheets, opining that nowadays both types of newspapers are almost interchangeable. In other words, there are very few differences between the types of newspapers, namely, tabloids are still focused on attracting attention of the audience and broadsheets are focused on providing ‘an in-depth quality information’ (Sterling, 2009: 225).

All in all, the author of the present paper concludes that each of the aforementioned scholars has provided rather similar definitions of tabloids and broadsheets as they existed before the 21st century, but the opinions about the newspaper types nowadays differ.

To conclude, Chapter 1 has dealt with the concept of media discourse, approaches to media discourse analysis and the characteristics of print media discourse, and newspapers in particular. The difference between tabloids and broadsheets as types of newspapers has also been reviewed. The following chapter will review the concept of hard news and hard news articles as well as the linguistic peculiarities used in hard news articles.

2. CONCEPT OF HARD NEWS

Chapter 2 deals with the concept of hard news, the structure of hard news articles and the theoretical framework for the analysis of linguistic peculiarities in hard news articles. First, the discussion of the concept 'Hard News' is provided. After that, the structure and the overall characteristics of hard news articles are discussed. Finally, the linguistic peculiarities used in hard news articles are introduced and their main functions are described.

2.1. Defining Hard News

In comparison with the concept of media discourse, news discourse and even newspaper discourse, the concept of hard news has not been discussed widely. Nevertheless, there are several scholars who have described patterns and guidelines for both writing and analysing hard news articles, e.g.: White (2000), Bednarek (2006), Allan (2010), Bednarek and Caple (2012) and Busà (2013).

To begin with, it should be noted that hard news stories as any other news story encompasses several crucial objectives to be reached, namely, 'objectivity, neutrality and interpersonally' (White, 2000: 3). The three objectives of hard news coincide with a thorough and an up-to-date description of hard news provided by Allan (2010) who avers that hard news is 'a type of news associated with importance, significance, immediacy and relevance which reflects the news which the public needs to know' (Allan, 2010:53). Further on, it can be stated that hard news is usually referred to as being the opposite of soft news, 'human interest news' and 'editorials or leaders which foreground matters of opinion' (Allan, 2010:53). Journalists often proclaim the ability to recognise hard news 'when they see it', which does not seem to be the case, because hard news similar to every term in journalism studies is rather difficult to define (ibid.). Nowadays the distinction between hard news and soft news has become complicated because of the reason that news writers today tend to use 'attributes of both types of news' (ibid.). Nevertheless, there exist some distinctive features of hard news as they have been 'initially characterized as a genre of newspaper narrative [...] that organizes facts within a distinctively hierarchical structure' (ibid.). The hierarchical structure of hard news is called 'an inverted pyramid' and is 'based on notions of newsworthiness and timeliness, as determined via a 24-hour news cycle' (Allan, 2010:53).

A more simplified and descriptive characterisation of hard news is provided by Busà (2013), who defines hard news as 'stories concerning events that have just happened or are about to happen' (2013: 37). Although it is usually considered that hard news articles cover only 'catastrophic and life-threatening' events such as 'crimes, wars and disasters', it is not

always so, because a hard news report can also cover a topic on political or economic issues concerning, for example, elections or laws to be passed (Busà, 2013: 37). It is most often hard news stories that take up the front pages of newspapers (ibid.). Thus, it can be said that hard news meet at least four criteria of news evaluation discussed in Chapter 1 (i.e. negativity, continuity, exclusivity and conflict).

2.2. Structure of Hard News Articles

To begin with, it should be pointed out that a ‘linguistic text in most print news genres can be structurally separated into three parts, namely, ‘headline; introduction/lead; body/lead development’ (Bednarek and Caple, 2012:96). Hard news articles, texts or reports, although generally viewed as a separate ‘text type or genre’, still retain the structure introduced above (White, 2000:3). Thus, although hard news articles as ‘news items’ are said to differ considerably in the general characteristics of texts, a characteristic that is kept traditional is the ‘inverted pyramid structure’ (White, 2000:6). The inverted pyramid structure in hard news reports means that the text first outlines ‘the most important’ information to be delivered and then continues with ‘the least important’ facts and comments (ibid.). In more journalistic language, the inverted pyramid of a hard news report aims at outlining the ‘outcome’ of an event at the beginning, ‘while background, detailed information about its circumstances is provided in decreasing order of importance’ (Busà, 2013:37). The importance parameter of general news reports discussed in Chapter 1 here is of crucial importance because relevant information is expected to come first in hard news articles. Thus, the information later on discussed in the lead of a hard news report is first of all introduced in the headline.

Headlines of hard news texts ‘are the integral part’ of the story (Bednarek and Caple, 2012:96). They function in three different ways, namely, ‘to frame the event, to summarise the story and to attract the reader’ (ibid.). Nevertheless, it should be noted that headlines are usually written after concluding the lead and the main text of an article; moreover, headlines are not written by the reporter, but by the editor (Bednarek and Caple, 2012:100). Since headlines are supposed to attract the readers’ attention, a variety of linguistic features may be applied to create this effect:

- Strong, intense, emotional/evaluative words;
- Rhetorical devices and foregrounding techniques, such as word or sound play (punning, intertextuality, allusion, alliteration, rhyme, metaphors, idioms, quotations);
- Omission of functional/grammatical words (e.g. determiners, auxiliaries, finite verbs etc.);
- Use of the present tense;
- Premodified noun phrases;

- Rare specification of time, but often specifying the ‘how’ and sometimes specifying place or a previous action;
- Rare use of attribution. (Bednarek and Caple, 2012:101)

The lead which is also referred to as an opening paragraph ‘usually provides a summary or abstract of the hard account’s essential peg or hook which projects, in turn, the story in a particular direction or news angle’ (Allan, 2010:53). The lead or introduction of a hard news story, apart from all the mentioned terms referring to it is also called the ‘abstract or nucleus’, because it ‘presents the point or newsworthy elements of the story and simultaneously works at the beginning of the story’ (Bednarek and Caple, 2012:97). The lead functions in the same way as the headline, namely, to attract readers’ attention and to summarise the story. Several scholars (e.g. Bednarek, 2006; Allan, 2010; Busà, 2013) have described typical hard news lead identification parameters referring to them as ‘*the five Ws and H*’. ‘The five Ws and H’ parameters include five interrogative pronouns, namely, who, what, where, when, why and how, which are ‘most pertinent to the news item’ (Allan, 2010:53). Nevertheless, the ‘why’ parameter ‘invites interpretation, which risks upsetting the codified structures of objectivity’ (ibid.). A typical hard news report uses the parameters in order to ‘provide an account of the facts [...] together with the reasons and implications for the readership’ (Busà, 2013:37).

The body or lead development has been described as adding ‘different types of information [...] i.e. background and context and featuring attribution of information’ (Bednarek and Caple, 2012: 98). The authors state that ‘there is general agreement on the structure of hard news stories that the order in which the events are reported is non-chronological and does not mirror the order in which events happened in real life’ (ibid.).

Apart from the above discussed structure of hard news reports, it is also essential to point out that the term ‘narrative’ is applicable in hard news reports, because due to the ‘inverted pyramid’ structure a hard news report can be considered to be a story and therefore also a narrative (Conboy, 2013:43). Hard news report is a narrative which ‘creates perspective [...] and gives its characters context and character’ (ibid.). Hard news narratives tend to put emphasis on elite people and elite nations (discussed in Chapter 1) and make them the ‘dominant characters of the story version’ (ibid.).

2.3. Functions of Linguistic Peculiarities in Hard News Articles

Although there exist various linguistic aspects (e.g. articles, tenses, vocabulary, noun phrases and modality) to be looked at when analysing hard news reports; the present paper deals exclusively with five relatively less reviewed aspects, namely, the use of modality, adjectives,

the passive voice, personal pronouns and lexical stylistic devices (metaphors and similes in particular). Nevertheless, before outlining the characteristics and functions of the selected linguistic peculiarities, it should be noted that the theoretical framework for the present research is based on the study by Bednarek (2006), who has analysed the linguistic means of evaluation in hard news articles across various tabloids and broadsheets of the British press. Since the present paper aims at analysing two of the linguistic peculiarities related to the ‘expression of opinion through language’ in hard news reporting, the concept of evaluation should be reviewed (Bednarek, 2006:3).

Evaluation is ‘a phenomenon of speaker opinion’ also known as ‘appraisal and stance’ (ibid.). Evaluation is interrelated with both discourse analysis and corpus analysis (ibid.). The reason first of all is that evaluation ‘can only be correctly understood, interpreted and analysed when looking at its context’, and second, it can be analysed inside a specific corpora, as in the case of the present study - the corpus of hard news articles reporting military conflicts in the world (Bednarek, 2006:9). Evaluation is also closely connected with subjectivity, which is one of the most discussed aspects of news reporting also reviewed in Chapter 1. Both evaluation and subjectivity in hard news reporting can be expressed using various linguistic means the two of which, i.e. modality and adjectives are discussed further in the chapter. The means of expressing evaluation ‘are used to establish and sustain the point, the contextual significance and tellability, or reportability of a story’ (Bednarek, 2006:24).

2.3.1. Functions of Modality in Hard News Articles

Modality is a term used in many fields, e.g. grammar, literature, narrative analysis and also discourse analysis. Before reviewing the concept and functions of modality, it should be pointed out that ‘approaches to modality are far too manifold and complex to discuss in detail, because this alone would fill a book’ (Bednarek, 2006: 21). Therefore, for the purpose of the present study, only the major systems of modality and their functions in reporting hard news will be reviewed.

In discourse analysis, modality is defined as ‘ways of expressing possibility (epistemic modality) and necessity (deontic modality)’ (Baker and Ellece, 2011:71). Moreover, ‘aspects of modality are sometimes discussed in critical discourse analysis because modal verbs [...] often highlight power inequalities of ideology’ where ‘deontic modality [...] expresses authority whereas epistemic modality – different representation of the world’ (ibid.: 72). Although modality in discourse analysis has been discussed in terms of the aforementioned patterns of modality, it should be noted that there exist other distinctions of modal systems specifically concerned with the linguistic analysis of news. For instance, Bednarek (2006) and

Bednarek and Caple (2012) apart from the traditional epistemic-deontic modality division also discuss 'dynamic' modality and 'evidentiality'. Dynamic modality is concerned with the 'ability, volition and objective possibility of subjects' ; 'evidentiality', however, expresses 'the kinds of evidence a person has for making factual claims' (Bednarek, 2006: 21,22).

Epistemic and evidential modal systems enable the reporter to express his or her attitude towards something what is 'real, actual, and factual' in two ways (Palmer, 2001:45).

Epistemic modality is the way of expressing both factuality and judgement or attitude towards it; evidential modality or 'evidentiality', however, expresses 'the evidence which the speaker has for making a statement' (ibid.). **Epistemic modality** is expressed by means of several strong and weak modal markers, namely, the modal verbs *may*, *must*, *will* denoting either a 'possible conclusion', 'only possible conclusion' or 'a reasonable conclusion' and sentence adverbials (e.g. *certainly*, *of course*, *possibly*, *perhaps*, *maybe*) (Palmer, 2001: 45).

Evidentiality or **evidential modality** is expressed by means of 'verba sentiendi' or verbs of emotion and perception (e.g. *see*, *hear*, *feel*, *believe*, *think*), adverbials such as *evidently*, and by mentioning the source of information (e.g. *according to*) (ibid.).

Deontic and dynamic modality, however, are concerned with the 'events that are not actualised and events that have not taken place but are merely potential' (Bednarek, 2006: 70). The two modal systems thus are concerned with 'communicating judgements of moral and legal obligations' (deontic modality) and expressing ability, willingness and volition to do something (dynamic modality) (ibid.:74). **Deontic modality** is expressed by means of the weak modal verb *may* and strong modal verb *must* when denoting permission and obligation; by means of the modal verb *shall* when denoting that one 'is committing oneself to do something'; and by means of the verb phrases *to have to* and *to be to* expressing strong deontic modality, and the weak modal verbs *should* and *ought to* when denoting duty or moral obligation (Palmer, 2001: 73). **Dynamic modality** is expressed by means of the modal verbs *can* and *will* to denote ability and volition (ibid.).

Thus, it can be concluded that modality is used on a regular basis and that it is present in all types of texts, particularly when it is showed by the usual means of expression (e.g. modal verbs). Nevertheless, since hard news reports are to be objective and the reporter (narrator) is to be reliable, the degree of modality expressed in the news story should be limited. The degree of modality implies strong and weak epistemic and deontic modal markers, where strong modality denotes certainty and obligation, and weak modality implies possibility and uncertainty of the reporter about the factual status of an event. In either of cases, as stated above, an excessive use of modal markers points at subjective and unreliable character of the report and biased views of the reporter. Therefore, in the context of hard news reporting,

modality can also be referred to as ‘relative truth value’ of the report or narrative (Allan, 2010: 103). Furthermore, the main function of modality in hard news reports similarly as in any other narrative is to show attitudes, opinions and judgements, and thus denote the level of subjectivity, evaluation and reliability of the information expressed. Nevertheless, no story whether objective or not, can be constructed without the presence of modality, because low level of modality ‘tends to result in bland and rather dry discount’ of events (Fulton, Huisman, Murphet and Dunn, 2005: 232).

2.3.2. Functions of Adjectives in Hard News Articles

Adjectives generally are considered to be descriptive words for other parts of speech (e.g. nouns, verbs) in a text. According to Baker and Ellece (2011), ‘adjectives can be evaluative and are thus important in discursive representation as they reveal author’s stance’ (2011:4). Notwithstanding the fact that generally adjectives are thought to be ‘extremely common in advertising discourse’, nowadays the use of adjectives is common in various types of texts, and also in other types of media discourse including in hard news reports (ibid.).

On the most basic level, adjectives are subdivided into two groups, namely gradable adjectives such as ‘happy, happier, happiest’ and non-gradable e.g. ‘dead and live’ (ibid.). Baker and Ellece (2011) introduce other subgroups of adjectives which ‘have consequences for discourse representation’ (ibid.). The subgroups are ‘attributive and predicative adjectives’ (Baker and Ellece, 2011:4). An attributive adjective ‘directly modifies a noun and appears as one descriptive component of a person’s identity potentially allowing for other representations’ (ibid.). A predicative adjective, however, ‘is often used with copula where the adjectival trait becomes foregrounded, with the referent appearing to be the sum of the adjective’ (Baker and Ellece, 2011:4).

Apart from the above mentioned general categories of adjectives, a more relevant category for the purpose of the present study can be discussed, i.e. evaluative adjectives. Evaluative adjectives are words which convey a specific attitude, stance or evaluation of the reporter (Bednarek, 2006:36). Bednarek (2006) discusses the classification of eight types of evaluative adjectives:

1. Modality: impossible (that), inconceivable, unlikely, improbable, uncertain, questionable, debatable, possible (that), conceivable, likely, probable, certain, sure;
2. Ability: easy, possible (to), hard, difficult, impossible (to);
3. Importance: important, necessary, vital, essential, imperative;
4. Predictability: surprising, extraordinary, astonishing, amazing, strange, natural, unsurprising, inevitable;
5. Obviousness: obvious, clear, evident, self-evident, unclear;

6. Value and appropriacy: wonderful, better, best, good, worth, right, legitimate, appropriate, fitting, encouraging, interesting, exciting, nice, wrong, illegal, unfortunate;
7. Rationality: reasonable, fair, absurd, ridiculous, stupid;
8. Truth: true, untrue, false. (Bednarek, 2006: 36)

The abovementioned types of evaluative adjectives can also be applied for the purpose of the present research together with other types of adjectives found in news e.g. descriptive adjectives, predicative adjectives and ‘attributive adjectives that pre-modify nouns’ (Bednarek and Caple, 2012:85).

All in all, in news narratives, adjectives are considered to be interconnected with modality, because evaluative adjectives together with adverbs and sentence adverbials actually express modality (Fulton, Huisman, Murphet and Dunn, 2005: 232). Consequently, it can be stated that the function of adjectives in hard news articles is similar to that of modality, namely, to express a certain degree of evaluation and opinion or standing of the reporter towards the subject of the report.

2.3.3. Functions of Passive Voice in Hard News Articles

To begin with, the passive voice is a linguistic phenomenon which makes a ‘subject of the sentence be the receiver of an action’ expressed; the doer of the action may or may not be revealed (Kohn, 2003:98). The passive voice is one of the least discussed linguistic or linguo-stylistic elements of news, and hard news in particular. Nevertheless, there are authors (e.g. Kohn, 2003) who express an opinion that the function of the passive voice in a news story is to distort the reader; thus, it is a bad style to use the passive voice in reporting a hard news event. The aforementioned statement may explain the lack of discussions about the use of the passive voice in hard news reporting. Kohn (2003) also argues that the ‘passive voice is a classic means of spinning a story with the views or speculations of a reporter or editor’ (2003: 98). Although it is widely accepted that the active voice is preferable when reporting hard news, the ‘passive voice can be used where the doer of the action is unknown and the reporter wishes to inject his opinion of the doer’s identity or to conceal it’ (Kohn, 2003:99). A similar opinion has been expressed by Mnookin (2004), who asserts that the passive voice in hard news reporting is used ‘as a substitute for sourcing, speculation and overstatement based on evidence seen or heard’ (2004:149).

Thus, it can be concluded that the passive voice in hard news articles is generally not preferable because apart from the aforementioned reasons, it also makes the report look like ‘it is blaming the receivers of the action for what has been done to them’ (Online 2). Although ‘it is not a grammar crime to use the passive voice in reporting’, it is still ‘discouraged’ due to

the reason that ‘it makes for a weak and muddled intro, where the newsworthy thing is not actually the subject of the sentence’ (Online 2). Nevertheless, the passive voice is applicable in several cases, i.e. when the doer of an action is not known or is irrelevant, when the reporter wants ‘to be vague about the doer’, when the reporter is talking about ‘general truth’ and when the reporter aims at ‘emphasizing’ the receiver of the action (ibid.).

2.3.4. Functions of Personal Pronouns in Hard News Articles

The overall function of pronouns in hard news reporting is to ‘take on referential meanings’ (O’Keeffe, 2006: 66). In other words, pronouns function in making references to people, places, or events. O’Keeffe also states that ‘pronouns have a wide variety of social roles and stances and, therefore, interpersonal pronouns are rarely neutral in their reference’ (2006: 134). Consequently, a conclusion can be made that the application of personal pronouns in hard news articles results in a non-neutral and subjective representation of important events.

A different opinion is expressed by Bednarek and Caple (2012), who state that in delivering crucial information to the society, it is essential to establish ‘proximity’ with the readership, and it is established through the application of ‘first person plural pronouns’, i.e. *us, we* (2012:52). The application of the pronoun ‘we’ in hard news is the sign of a ‘newspaper assuming its public voice’ (Allan, 2010:103). No other personal pronouns apart from the above mentioned are applicable in hard news reporting, except the first person personal pronoun ‘I’ in delivering the testimony of ‘eyewitnesses’ (ibid.). Bednarek and Caple (2012) also state that ‘personal pronouns are uncommon in hard news reporting, although they occur slightly more often in newspaper writing than in academic writing’ (2012:85). Consequently, it is essential to study whether and how pronouns are used in hard news reports in the political (military) context.

2.3.5. Functions of Lexical Stylistic Devices in Hard News Articles

Typical news stories reporting whether hard or soft news usually make use of two lexical stylistic devices often found in many fields, namely metaphor and simile (Bednarek and Caple, 2012:50). Both stylistic devices ‘refer to the way one concept is seen in terms of another’, metaphor shows the concept ‘implicitly’, whereas simile depicts it ‘explicitly’ (ibid.). In other words, simile compares a concept of one phenomenon with another directly; however, metaphor shows one concept implying the other.

Since the selected hard news articles deal with political matters, and metaphors are considered to be ‘rhetorical devices in political discourse’, the types of metaphors will be

discussed in more detail (Roziņa and Karapetjana, 2009:118). Thus, hard news reports frequently ‘make use of [...] several conventionalised metaphors to construe consonance’ (Bednarek and Caple, 2012:50). Examples of conventionalised metaphors usually include metaphors or metaphoric expressions of liquid e.g. *flood of refugees* (ibid.: 51). Other types of metaphors, namely, structural (conceptual), orientational and ontological metaphors are described by Lakoff and Johnson (2008). Structural metaphors structure one concept ‘in terms of another’, e.g. ARGUMENT IS WAR (Lakoff and Johnson, 2008:13). Conceptual (structural) metaphors are most often used in various metaphorical expressions hinting at the concept implied, e.g. *to become a target* implying that ARGUMENT IS WAR (Roziņa and Karapetjana, 2009:119). Orientational metaphors ‘organise a whole system of concepts with respect to one another’ and deal with ‘spatial orientation: up-down, in-out, front-back, on-off, deep-shallow, central-peripheral (e.g. *I’m feeling up today*)’ (Lakoff and Johnson, 2008:14). Ontological metaphors depict ‘abstract entities’ as something concrete, e.g. *We’re out of trouble now* (ibid.: 25). Personification is a well-known type of ontological metaphor, as it ‘attributes characteristics of living creatures to abstract objects’, e.g. *Our biggest enemy right now is inflation* (ibid.: 33).

Consequently, metaphors and similes in news reports function in two ways, first to ‘construe consonance’ as mentioned above and second to ‘establish superlativeness’ (ibid.). In other words, the aim of metaphors is first of all to emphasize the concept which is implied by it; therefore, metaphors sometimes are ‘exaggerated’ by some newspapers (Conboy, 2007: 40). The emotive emphasis of metaphors described by Conboy (2007) means that metaphors ‘have an important role in establishing powerful commonsense associations within newspaper texts which do not require much of justification or explanation’ (ibid.: 41). Thus, not only do metaphors emphasize an event and give it emotional meaning, but they also make the news report more believable and in this way ‘manipulate’ with the readers (Roziņa and Karapetjana, 2009: 113).

To sum up, Chapter 2 has dealt with the concept of hard news and the structure of hard news articles. Five linguistic phenomena (i.e. the passive voice, pronouns, adjectives and adverbs, modality and stylistic devices) have been introduced and the functions of the discussed linguistic aspects in hard news articles have been reviewed. The following chapter will comprise the discussion on the methodology of the present research and introduce the results of comparative discourse analysis of hard news articles depicting military conflicts across the world diachronically.

4. COMPARATIVE DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF HARD NEWS ARTICLES

Chapter 3 discusses the methodology and the results of the empirical part of the present research. First, the concept of discourse analysis for the purpose of the present study is explained and the research procedure is introduced. Second, the context for discourse analysis of hard news articles from newspapers printed in different countries of the world is outlined and the selected corpus of hard news articles is described. Consequently, the results of comparative discourse analysis are discussed and the tendencies of linguistic peculiarities of hard news articles across countries of the world diachronically are described.

4.1. Discourse Analysis and Research Methodology

To begin with, it should be noted that discourse analysis has been discussed in various fields apart from linguistics, i.e. politics, psychology, language teaching; therefore, it can be concluded that various definitions of discourse analysis may exist depending on the field in which it is used. Since, the present research is written in the field of linguistics, the working definition of discourse analysis is the one provided by Paltridge (2006), who states that discourse analysis is ‘an approach to the analysis of language that looks at patterns of language across texts as well as the social and cultural contexts in which the texts occur’ (Paltridge, 2006:1). Discourse analysis further ‘discusses particular issues such as relationship between language and social context, culture-specific ways of speaking and writing, and the ways of organising texts in particular social and cultural situations’ (ibid.). Thus, discourse analysis functions in various ways. First, ‘it focuses on the knowledge about language [...] that is needed for successful communication (Paltridge, 2006:2). Second, it ‘looks at patterns of language across texts (written and spoken) and considers the relationship between language and the social and cultural contexts in which it is used’ (ibid.). Third, it ‘considers the ways that the use of language presents different views of the world and different understandings’ (ibid.). Fourth, it ‘examines how the use of language is influenced by relationships between participants as well as the effects the use of language has upon social identities and relations’ (ibid.). Finally, it ‘considers how views of the world and identities, are constructed through the use of discourse’ (ibid.).

Given the abovementioned definition and description of the term, it can be concluded that discourse analysis is by no means a single method or a single approach. On the contrary, it is a body of methodologies establishing a framework for studying the interrelation between language and the social context in which it is used. Moreover, it ‘provides a range of

approaches to data and, crucially, also a range of theorizations of that data' (Wetherell, Taylor and Yates, 2001:1). Therefore, due to the fact that the term discourse analysis 'has a wide reference', it can be considered to be 'rather a field of research than a single practice' (ibid.).

Due to the fact that the present paper deals with comparing the differences and the similarities in the use of linguistic phenomena in hard news articles across time and space, a comparative approach to discourse analysis is applied. The comparative 'method' was originally applied in 'grounded theory methodology', but with time it has become widely applied to the qualitative analysis of discourse with the purpose of 'gradually identifying the salient differences' between 'pieces of data' (Online 3).

Moreover, since print media discourse is considered to be a separate genre as discussed in Chapter 1, the language of hard news articles may be analysed by applying one of the two approaches for genre analysis, namely, the 'text-first approach' or the 'context-first approach' (Paltridge, 2006:98). As the terms suggest, *the text-first approach* implies that the research is carried out by starting with 'looking at typical discourse patterns in the [...] selected texts', *the context-first approach*, however, implies starting the analysis with 'an examination of the context of the texts' to be investigated (ibid.). The present research applies *the context-first approach* and, as the approach envisages, the context of the selected corpus of hard news articles and the selected newspapers precedes the linguistic analysis of the selected texts.

Apart from the above discussed considerations concerning discourse analysis, it should be noted that discourse analysis is often concerned with studying corpora, because 'corpus studies can make an important contribution to [...] understanding of the characteristics of spoken and written discourse' (Paltridge, 2006:155). Corpus 'is a collection of spoken or written authentic texts that is representative of a particular area of language use, by virtue of its size and composition' (ibid.: 156). Given that the present study deals with specific written texts, i.e. the language of the print media and more specifically the language of hard news articles, it can be said that hard news articles belong to the category of 'specialised corpora'. Specialised corpora cover 'a corpus of texts of a particular type, such as newspaper editorials [...], academic articles in particular subject etc.' (in Paltridge, 2006:157).

Finally, the reliability and validity issues in the context of discourse analysis must be considered. **Reliability** 'means that the same answers are obtained when someone else repeats and investigation following the same procedure' (Perrin, 2013: 60). In order to have a reliable study 'precise work based on carefully considered, transparent rules' is required (ibid.). **Validity**, however, 'refers to the extent to which a piece of research actually investigates what it says it will investigate, and the truth or the accuracy of the generalisations being made [...]

(Perrin, 2013:60). In other words, validity of research ‘means that similar answers are obtained when investigating [...] the same research questions with another procedure’ (ibid.).

Since the present paper deals with analysing the articles depicting military conflicts in the world diachronically, a corpus of 50 hard news articles from 10 newspapers published in five of the elite nations of the world was compiled, namely, the United Kingdom (further the UK), the United States of America (the USA), Russia, Germany and France. The corpus of hard news reports consists of 25 articles published in the twentieth century (further 20th century) and 25 articles published in the twenty-first century (21st century). The corpus of hard news articles consists of 44 238 words. The references to the articles further in the analysis are marked by codes, e.g. A1.I (Article 1, The Independent), A2.MT (Article 2, The Moscow Times), A3.NYT (Article 3, The New York Times), and the system of codes to the corpus of articles is outlined in Appendix 1. The qualitative analysis of five linguistic peculiarities (i.e. modality, adjectives, the passive voice, pronouns and lexical stylistic devices) of the hard news articles was manual. The quantitative analysis of the frequency of the linguistic peculiarities was carried out with the Log-likelihood Calculator (Online 13). The procedure of the present study consisted of the following steps:

1. Reviewing the social and cultural background of each newspaper.
2. Analysing the linguistic peculiarities in the selected corpus of articles.
3. Analysing the frequency of linguistic peculiarities in the selected categories for the analysis.
4. Commenting on the use of the linguistic peculiarities in the 20th and 21st century and discussing the differences and changes across time.
5. Providing comments and exemplifying the variation of the peculiarities across countries.
6. Commenting and comparing the frequency of linguistic peculiarities in the selected corpus of hard news articles.
7. Presenting the obtained results and thereby answering the research questions on how the use of linguistic peculiarities of hard news articles varies across countries diachronically.

4.2. Research Object and Context: Hard News Articles Across Countries Diachronically

Since the present study aims at analysing differences between linguistic peculiarities of hard news articles in six decades of the twentieth century and two decades of the twenty first century, the time period covered was classified into two periods, namely, hard news articles

from the 20th century and hard news articles from the 21st century. The **20th century** in terms of military conflicts is best known for the Second World War taking place in the 1940s; nevertheless, several other military conflicts have occurred as well (e.g. war in Vietnam, in Afghanistan and conflicts in Iraq), and thus are discussed in hard news articles across the world. The **21st century**, although comparatively ‘silent’ in terms of peaceful relations between countries due to various agreements signed and laws passed by peace-keeping organisations of the world, is still marked by various military conflicts, the most notable of which are civil wars in Syria and Iraq and the conflict between Russia and Ukraine.

The corpus of 50 hard news articles concerning military conflicts in the world was selected from the online pages of ten newspapers printed in the English language in five of the elite nations of the world, namely the UK, the USA, Russia, Germany, and France. Two newspapers (a tabloid and a broadsheet) were selected from each of the English speaking countries (i.e. the UK and the USA), two broadsheets printed in Russia, two printed in Germany and one printed in France as well as an American based broadsheet featuring news in Europe. The charts displaying the results of the frequency analysis of the five linguistic peculiarities detected in the hard news articles from the newspapers of the aforementioned countries and from the aforementioned periods of time can be seen in Appendix 2.

The Guardian is a British weekly broadsheet newspaper ‘founded with the aim of spreading progressive British ideas into the United States after the First World War’, but nowadays it reports on various international events from politics to culture and comments (Online 6). The target audience of The Guardian are both British and International English speaking readers.

The Independent is ‘a national British daily tabloid newspaper originally published as a broadsheet’, but as many other broadsheet newspapers changing format to a more ‘compact’ in 2003 (Online 7). The Independent is described as being ‘the centre-left [...] newspaper’, publishing articles concerning culture, economics and politics (ibid.).

The New York Times is a daily American broadsheet newspaper reporting on a wide variety of subjects concerning politics, business, and social life (Online 8).

Daily News has been defined as the first American daily newspaper in tabloid format. Daily News newspaper the same as The New York Times is printed in New York and covers similar topics (Online 9).

The Moscow Times is a daily newspaper published in the English language for both the English speaking Russians and international readers (Online 10). The newspaper is said to be ‘the sister’ of a similar Russian newspaper **The St. Petersburg Times**, which is also published in the English language. Both The Moscow Times and The St. Petersburg Times

publish on the ‘political, cultural and business events taking place both in Russia and abroad’ (ibid.).

Spiegel International is the English online site of the German weekly newspaper ‘Der Spiegel’ (Online 11). Spiegel International as an ‘English language international edition of the German news source also includes in-depth special reports, weblog and summaries’ of various themes including politics as business in Germany and across the world (ibid.).

The Local is an English-language online newspaper having local editions in various countries across the world including ‘Sweden, Germany, France, Spain, Switzerland, Norway, Denmark, Austria and Italy’ (Online 12). Although all the newspaper editions are similar in the appearance, the reporters and the contents of the publications vary (ibid.). The Local covers domestic and international events from the perspective of each country and includes reports on current events in ‘political and business matters’ as well as in ‘sports and culture’ (ibid.).

Stars and Stripes is ‘an American-based [...] daily broadsheet newspaper’ publishing four editions across the world including Europe, Japan, and Korea (Online 5). Since the Second World War, all the four editions of Stars and Stripes report ‘independent news and information to the U.S. military community’ across the globe (ibid.).

Le Monde diplomatique is a monthly broadsheet newspaper owned by the ‘French daily newspaper Le Monde’ printed in Paris (Online 4). Le Monde diplomatique is ‘a world famous’ newspaper ‘dating back to 1954’ (ibid.). The reports published by the newspaper are characterised as ‘long, thoughtful, scholarly and opinionated, usually from an uncompromising leftist position’ (ibid.).

4.3. Linguistic Peculiarities of Hard News Articles in the Twentieth Century

The 25 hard news articles selected from the newspapers printed in the twentieth century in the five above discussed countries cover a time period of 60 years, i.e. from the year 1940 to 2000 and consist of 19 421 words.

4.3.1. Use of Modality

The use of modality in the corpus of hard news articles from the UK, the USA, Russia, Germany and France comprise the four modal systems discussed in Chapter 2, namely, epistemic modality, dynamic modality, deontic modality and evidential modality.

Epistemic modality used in the corpus of the articles from the 20th century is expressed by the weak modal verbs *may*, *might*, *could*, *would* showing assumptions and suppositions of

the reporter, e.g. *South Korea may have to reconsider an agreement it signed in 1992*(A12.MT); *that could mean them keeping 10,000 to 15,000 troops in Kosovo* (A40.SS); *But their resolve might not survive the pressure that would come if allied planes were shot down and pilots taken prisoner* (A22.NYT). The sentence adverbials most often denoting weak epistemic modality in the expressions about possibility, probability and likelihood of an event are, e.g. *If it is confirmed that Brunner has fled to South America, he will be the latest - and possibly the last - in a long line of senior Nazi figures to hide away there* (A2.I); *there would probably be a pause while NATO's Secretary General, Javier Solana, consults with allied leaders* (A22.NYT); *Hypothetically, Jordan might play a crucial role* (A47.Md). Nevertheless, in some cases also strong epistemic modality in expressions of certainty is used, e.g. *Bill Clinton no doubt considered it unwise* (A47.Md). From the examples provided, it can be seen that the most often applied modality patterns in the corpus of articles from the UK, the USA, Russia and Germany are weak epistemic modality. Moreover, uncertainty and assumptions of probability are expressed more often than strong suppositions about the truth value and the factuality of the statement, which in exceptional cases are found in the articles from France, e.g. *both come from the former progressive and, of course secular, left* (A47.Md); *And there is no doubt that the envisaged US/British bombing campaign is connected to this change* (A48.Md).

Deontic modality in comparison to epistemic modality has not been detected in the articles from the UK, but examples of the same have been found in the articles from the USA, Russia, Germany, and France. The use of deontic modality includes the application of the strong modal verb *must* denoting obligation, e.g. *Mr Boutros-Ghali must go, whatever the opinion of the international community* (A47.Md); *Iraq must pull out of Kuwait* (A39.SS), and the weak modal verb *should* communicating suggestions, and moral obligation, e.g. *warplanes should start directly striking the tank bases, arms arsenals, fuel depots and artillery bases* (A22.NYT). The use of the semi-modals *have to*, *need to*, *be supposed to* shows both legal and moral duty together with necessity and expectation, e.g. *If the North wants dialogue, it will have to come out with a proposal to make such talks feasible* (A12.MT); *Walters said NATO members need only look to history to find strength for their common future* (A44.SS). As the above mentioned examples indicate, the use of modality patterns across the countries differ, because only weak deontic modality is used in the articles from the USA, whereas in the articles from Russia, Germany and France both strong and weak modality patterns are used. Thus, it can be stated that the reporters from Russia, Germany and France assume more authority to express opinions and attitudes than the reporters from the USA, whereas the reporters from the UK do not seem to assume authority.

Dynamic modality is used in all the articles to express ability or objective possibility, e.g. *Asserting that the United States can help defend the Bosnians without involving itself in a costly land war* (A21.NYT); *But dissidence can resist everything except temptation* (A47.Md), and volition e.g. *Yugoslav high command will put pressure on President Slobodan Milosevic to back down and accept allied terms* (A22.NYT).

Finally, examples showing **evidential** modality are not found in the articles from the English speaking countries except for the sentences referring to the source of information, e.g. *But according to officials working with the Nazi-hunter Simon Wiesenthal, Brunner was recently sighted in northern Argentina* (A2.I). Nevertheless, several ‘evidentials’ in the form of the sentence adverbials *apparently*, *obviously*, *evidently* are detected in the articles from Russia, Germany and France, e.g. *SOMIGL was given a monopoly on the trade by the rebels, apparently in an effort to control the trade and maximize profits* (A16.StPT); *Obviously, he takes account of the fact that most of the member states to which he owes his election are developing countries* (A47.Md); *These German forces evidently were trying to keep the escape route to the north open but reports said that Marshal Malinovsky's forces had completed the encirclement of the city* (A41.SS). The examples above show how the reporters try to depict the statements expressed as obvious and evidential and in this way to make the readers think the same.

4.3.2. Use of Adjectives

The use of the two main types of adjectives in the corpus of the articles from the 20th century has been identified, namely, evaluative adjectives and descriptive adjectives. The most often used type of adjectives in the articles from all the countries is evaluative adjectives.

Evaluative adjectives are both **attributive**, e.g. *Their cause enjoys little support in the capital, owing to what appears a well-deserved reputation for committing atrocities against civilians* (A3.I), and **predicative**, e.g. *London remains wary of moving that quickly* (A21.NYT), showing that the attitudes expressed towards the situations or people described are asserted and the reporters have not tried to hide their evaluation. In the articles from Russia, Germany and France, the attributive evaluative adjectives of value and appropriacy are often used in the comparative and superlative degrees to put emphasis on both negative and positive characters of the events, people and places described, e.g. *Soviet Union's bloodiest ethnic conflict* (A11.MT); *The last phase of the battle for Vienna—reputedly the most beautiful city in Europe—was under way last night* (A41.SS). The same function is carried out by the use of evaluative adjectives modified by adverbs thus emphasizing the evaluative attitude expressed, e.g. *The rebels [...] are very unpopular with most civilians*

(A16.StPT); *The absolutely urgent task facing us is to halt North Korea's nuclear weapons development at whatever cost* (A12.MT); *The worst of all this is that the accusations against him are generally little more than unsubstantiated smears* (A46.Md).

Descriptive adjectives used as attributive adjectives in the articles characterise actions, e.g. *that all UN officials had been ordered out of the south of Iraq because of the danger to their lives from government-inspired demonstrations* (A1.I), situations, e.g. *Mr Boutros-Ghali warned that the deteriorating situation could lead to a 'renewed and large-scale' flood of refugees* (A1.I), places, e.g. *Kosovo is the southernmost province of Serbia, the dominant republic in what is left of the Yugoslav federation* (A41.SS), and people, e.g. *The Atlantic Treaty Association is a non-governmental body of voluntary organizations representing the 16 members of NATO* (A44.SS). The descriptive adjectives give the readers additional information about the character of the phenomena described. Moreover, in the articles from France, Germany, Russia and the USA, several descriptive adjectives are used in a line providing more detailed descriptions, e.g. *the local name given to a steel-grey, glittering metallic ore* (A16.StPT); *Serbian military commanders will seek an end to the intense NATO bombing* (A22.NYT); *The U.S. ambassador to West Germany called on the NATO allies Thursday to unite behind a single, joint economic recovery program for Eastern Europe* (A45.SS); *The first carrier-plane attack followed the 3,500-ton incendiary and high-explosive raid by between 500 and 550 Super forts on five widely-scattered cities* (A40.SS); *a man who was African, Arab, Christian was married to a wife from one of Egypt's leading Jewish families, anti-communist and pro-Israel to boot* (A47.Md).

From the abovementioned examples, it can be concluded that the hard news articles from the end of the 20th century are abundant in adjectives both showing the reporters' asserted attitudes and emphasizing and describing the character of the events discussed.

4.3.3. Use of Passive voice

The use of the passive voice in the articles is applied in the way that the attitude expressed by the reporter is 'absorbed' by the readers. The reporters manipulate with the readers by either emphasising or omitting the doers of the action. In the hard news articles from the UK, Russia and France, the passive voice is most often used to **emphasize the doer** of the action, e.g. *the legality of which has been questioned by experts on international law* (A1.I); *Brunner is now being sought by Interpol* (ibid); *President Laurent Kabila, who is backed by Angola, Zimbabwe and Namibia* (A16.StPT); *the area was declared a World Heritage Site by UNESCO* (ibid.); *he will be vetoed by Washington* (A46.Md); nevertheless, cases of emphasising the receiver (victim) and the action, where the doer of the action is obvious or is

not relevant have also been identified, e.g. *Eight UN guards and one UN Children's Fund official have already been withdrawn from Basra* (A1.I); *women and children were gunned down as they fled Khodzhalj* (A11.MT); *the alliance between the tribes and the military which protects the regime has been to some extent weakened* (A47.Md).

In the articles from Germany, the passive voice is used exclusively to **emphasize the receiver and the action**, e.g. *No fighter opposition was encountered* (A39.SS); *Marshal Stalin's latest communique said the section on the west bank of the Danube Canal had been cleared of Germans* (A41.SS); *Schoerner's warning, according to the Nazis, was contained in an Order of the Day to his troops* (A41.SS); *The allegation was made in a letter to the Herald Tribune arguing against a loan for Spain* (A43.SS).

4.3.4. Use of Personal Pronouns

The analysis of the use of personal pronouns shows that although personalisation through the first person singular pronoun **I** is not used to reveal the reporter, in the articles from Germany, it is still used attributively to draw reader's attention to the elite persons quoted, e.g. *'I don't know what my government will do', Bush said, 'If they're smart, they'll do as I say'* (A47.SS).

Personalisation in the form of the first person inclusive plural pronoun **we** is also used in the articles from France to establish a feeling of solidarity between the reporter and the readers, e.g. *Are we heading for a confrontation inside the Security Council?* (A47.Md); *With the end of the cold war we have seen a move away from conflicts between states* (A48.Md). In the articles from the other countries, the pronoun *we* is exclusive, i.e. it is used in quotations when elite persons such as, Bill Clinton, are quoted, e.g. *'We want to be in a situation where eventually it will become clear to the leadership that the price of this campaign is too high,' the NATO spokesman said* (A22.NYT); *If sense does not finally prevail upon Baghdad - and we all hope it will — we must expect one of the strongest military conflicts since the end of World War II Germany (UPI)-Chancellor Helmut Kohl said* (A44.SS).

Other personal pronouns, for example, **he, they, it** are used in the statements made by reporters to refer to elite persons, events or places, e.g. *He is wanted in connection with the deaths of some 130,000 Jews* (A2.I); *the North erased evidence of whether it has diverted plutonium for nuclear weapons* (A12.MT); *Nimitz made the first official announcement that Liberators and Mitchells had attacked the Japanese islands when he disclosed that they had struck Omura airfield on Kyushu July 5* (A39.SS).

4.3.5. Use of Lexical Stylistic Devices

Finally, the lexical stylistic devices identified are metaphors and allusions; nevertheless, examples of metonymy are identified in the headlines of the articles.

The types of **metaphors** identified include conceptualized metaphoric expressions, e.g. *flood of refugees* (A1.I), referring to large numbers of refugees; *It was the marriage of these two qualities that was one of the major sources of that formidable cohesion which sustained Iraqi society in the face of the Iranian threat from 1980-88* (A48.Md), implying that the combination of the qualities is marriage; *This will close a chapter in the history of the Middle East* (A50.Md), comparing the history of wars to a book; *Syria has been on the cards since Ehud Barak won the Israeli elections in May* (ibid.), comparing war to a game; *Is it the autumn of the patriarch?* (A48.Md), implying that autumn is the end of a period. Ontological metaphors depicting abstract entities as concrete ones and vice versa were also identified, e.g. *the most infamous was Josef Mengele, the angel of death* (A2.I); *United States being an obstacle to reform* (A46.Md).

An **allusion** referring to a box in Greek mythology containing all the evil of the world is used in an article from France, e.g. *A dubious Pandora's box of new weapons has emerged, designed to appear - rather than be – safe* (A49.Md).

Personification as a type of ontological metaphor has also been identified in the headlines of the articles from France, e.g. *ARMED CONFLICT IN THE HEART OF AFRICA* (A48.Md) ; *MIDDLE EAST HOLDS ITS BREATH* (A49.Md), where a continent or a region is depicted as a living being to stir the readers' emotions.

It should be noted, though, that lexical stylistic devices are most often used in the selected articles from the newspapers in France and the UK. In the headlines of the articles from the other countries, however, conceptual metaphoric words and expressions, e.g. *CONFLICT IN THE BALKANS: Who Will Crack First?* (A27.NYT) implying that conflicting nations are like glass or wood; *MINERALS FUELLING WAR IN CONGO* (A16.St.PT), implying that war is wildfire, and metonymy, e.g. *China Rejects Plea for North Korean Sanctions* (A12.MT), depicting parliament as standing for the whole country, are used to manipulate with the readers and attract the attention required.

To summarise, the analysis of the use of linguistic peculiarities in the selected hard news articles across countries in the 20th century indicates that the countries which speak of military conflicts and relations between countries in more authoritative and evaluative ways are Russia, Germany and France, whereas the English speaking countries tend to use the neutral approach to news reporting discussed in Chapter 1. Second, the use of personal

pronouns to establish proximity with the readers is limited in the articles from the UK, the USA, and Russia, whereas, the readers are addressed via attribution (i.e. in the quotations by elite and authoritative persons) in the articles from Germany, and the readers are addressed using the inclusive pronoun ‘we’ in the articles from France. Third, the use of the passive voice indicates that the linguistic phenomenon functions in two ways, namely, to emphasize the action and the receiver and to put additional emphasis on the doer of the action in cases where the doer is an authoritative institution, an elite person or an elite nation. Finally, the lexical stylistic devices identified in the articles function in three ways, i.e. to make the information and the language sound more natural and thus more believable, to construct consonance between the expressed and the implied and to manipulate with the readers.

4.4. Linguistic Peculiarities of Hard News Articles in the Twenty-First Century

The 25 hard news articles selected from the newspapers printed in the 21st century in the five above discussed countries cover a time period of 15 years, i.e. from the year 2001 to 2015 and consist of 24 488 words.

4.4.1. Use of Modality

The qualitative analysis of the use of modality in the selected hard news articles from the 21st century indicates that the situation with the use of modality nowadays is similar to the use of modal markers in the previous century. Namely, the most often applied modal systems are epistemic modality and dynamic modality, and the least used modality patterns are deontic and evidential modals. The difference appears, however, when reviewing the use of modality across countries, because in the 21st century all the systems of modality are used in the articles from all the discussed countries.

The most often used patterns of modality are modal verbs representing weak **epistemic** modality and expressing suppositions and assumptions of the reporters about future events, e.g. *Jean-Yves Le Drian, said he would fear the worst if peace talks this week failed (A5.I); The tension was clearly lower than it would have been had the Americans been there alone (A24.NYT); Baltic states could be Vladimir Putin's next targets (A5.I); red line that could prompt more direct US intervention in the civil war (A36.L); Officials would not give any hint of what sort of response might be taken (A13.MT); If we don't stop Mr Putin in Ukraine, we may be dealing with him in Estonia (A5.I).* Sentence adverbials expressing probability and possibility indicate the uncertainty of the reporter about the truth value or factuality of the statement, e.g. *Attacks in Baghdad probably stemmed from rising tensions between rival*

*Shiite groups - some of whom may have been behind the Green Zone blasts (A26.DN); Providing weapons to end an armed conflict would probably only work if international forces with a UN mandate were prepared to fight with the rebels (A32.SI). Epistemic modality markers communicating strong suppositions and even assertions of certainty have been detected in the articles from the USA and Germany, e.g. *It's not clear what the Pakistanis will do with Lakhvi, but they're unlikely to ship him to Mumbai for trial as the Indians have demanded (A27.DN); Syria had likely used chemical weapons on a small scale against rebel forces (A36.L); The United States, of course, is not just interested in slowing down India's thirst for oil (A31.SI); There are certainly good rebels, some of whom have created admirable enclaves of normalcy amid the fighting (A32.SI).**

The most often used **deontic** modal markers in the hard news articles across the countries (except France) are the weak modal verbs *should* denoting moral obligation and authority to express suggestions, e.g. *a hardline with the Kremlin over Ukraine should be matched with efforts to build a strategic partnership with Moscow (A5.I); It's not Russia who should guarantee anything, but the Ukrainian authorities should guarantee to their people that things will be calm in the east (A20.StPT); Rebels argue they should be granted immediate control over the town (A29.DN); Supporting them by every means possible should be the West's priority (A32.SI) and the verb 'need' denoting necessity, e.g. *the world today is a rogue Kremlin and we need to stop him and Ukraine is the place to do it (A5.I); NATO would need a clear international mandate and regional support (A19.StPT); German soldiers need to be more heavily armed (A34.L). Strong deontic modality in the articles from the UK, Russia and Germany, however, shows the reporters' assumed authority to express judgements about duty and legal obligations of the leaders of countries or organisations, e.g. *The parties must take all precautions, including in their choice of means and methods of warfare (A9.G); Poland must stand firm with Georgia in its conflict with Russia (A18.StPT); That must be prevented by all available means (A32.SI). Necessity is expressed by means of the verb phrase *to have to* in the articles from all the countries, e.g. *Russia will have to avoid further significant damage to its economy (A5.I); They have to understand, and others like them around the world have to understand (A13.MT); We have to prepare people for the overwhelming reality (A23.NYT); Bush will surely have to bring his Pakistani hosts more than just diplomatic crumbs (A31.SI). The use of deontic modality in general indicates that the reporters assume authority to give suggestions or speak about obligations, and the strength of the modal markers indicates to the character of the reporter's authority.****

The use of **dynamic** modality in the hard news articles from the 21st century is similar to that of the 20th century, namely, the modal verbs *can* and *will* are used in the articles from

all the countries to denote ability and volition, e.g. *He thinks he can hide and run from the United States* (A13.MT); *The cannons are highly accurate and can shell enemies from as far as 30 kilometres away* (A34.L); *Our air force will oppose any aggression by Colonel Gaddafi against the population of Benghazi* (A9.G); *The Gaddafi regime announced on Friday that it would lay down arms after the UN security council passed resolution 1973* (ibid.); *Steinmeier will join his 26 European Union counterparts in the French town* (A33.L); *Transnistria and another pro-Russian region, Gagauzia, would appoint 13 out of 26 senators* (A50.Md).

Patterns of **evidential** modality are used in the selected articles from the selected broadsheet newspapers in all the countries to show the source of information, e.g. *20 armed rebels seized the security service building overnight, according to a regional interior ministry spokeswoman* (A10.G); *Canada's Arctic region is similarly substantial, making up over 40 percent of the nation's landmass and serving as home to more than 100,000 citizens, according to the Canadian government's website* (A14.MT); *It has tried to upgrade its military, giving priority to its special forces, airborne and naval infantry — “rapid reaction” abilities that were “road tested” in Crimea, according to Roger McDermott* (A25.NYT); *According to a recent poll taken by the Pew Research Center, no Middle Eastern country supports military intervention by the West* (A32.SI); *But according to a 2014 report by the Finnish Institute of International Affairs, the Kiev government was ready only for decentralisation* (A50.Md). Sentence adverbials expressing evidentially are used in the articles from the UK, e.g. *Early yesterday, a rebel plane was shot down over Benghazi, apparently by Gaddafi's forces* (A9.G), from Russia, e.g. *What we are going to do is aggressively go after Mr. bin Laden, obviously, and all his associates* (A13.MT), from the USA, e.g. *The scene underground apparently is just as devastating* (A23.NYT), and from Germany, e.g. *the president apparently got carried away in the moment* (A31.SI). Other markers used to show evidence are the ‘verba sentiendi’, specifically, the verb *believe*, which is used in the articles from the UK, the USA and Germany, e.g. *Foreign Policy magazine found that 88% believe Iraq has stretched US forces “dangerously thin” and 60% believe the military is weaker today than it was before the invasion of Iraq* (A8.G); *that the Americans believe have ties to Iran* (A26.DN); *They believe that no one can longer prevent the Iranians from acquiring all of the components necessary for a nuclear weapon* (A32.SI).

Consequently, the author concludes that the reporters in the 21st century tend to apply the described patterns of modality more often than in the previous century; thus, it can be stated that nowadays subjectivity, authority, evaluation and evidentially are expressed in hard news articles from all the discussed countries. Moreover, it should be pointed out that the

modal markers expressing authority and revealing the source of information (i.e. evidentiality) are more often detected in the articles from the broadsheets than in those from the tabloids.

4.4.2. Use of Adjectives

The use of adjectives in the selected corpus of hard news articles from the five nations in the 21st century can be described in similar terms to the use of the same in the 20th century. Namely, the adjectives detected can be classified into the same groups, i.e. evaluative adjectives, descriptive adjectives, adjectives in the comparative and superlative degrees, adjectives modified by adverbs and multiple descriptive and evaluative adjectives used to describe a single phenomenon. The use of adjectives differs, however, across countries, because all the above mentioned types of adjectives are used in the articles from all the five elite nations in the 21st century.

The most often used adjectives are attributive and predicative **evaluative adjectives used in pairs with adverbs** to emphasize the character of the phenomena described. The types of evaluative adjectives used are the adjectives of value, e.g. *It's our very strong hope that Serbia will now take the final steps to send General Mladic to The Hague* (A4.I); *Fighting in eastern Ukraine intensified Tuesday ahead of much-anticipated peace talks* (A15.MT); *the chance of recovering anyone alive is very, very small* (A23.NYT); *It's true that the current American force in Iraq is much smaller than the Army we sent to Vietnam* (A30.SI), adjectives denoting ability and possibility, e.g. *Conventional wisdom in the corridors of power in Berlin says it is completely impossible to speak about heavy weapons in the region* (A34.L); *rescue workers were finding it nearly impossible to get to people trapped inside* (A6.G), adjectives of rationality, e.g. *Only a complete idiot can fail to see that* (A18.StPT), and adjectives of importance, e.g. *Transnistria's location makes it particularly important to Russia* (A50.Md).

Evaluative adjectives of value and importance in the **comparative and superlative degrees** carry the function of expressing a high degree of evaluation, and they are also used in the articles from all the countries e.g. *Life here (Smolensk, in Russia) is better than in Moldova* (A50.Md); *Officers in Afghanistan worry that they won't get any heavier equipment until after national elections on September 27* (A34.L); *But there are also real parallels, and in some ways Iraq looks worse* (A31.SI); *The deadliest attack of the day was in Mosul when a suicide driver slammed his vehicle through a security checkpoint* (A26.DN); *Where do you consider to be the most dangerous area?* (A24.NYT); *the most important task is to calm down the situation in Ukraine* (A20.StPT); *the 15-month tours are the war's most controversial consequence* (A8.G). A relatively high degree of evaluation is also expressed by evaluative

adjectives used in **pairs with other evaluative adjectives or with descriptive adjectives**, e.g. *The confrontation between Spain and Morocco over the islet of Perejil entered a new and dangerous phase (A7.G); the Pentagon has declared the US at "significant" risk for a delayed or inadequate response to any new global conflict (A8.G); The U.S. Congress voted Friday to authorize Bush to use all necessary and appropriate force to combat the threat (A13.MT); The searches were slow and painstaking (A24.NYT); This is a completely new and dangerous strategy (A34.L); ethnic Russian regions of eastern and southern Ukraine be given extensive autonomous powers independent of Kiev (A50.Md).*

Finally, **descriptive** adjectives are used both in pairs with other descriptive adjectives and with evaluative adjectives as mentioned above and without any modifiers in the articles from all the countries to characterise and describe the phenomena introduced, e.g. *Nearly all the output (95%) of the four large industrial plants is exported (4) and the main trade partners are Moldova, Russia, Romania, Ukraine and Italy (A50.Md); Kremlin leadership might also annex Abkhazia, South Ossetia and Transnistria — all de facto independent states (ibid); we will define our medium- and long-term relations with the conflicting parties (A33.L); Last August he declared a six-month cease-fire to purge the militia of criminal and dissident elements (A26.DN); by 4 a.m. they were kneeling and blindfolded (A24.NYT); President Barack Obama and German Chancellor Angela Merkel rallied behind efforts to reach a long-shot diplomatic resolution to the conflict (A15.MT); The interests of countries face danger from now on in the Mediterranean because of this aggressive and mad behaviour (A9.G); Spain has no interest in maintaining a permanent military presence (A7.G).*

4.4.3. Use of Passive voice

The **passive voice** is also used in a similar way to the use in the 20th century; in other words, the passive voice in both periods of time carries the same functions.

First, it is most often used **to put emphasis on the action** described in the articles from the UK and the USA, e.g. *All members of NATO could be Vladimir Putin's next targets if he is allowed to hold on to territory won by force (A5.I); Russia will have to avoid further significant damage to its economy" if the world is forced to increase its sanctions against the Kremlin (ibid.); The Ukrainians are being slaughtered and we're sending them blankets and meals (ibid.); Another flight was hijacked shortly after leaving Washington Dulles (A6.G); No one knew how many people had been killed (ibid.); Kasab, 21, who became the poster boy for terror after he was photographed marching through Mumbai with his gun bared (A27.DN); A police commander was shot to death along with his driver in Balad Ruz (A26.DN); Iraqis who have been trained, equipped and to some degree indoctrinated as*

soldiers by Americans (A24.NYT); *Police stations and Interior Ministry buildings stored arms that could be turned over to local supporters, were targeted* (A25.NYT). The same function of the passive voice is also identified in some cases in articles from Russia and France, e.g. *The government-controlled Donetsk regional administration said seven people were killed, while 16 people were injured in the residential area* (A15.MT); *There was a renewed indication of feelings for Russia in Tiraspol when Crimea was annexed last year* (A50.Md).

The second function of the passive voice in the corpus of articles is to **emphasize the receiver of the action** and the function is most often identified in the articles from Germany and France, e.g. *But Russia argues that the OGRF is needed to protect large weapon stockpiles in Transnistria* (A50.Md); *Merkel is reported to find it unthinkable to take part in a parade involving Russian tanks* (A37.L); *parliament will not be asked for its approval until afterwards* (A36.L); *A further 60,000 American troops will be sent to Afghanistan by this fall* (A35.L); *The agreement was hailed as a major success for both sides* (A31.SI).

The third function of the passive voice examples identified is **to emphasize the doer of the action**, and it is the least used function; nevertheless, examples of the function can be found in the articles from the UK, the USA, Russia and France, e.g. *The peace summit due to take place in Minsk on Wednesday was described by Mr Hammond as “one of the last opportunities that Russia will have to avoid further significant damage to its economy”* (A5.I); *The dawn assault was carried out by special forces* (A7.G); *the leaders of the human rights movement in Russia - had their white garments smeared by pro-war and anti-Chechen propaganda* (A17.StPT); *the difference in how Russians and Chechens were treated - a difference that was repeatedly highlighted by nationalists* (ibid.); *Chechens whose rights are violated by military and security personnel in Chechnya* (A18.StPT); *building believed to have been evacuated before it was hit by debris from the collapse* (A23.NYT); *the vote was organised by the Transnistrian government on the direct instructions of (then) president Igor Smirnov* (A50.Md).

To sum up, nowadays the passive voice in the hard news articles is used more often than in the 20th century; moreover, the main function of the passive voice today is to emphasize the action (the deed) or the receiver (the victim), when the doer is not relevant, has been mentioned already, is obvious from the context or is deliberately omitted to manipulate with the reader.

Furthermore, the variation of the use of the passive voice is also observable across countries, because the passive voice is most often used in the articles from the UK, where it functions in all the three described ways; in the articles from Germany the passive voice is

found in exceptional cases, when the reporter aims at emphasising the victims of military conflicts.

4.4.4. Use of Personal Pronouns

To begin with, the author of the present paper has noted two phenomena that make a considerable difference between the use of personal pronouns in the 20th century and in the 21st century.

First, the first person plural pronoun *we* is used both as an exclusive and an inclusive pronoun to create solidarity and establish proximity between the reporter and the readers. Indirect (exclusive) use is detected in the articles from the USA, the UK and Russia and France, e.g. *'We hope his days in relative freedom are numbered'* (A4.I); *If we don't stop Mr Putin in Ukraine, we may be dealing with him in Estonia* (A6.I); *'We're at war, 'Bush said* (A13.MT); *Medvedev said 'we do not have to guarantee anything to anybody, because we have never taken up any obligations in that respect'* (A20.StPT); *Mr. Salmar objected, saying, 'We don't mind if they search places like this, because we need security'* (A24.NYT); *'We don't want war. We want peace'* (A50.Md). Direct (inclusive) use is identified in the statements made by the reporters in the articles from Germany, e.g. *Whether we like or not, the world beyond the West understands the body's "Responsibility to Protect," an initiative to prevent mass atrocities, a bit differently than we do* (A32.SI); *If we aren't promoting democracy in Iraq, what are we doing?* (A31.SI).

Second, in the articles from the 20th century, no case of the use of the third person singular pronoun *she* has been detected, whereas, in the articles from the 21st century (the UK, France, Germany and the USA) nineteen cases making references to both elite women and civilians are found, e.g. *A spokesman for her husband later revealed she had not even been due to fly on the flight* (A6.G); *Iraqi soldiers were careful to come back and make a show of searching the woman's house as well, so that her neighbour would not suspect that she had spoken up* (A24.NYT); *Die Zeit reports that she will instead travel to Moscow on May 10th to visit The Tomb of The Unknown Soldier at the wall of the Kremlin with Putin* (A37.L); *She thinks of herself as Russian: she was born in Odessa, 100km to the southeast, where some of her family still live* (A50.Md). A conclusion follows that although the opinions of women in politics in four of the elite nations nowadays are being accepted and mentioned in the news, such countries as Russia still do not accept and include women in political news. A similar situation is with the articles from the USA and Germany, because the pronoun *she* has been mentioned once there. Other pronouns with the function of making references to people and places are detected in all the articles from all the countries, e.g. *he cut the visit*

*short and in a hastily convened news conference, announced that he was returning to Washington immediately (A6.G); jet had unintentionally strayed into Syria's air space, it was inside international airspace when it was brought down (A19.StPT); Georgia, Ukraine and Moldova have little chance of winning the unanimous approval of the member states for their candidature while they have not found a solution to their dissident problems (A50.Md). It should be noted that in the articles (from the UK) nowadays in comparison to those from the previous century personal pronouns are also used to make references to 'non-elite persons' (civilians), who are mentioned or quoted in the story, e.g. *an emergency dispatcher had answered a telephone call from a man who said he was a passenger locked in a bathroom on United Airlines flight 93 (A6.G); A local named Alexei told the Observer he had seen a missile fired from the ground (G.10).* The reason for the aforementioned considerations is to make the story meaningful to the readers who are not 'elite'.*

Another function carried out by personal pronouns in the articles from Russia, Germany, the UK and the USA nowadays is personalisation achieved with the help of the first person singular pronoun *I* in quotations which draw attention to the people quoted, e.g. *'I think that those who argue against helping Ukraine defend itself against a much bigger and stronger aggressor do not understand the strategic stakes,' Mr Herbst said (A5.I); 'Im convinced eventually we'll prevail,' Cheney said in an interview with NBC's (A13.MT); 'I think when we get closer to that,'" the mayor said (A23.NYT); White House official saying: 'If a US-made MANPAD were ever used to shoot down an El Al jet, I imagine some members of Congress would be having a hearing on that subject (A32.SI).*

The next function of the pronouns used is to 'secretly' draw attention to the readers and position them 'as agreeing, thereby making it difficult for them to disagree' (Online 14) with the help of the second person singular pronoun *you* in quotations from the articles from the USA and Russia, e.g. *'You will be asked for your patience, for the conflict will not be short. You will be asked for resolve, for the conflict will not be easy. You will be asked for your strength, because the course to victory may belong' he said (A13.MT); 'peace be with you, God save you' (A24.NYT).*

To summarise, the use of personal pronouns varies across the time and space due to two main reasons. First, the use of the first and second person pronouns *I*, *you*, *we* in the articles from the previous century appears exclusively in quotations indicating that the reporter does not openly address or manipulate with the readers; however, nowadays the pronouns are used inclusively as well, and the reporters (in France and Germany) openly address the readers. Second, the 21st century is significant due to the use of the third person singular pronoun *she*

to make references to female politicians or other women discussed in the articles, because no case of the use of the pronoun was detected in the articles from the previous century.

4.4.5. Use of Lexical Stylistic Devices

Lexical stylistic devices as linguistic phenomena in the discussed articles from the 21st century are used comparatively more often than in the articles from the previous century. Both types of the devices discussed in Chapter 2 have been identified, and apart from metaphors and similes, also ironies, allusions and metonymy have been found. The author of the present paper has also detected the use of **idioms** in the articles from the UK, e.g. *efforts to negotiate peace hung by a thread* (A5.I), meaning that the situation with peace was unstable and risky; *The well is deep but it is not infinite* (A8.G), meaning that the conflict is difficult to deal with but not impossible to end; *Right now everything is fluid* (A7.G), meaning that nothing is clear. The use of idioms points to the implied target audience of the reports, because in most of the cases idioms are understood either by the native English speakers or by foreigners with advanced language skills.

Furthermore, a wide variety of **metaphors** representing all the types discussed in Chapter 2 have been identified in the articles from the UK, the USA, Russia, Germany and France. First, conceptual metaphoric words and expressions are used in the articles from all the countries, e.g. *the army has opened its doors to former convicts in the hunt for new recruits* (A8.G), comparing army to a house or a shelter and comparing search for recruits to a hunt; *They have played their hand of cards with finesse* (A25.NYT), comparing peace negotiations and sanctions to a game in cards; *Obama administration has repeatedly been forced to play catch-up* (ibid.), comparing military actions to a game; *the issue of who bears what part of the responsibility for the escalation to the point of a military conflict will play a role* (A33.L), comparing the relationships between countries to a theatre; *But the ceasefire was widely seen as a tactic to try to buy time and fuel international divisions over intervention* (A9.G), implying that military conflict is fire; *They have called on neighboring countries to refrain from provocative actions that could spark a wider war* (A19.StPT), implying that war is a wildfire. Second, ontological metaphors include, e.g. *The patience of the international community finally ran out* (A9.G) meaning that the patience was coming to an end; *a difference that was repeatedly highlighted by nationalists - served as a turning point in the public's perception of the objectivity of human rights activists* (A17.StPT); *A president publicly draws a red line, telling his opponent he can go this far and no further without consequences* (A32.SI), where the red line is a border or limit; *The annexation of Crimea in March 2014 brought Western media attention to many frozen conflicts* (A50.Md), meaning

that the conflict is stopped, but not ended. Third, an orientational metaphoric expression, e.g. *the epicentre of US military might was also under attack* (A6.G), implies that US military ‘is a subject to control or force’ (Lakoff and Johnson, 2008:15).

Examples of **similes** include: *Vladimir Putin acting like some mid-20th century tyrant* (A5.I); *if Israel didn't take action after Netanyahu's threats, it would end up looking like a paper tiger* (A32.SI); *Kremlin as a protective fortress* (A50.Md).

Allusion, e.g. *This is the second Pearl Harbour* (A7.G), makes reference to the air attack on the American city Pearl Harbour in the mid-20th century during World War II.

Ironies, e.g. *Blankets don't do well against Russian tanks* (A5.I), meaning that supporting Ukraine with household goods while they are being attacked with weapons is ironical; *In Transnistria, ordinary people benefit from generous Russian aid* (A50.Md), which is meant like sarcasm meaning the opposite - the people suffer from Russian attacks.

Lastly, **metonymy** as a lexical stylistic device depicting one part for the whole or vice versa is used in the headlines of the articles from the USA, Russia, and Germany to manipulate with the readers and attract the attention necessary, e.g. *TURKEY THEATENS SYRIA WITH RETALLION* (A19.StPT); *RUSSIA DISPLAYS A NEW MILITARY PROVESS IN UKRAINE'S EAST* (A25.NYT); *INDIA TRUMPS REALPOLITIK WITH PAKISTAN* (A41.SI). It should be noted, though, that the use of conspicuous language in the headlines of hard news articles is by no means a deviation from the norm, although it does point to a certain degree of political manipulation.

Given the above discussed examples of the use of lexical stylistic devices nowadays, the author of the paper concludes that the linguistic aspect varies both across time and across countries, because the articles from the 21st century are more abundant in lexical stylistic devices than the articles from the 20th century. Moreover, it should be indicated that the UK and France tend to use metaphors, ironies, allusions and similes more often than the other countries; nevertheless, metonymy as a manipulative device is used in the articles from all the countries except the UK and France.

4.5. Frequency of Linguistic Peculiarities in Hard News Articles

To begin with, the author points out that due to the limited volume of the paper, the charts and the detailed illustrations of the results of the quantitative (frequency) analysis are displayed in Appendix 2, whereas, the most significant findings are introduced below.

The most frequently used linguistic means in the articles consisting of 19 421 words in total from the previous century are *adjectives*, which constitute 31% of the overall use of the linguistic means in the articles from the **20th century** and *modality* (29%). The use of

personal pronouns (28%) is also frequent in comparison to the use of *the passive voice* (10%) and *lexical stylistic devices*, which constitute only 2% of the overall use of the linguistic aspects (see Figure 2.1, Appendix 2). The most frequently used linguistic features in the articles from the **21st century** (24 488 words) are *personal pronouns* (32%) and *adjectives* (33%). *Modality* (20%) is used less frequently than adjectives and personal pronouns, but more frequently than *the passive voice* (10%) and *lexical stylistic devices* (4%) (see Figure 2.2). Normalised frequency analysis of the linguistic peculiarities in the selected corpus of articles from both periods of time shows that, notwithstanding the fact that the articles from the 21st century consist of more words than those from the 20th century, the use of the five linguistic aspects is still more frequent (see Figure 2.3).

The frequency variation of the linguistic peculiarities in the articles across countries should also be considered. In the articles from **the United Kingdom** (8 365 words), for example, the use of *adjectives* makes up 35% of the overall use of linguistic means in the articles, *personal pronouns* constitute 33%, *modality* 16%, the *passive voice* 12% and *lexical stylistic devices* 4% (see Figure 2.4). In the articles from the newspapers printed in **the USA** (7 926 words), the use of *adjectives* make up 34% of the overall use of linguistic means in the articles; *personal pronouns* constitute 32%, *modality* - 25%, the *passive voice* - 7% and *lexical stylistic devices* - 2% (see Figure 2.5). Furthermore, in the articles from **Russia** (6 467 words) the use of *adjectives* makes up 34%, *personal pronouns* constitute 29%, *modality* - 23%, *the passive voice* - 12% and *lexical stylistic devices* - 2% (see Figure 2.6). In the articles from **Germany** (6 123 words), the use of *adjectives* makes up 29%, *personal pronouns* constitute 33%, *modality* - 32%, *the passive voice* - 4% and *lexical stylistic devices* - 2% (see Figure 2.7). Finally, in the articles from **France** (13 206 words), the use of *adjectives* makes up 34% of the overall use of linguistic peculiarities in the articles, *personal pronouns* constitute 26%, *modality* - 27%, the *passive voice* - 8% and *lexical stylistic devices* - 5% (see Figure 2.8). The normalised frequency calculator shows slightly different results, because the most frequent use of *modality* is detected in the articles from Germany, the USA and France, *adjectives* are used most frequently in the UK, the USA and Russia, *the passive voice* in the UK and Russia, *personal pronouns* in Russia, Germany and the UK, and *lexical stylistic devices* in the articles from France and the UK (see Figure 2.9).

Furthermore, the most frequently used patterns of **modality** are *epistemic* and *dynamic* modal markers (see Figure 2.10). The most frequently used types of **adjectives** are *evaluative* and *attributive* adjectives (see Figure 2.11). The most frequently used **personal pronouns** are *he*, *it*, *they* and *we* (see Figure 2.12); and the most frequently used types of **lexical stylistic devices** are *metaphors*, *metaphoric words and expressions* and *metonymy* (see Figure 2.13).

Consequently, the following conclusions about the frequency of linguistic peculiarities across countries diachronically are made. First, the frequency of the use of linguistic peculiarities increases over time, because in the 21st century the peculiarities are used more often than in the 20th century. Second, in the articles from Germany, the UK and the USA the linguistic peculiarities are used more frequently than in the articles from Russia and France. Third, the most frequently used linguistic peculiarities across time and space are personal pronouns *he*, *it*, and *they*, attributive and evaluative adjectives and epistemic and dynamic modal systems.

4.6. News Values in Hard News Articles

Given the description of hard news provided in the previous chapter and the description of newspapers outlined at the beginning of the paper, it can be concluded that the selected corpus of hard news articles corresponds to several criteria for evaluating news (see Table 4.1).

Table 4.1. News values in the corpus of hard news articles

Time and space	20th	21st	The UK	The	Russia	Germany	France
Criteria	century	century		USA			
Frequency	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Threshold	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Unexpectedness	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Continuity	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Negativity	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Elite nations	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Elite persons	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Personalisation		X	X	X	X	X	X
Meaningfulness		X	X				
Conflict		X				X	X

First, the articles from the **daily** newspapers in the UK (the Independent), Russia and Germany correspond to the **frequency criterion**.

Second, the articles from all the discussed newspapers (except Stars and Stripes) correspond to the **threshold criterion**, because the published material is targeted at both local and international readers.

Third, all the articles correspond to the **unexpectedness, continuity and negativity criteria**, because hard news about military conflicts reports unlikely and negative events which in case of, for example, war deal with repeated military actions.

Fourth, both the **elite nations** and the **elite persons criteria** are also present in all the hard news articles and are emphasized by the use of evidential modality, personal pronouns, the passive voice and in some cases lexical stylistic devices.

Fifth, the author of the present paper concludes that the **personalisation criterion** (the use of personal pronouns to refer to the readers) is present in the articles from France in the 20th century and in the articles from all the countries in the 21st century, where in the UK, the USA and Russia the reporters refer to the readers exclusively (indirectly), whereas the reporters from France and Germany use inclusive (direct) references.

Next, considering the references to civilians and 'non-elite' persons mentioned in the articles, the author concludes that the **meaningfulness criterion** can be applied to the articles printed in the 21st century and specifically in the UK.

Finally, since the excessive use of a variety of the linguistic peculiarities (i.e. modality, adjectives, personal pronouns and lexical stylistic devices) in the articles from France and Germany point to subjectivity, evaluation and an opinion-based approach to news reporting, it can be stated that the **conflict criterion** is emphasized in the articles from these two countries. Nevertheless, in the 21st, century subjective and evaluative attitudes together with a degree of manipulation via the passive voice, metaphors, metonymy and personal pronouns are observable in the articles from all the countries, especially when reporting about the conflict between Russia and Ukraine e.g. *'Russia's growing threat': After Ukraine, fears grow that Baltic states could be Vladimir Putin's next targets* (A5.I); *Bloodiest day in Ukraine conflict as rebel missiles bring down military jet* (A10.G); *MEDVEDEV SAYS RUSSIA 'UNDER NO OBLIGATION' TO STAY OUT OF EASTERN UKRAINE* (A20.St.PT); *'Red Line': The Words That Could Force Obama into War* (A32.SI); *Ukraine's impossible future: The value of a frozen conflict* (A50.Md). From the examples above it can be observed that the newspapers from the UK, Germany and France proclaim different perspectives on the situation in Ukraine from those propagated by the newspapers in Russia, which express categorical but at the same time fact-based opinions.

To conclude, Chapter 3 has comprised the empirical part of the present study. First, the methodology of the research has been explained. Second, the context for discourse analysis of linguistic peculiarities in hard news articles from the tabloid and broadsheet newspapers in the UK, the USA, Russia, Germany and France in the 20th and 21st century has been introduced. Next, the analysis of the use of linguistic peculiarities across countries diachronically has been described. After that, quantitative analysis of the frequency of the linguistic peculiarities in the corpus of hard news articles has been discussed. Finally, the analysis of the use of the peculiarities indicating the criteria of news values has been outlined.

CONCLUSIONS

Due to the increasing demand for communicating global matters across the world, the media nowadays frame the integral part in shaping the perceptions and identities of people; thus, they can be considered the key constituents of contemporary life. Moreover, given the progressive concern about political and military events in the world, hard news articles have become the most popular type of media discourse and nowadays enter the front pages of popular newspapers. Thus, the study carried out within the framework of the bachelor thesis, which has dealt with the use of linguistic peculiarities in hard news articles depicting military conflicts across time and space, seems to be both significant and topical.

The goal of the research was to investigate which linguistic aspects dominate in hard news articles in the English language newspapers from several countries and how the use of these aspects has changed over time. The goal was achieved by applying comparative discourse analysis. The research object was a corpus of fifty hard news articles printed in the 20th century and the 21st century in five elite nations of the world.

The summative analysis of theoretical sources made the way for conclusions that media discourse is the representation of reality in the broadcast and print media, which is based on the historical and social context of the represented information, and hard news is the stories encompassing the serious and timely account of the events influencing society. Due to the complex nature of media studies, a diversity of approaches and methods to media discourse analysis exist, and the theme has been studied by numerous scholars (e.g. Bednarek, 2006; O’Keeffe, 2006; Busà, 2013; Conboy, 2007; Bednarek and Caple, 2012).

Answering the first research question, the author points out that the most frequently used linguistic peculiarities in the hard news articles are *evaluative* and *attributive* adjectives, the personal pronouns *he, it, they*, and the *epistemic* and *dynamic* modality markers. The passive voice and lexical stylistic devices are used less frequently. The aforementioned linguistic peculiarities function in different ways; nevertheless, the main functions interrelated with the purposes of hard news articles dealing with political discourse are shared.

The primary functions of adjectives are to show the level of evaluation and attitude expressed in the articles as well as to characterise the phenomena described. The functions of modality are to communicate statements about the truth value of the information expressed and reveal the assumed authority of the reporter to communicate obligations of legal and moral character. The functions of personal pronouns vary from making references to addressing the readers and establishing proximity. The passive voice is used to emphasize either the action (the deed) described, the doer of the action, or the receiver (the victim).

Lexical stylistic devices carry out the function of constructing consonance between the said and the implied and of 'naturalising' the language used. The functions which are in common to the linguistic phenomena discussed are the expression of the reporters' attitudes via *adjectives, the passive voice, modality and lexical stylistic devices*, and political manipulation via *the passive voice, personal pronouns, metaphor and metonymy*. Moreover, as the study revealed, the use of the linguistic aspects contributes to identifying the correspondence of the hard news articles with news values (i.e. elite persons and nations, personification, frequency, threshold, meaningfulness, exclusivity).

Answering the second research question, it can be stated that there exist four factors influencing the use and the interpretation of linguistic peculiarities in hard news articles. First, the interpretation of the frequency of linguistic peculiarities is influenced by the number of words in the articles; therefore, the normalised frequency analysis must be implemented in order to obtain reliable results. Second, the use of the linguistic peculiarities is influenced by the time and place (space) of publishing. Thus, it can be stated that frequency increases over time, because the most frequent use of modality, adjectives, the passive voice, personal pronouns and lexical stylistic devices is detected in the articles from the 21st century. Further on, the author points out that the most frequent use of the five linguistic peculiarities is detected in the selected articles from the English language newspapers in Germany, the UK and the USA. Fourth, the type of newspaper influences the neutrality of news; hence, the linguistic peculiarities in the broadsheets are used less frequently than in the tabloids.

Considering the stated above, it can be concluded that the goal of the present research has been reached. It has been proved that the major function of the linguistic peculiarities in the hard news articles is to represent the reality in an influential and authoritative way. Given the aforementioned considerations and the verification of the research procedure in the appendices, the author infers that the present paper corresponds to the provisions of reliability and validity.

Furthermore, although the present research has its value, it has certain practical limitations as well. First, the number of the criteria selected for the analysis demands a thorough description and exemplification as it has been done by Bednarek (2006) and later extended by Bednarek and Caple (2012). Second, due to the limited access to hard news articles across time, the opportunity of extending the corpus was constrained. Third, considering the volume of the paper, the prospect of diverting the theoretical basis for the analysis was reserved and; therefore, a detailed analysis was granted on certain terms. Thus, the research on the use of linguistic peculiarities of hard news articles across time and space can be continued in various forms.

THESES

1. Media discourse is the representation of reality in print and broadcast media via language, which is based on the historical and social context of the represented information.
2. A news report may not necessarily be neutral, value-free and content-based, because journalism is a sphere which is influenced by various factors including reporters' personal beliefs and judgements, and the stance of the owners of particular media industries.
3. Hard news is the stories encompassing a serious and timely account of global political, economic and environmental matters influencing society; therefore, hard news articles as the most popular type of media discourse enter the front pages of the leading newspapers in the world.
4. The use and the interpretation of the functions and the frequency of linguistic peculiarities in hard news articles are influenced by the time and the place of publishing, by the type of newspaper, and by the number of words in the articles.
5. The most frequently used linguistic features of hard news articles across the world diachronically are adjectives, personal pronouns, and modality markers, whereas, the least applied ones are the passive voice and lexical stylistic devices.
6. The primary functions of modality in hard news articles are to express judgements about the factuality of information delivered and to assume authority in communicating statements about moral and legal obligations, whereas, adjectives show the degree of evaluation in the report and give particular phenomena certain descriptions.
7. The passive voice is used to emphasize the doer, the receiver (the victim) or the action (the deed) described in the articles, thereby dominating the perceptions of the readership.
8. The central functions of personal pronouns in the hard news articles are to make references to elite nations and people, and to establish proximity with the readers, whereas, lexical stylistic devices in the articles undertake the function of constructing consonance between the expressed and the implied and of naturalising the language used.
9. The predominant purpose of the use of metaphors and metonymy in headlines, as well as of personal pronouns and the passive voice is to carry out political manipulation.
10. The frequency and the functions of the linguistic peculiarities in the corpus of hard news articles display that the news reports are content-based, but not always neutral, thereby corresponding to the majority of the news evaluation criteria, namely, frequency, threshold, unexpectedness, continuity, negativity, elite nations, elite persons, personalisation, meaningfulness and conflict.

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Appendix 1

Corpus of Hard News Articles

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Appendix 2

Quantitative Analysis of Frequency of Linguistic Peculiarities in Hard News Articles

The frequency analysis is manual, but the normalised frequency is calculated using the frequency tool ‘Log-likelihood calculator’ available from: <http://corpora.lancs.ac.uk/clmtp/2-stat.php>

1. Frequency of Linguistic Peculiarities Across Time

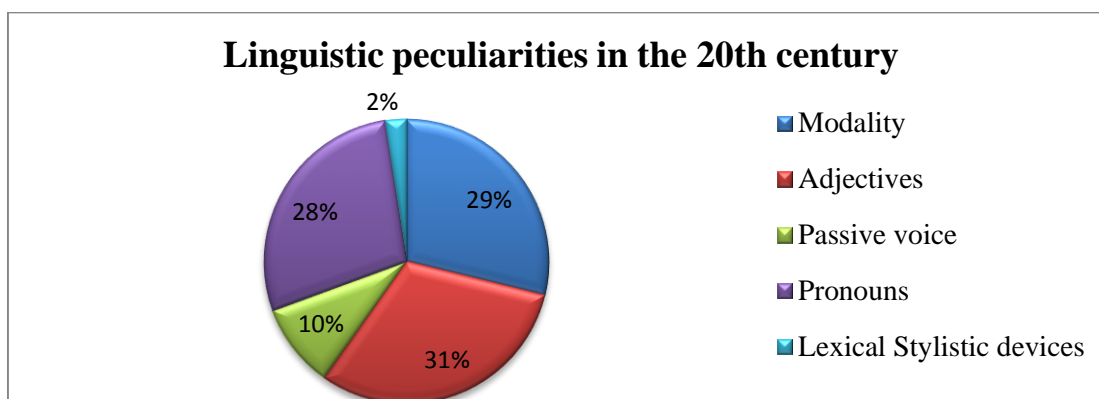


Figure 2.1. Frequency of linguistic peculiarities in hard news articles from the 20th century

Figure 2.1 outlines the frequency of five linguistic means in the selected corpus of 25 hard news articles printed in newspapers from the UK, the USA, Russia, Germany and France in the 20th century. As depicted in the chart below, **adjectives** constitute 31% of the overall use of linguistic peculiarities, **modality** makes up 29%, **personal pronouns** - 28%, the **passive voice** - 10% and **lexical stylistic devices** - 2%.

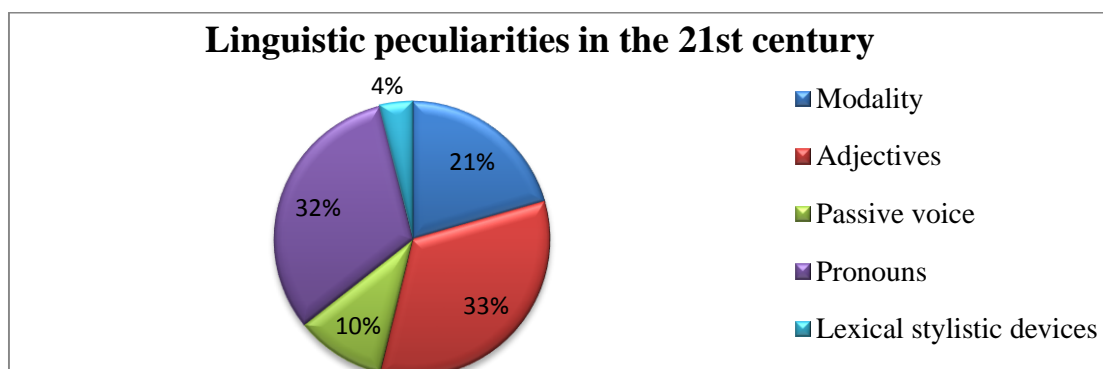


Figure 2.2. Frequency of linguistic peculiarities in hard news articles from the 21st century

Figure 2.2 above depicts the percentage of the detected examples of each linguistic phenomenon in the articles. Thus, the most frequently used linguistic peculiarities in the 21st century are personal **pronouns** (32%) and **adjectives** (33%). **Modality** constitutes 21% of the

overall use of linguistic peculiarities, the **passive voice** is 10% and **lexical stylistic devices** make up 4%.

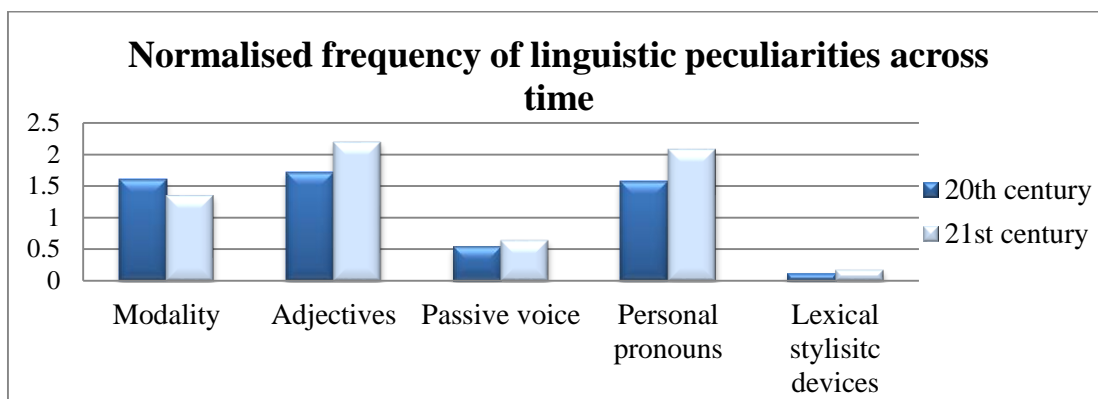


Figure 2.3. Normalised frequency of linguistic peculiarities in the articles from the 21st century in comparison to the articles from the 20th century

Normalised frequency of modality markers in both periods of time shows that the use of **modality** in the 20th century is 1.36% of the overall volume of words in the corpus and 1.60% in the 21st century. The use of **adjectives** in the articles from the 20th century is 1.72% versus 2.20% in the 21st century, **the passive voice** makes up 0.54% in the 20th century versus 0.65% in the 21st century, **personal pronouns** constitute 2.09% in the articles printed nowadays and 1.57% in the articles from the previous century, and **lexical stylistic devices** make up 0.12% in the previous century and 0.18% in the articles from the 21st century.

2. Frequency of Linguistic Peculiarities Across Countries

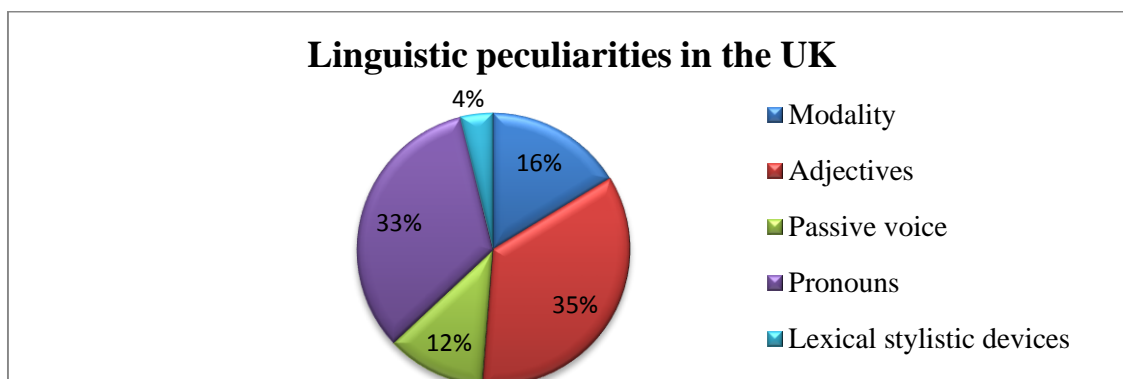


Figure 2.4. Frequency of linguistic peculiarities of hard news articles from newspapers from the UK

Figure 2.4 shows the percentage of examples of each of the linguistic features detected in the 10 selected hard news articles printed in the newspapers from the UK. The use of **adjectives** make up 35% of the overall use of linguistic peculiarities in the articles, **personal pronouns** constitute 33%, **modality** 16%, **the passive voice** 12% and **lexical stylistic devices** 4%.

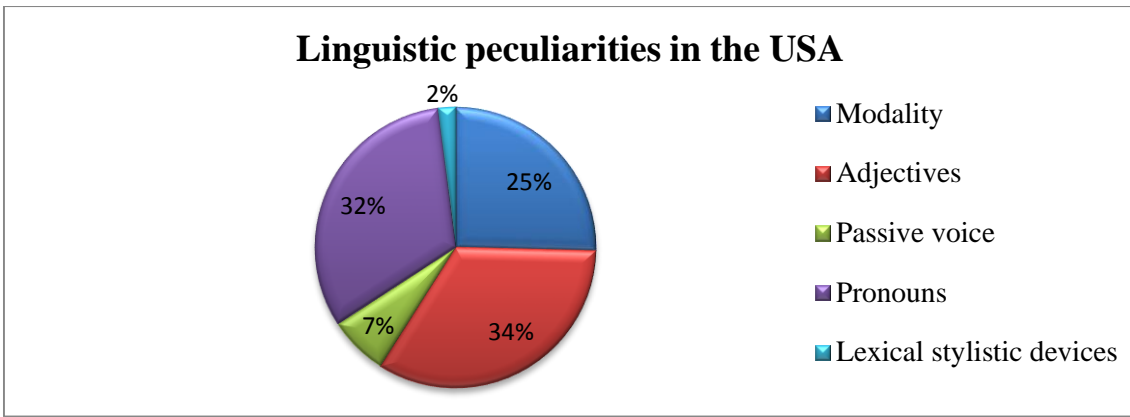


Figure 2.5. Frequency of linguistic peculiarities in hard news articles from newspapers from the USA

Figure 2.5 outlines the percentage of examples of each of the linguistic peculiarities detected in the 10 selected hard news articles printed in the newspapers from the USA. The use of **adjectives** make up 34% of the overall use of linguistic peculiarities in the articles, **personal pronouns** constitute 32%, **modality** - 25%, **the passive voice** - 7% and **lexical stylistic devices** - 2%.

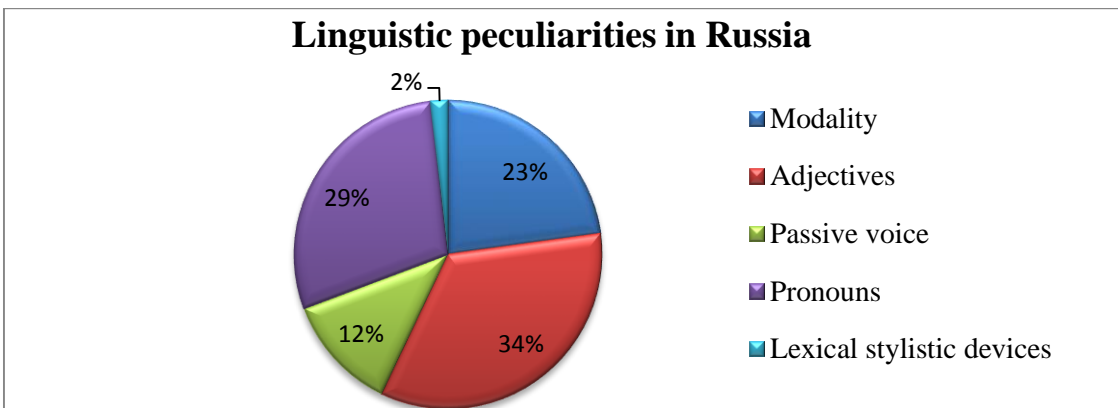


Figure 2.6. Frequency of linguistic peculiarities in hard news articles from newspapers from Russia

Figure 2.6 displays the percentage of examples of each of the linguistic aspects detected in the 10 selected hard news articles printed in the newspapers from Russia. The use of **adjectives** make up 34% of the overall use of linguistic aspects in the articles, **personal pronouns** constitute 29%, **modality** - 23%, the **passive voice** - 12% and **lexical stylistic devices** - 2%.

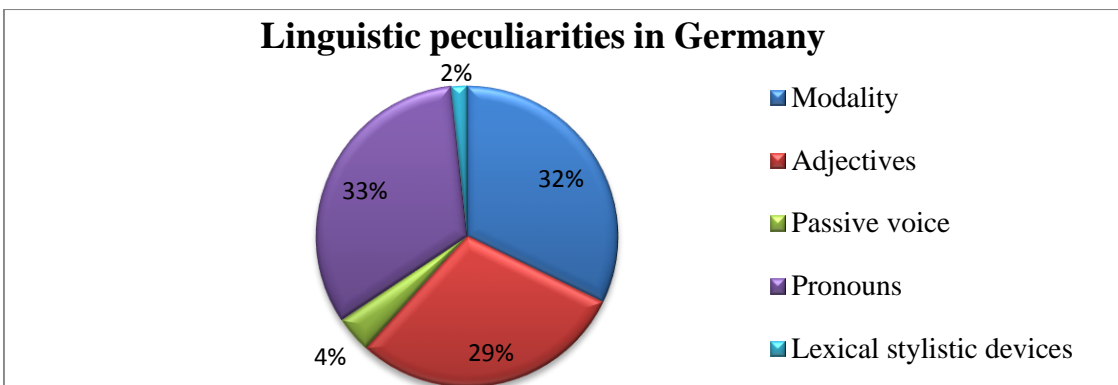


Figure 2.7. Frequency of linguistic peculiarities in hard news articles from newspapers from Germany

Figure 2.7 outlines the percentage of examples of each of the linguistic means detected in the selected hard news articles from Germany. The use of **adjectives** make up 29% of the overall use of linguistic means in the articles, **personal pronouns** constitute 33%, **modality** - 32%, **the passive voice** - 4% and **lexical stylistic devices** - 2%.

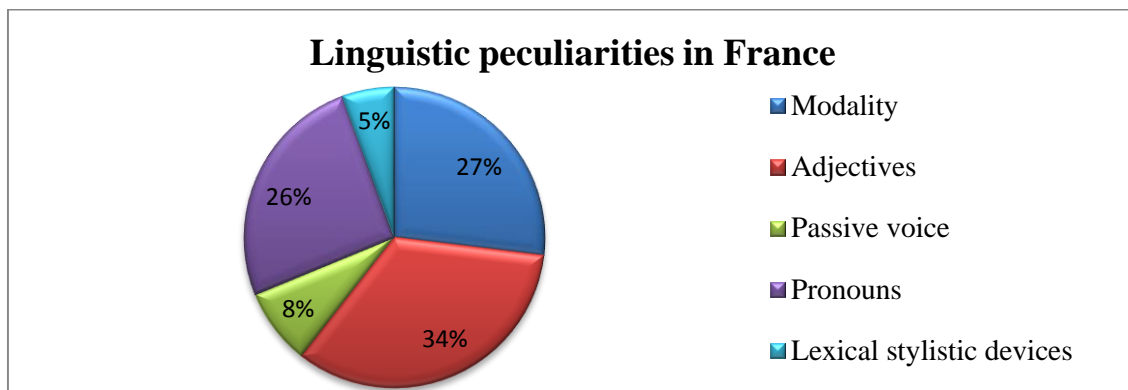


Figure 2.8. Frequency of linguistic peculiarities in hard news articles from newspapers from France

Figure 2.8 displays the percentage of examples of each of the linguistic features detected in the selected hard news articles from France. The use of **adjectives** makes up 34% of the overall use of linguistic features in the articles; **personal pronouns** constitute 26%, **modality** - 27%, the **passive voice** - 8% and **lexical stylistic devices** - 5%

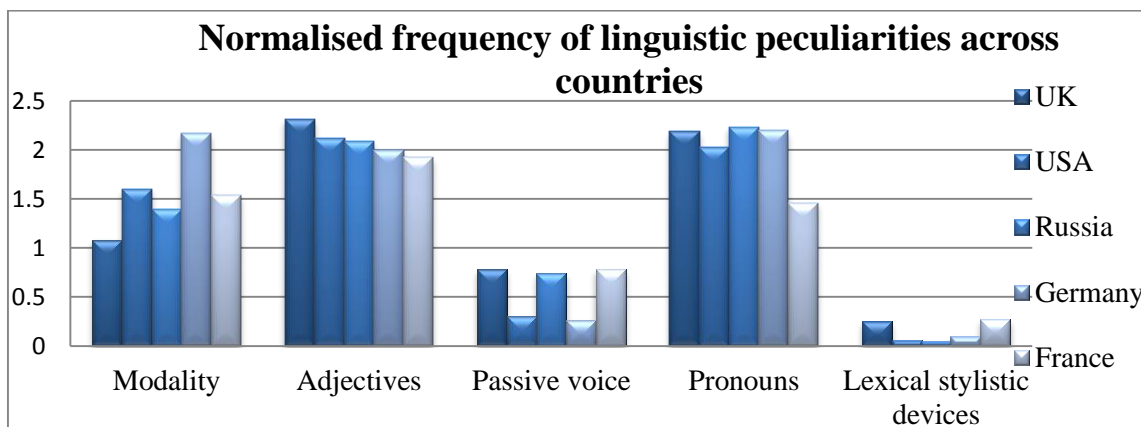


Figure 2.9. Normalised frequency of five linguistic peculiarities in hard news articles across countries

As Figure 2.9 indicates, the normalised frequency use of **modality** in the articles from Germany is 2.17%, from the USA 1.6%, from France 1.54%, from the UK 1.08% and from Russia (1.39%). The use of **adjectives** makes up 2.31 % in the UK, 2.12% in the USA, 2.09% in Russia, 1.99% in Germany and 1.92% in France. **The passive voice** constitutes 0.78 %, in the articles from the UK, 0.30% from the USA, 0.74% from Russia, 0.26% from Germany and 0.42% from France. **Personal pronouns** make up 2.19 % in the articles from the UK, 2.03% from the USA, 2.23% from Russia, 2.2% from Germany and 1.46% from France.

Lexical stylistic devices constitute 0.25 % in the articles from the UK, 0.13% from the USA, 0.11% from Russia, 0.11% from Germany and 0.32% from France.

3. Frequency of Types of Linguistic Peculiarities

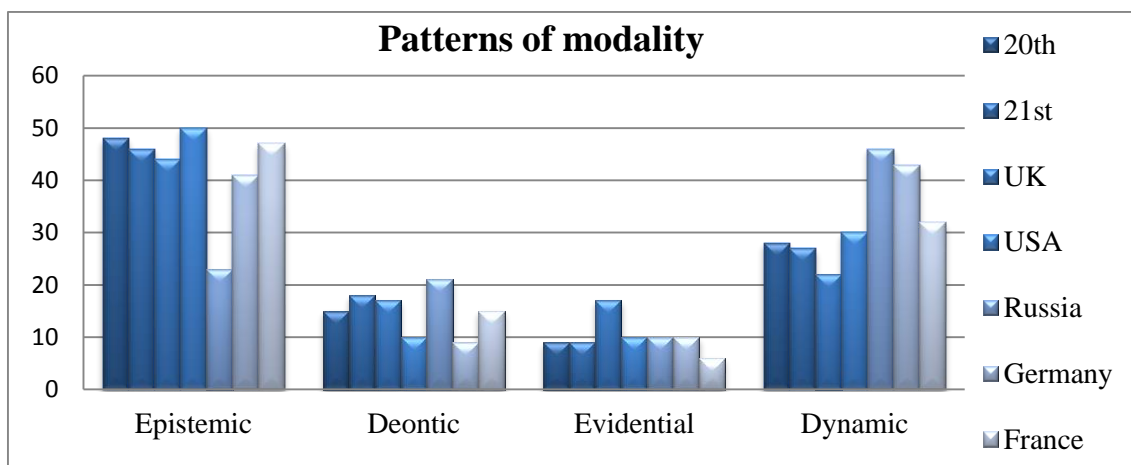


Figure 2.10. Frequency of modal systems in hard news articles across time and space

As indicated in Figure 2.10 above, the most frequently used patterns of modality both across time and space are **epistemic** modals making up 50% of the overall use of modality in the articles from the USA, 41% from Germany, 47% from France, 44% from the UK, 23% from Russia, 48% in the articles from the 20th and 46% in the 21st century. **Dynamic** modality constitutes 32% in the articles from France, 43% from Germany, 46% from Russia, 30% from the USA, 22% from the UK, 28% from the 20th century and 27% from the 21st century. **Deontic** modality constitutes 15% in the articles from France and in the articles from the 20th century, 9% from Germany, 21% from Russia, 10% from the USA, 17% from the UK and 18% from the 21st century. **Evidential** modality makes up 9% of the cases in the articles from the 20th century and the 21st century, 17% from the UK, 10% from the USA, Germany and Russia, and 6% from France.

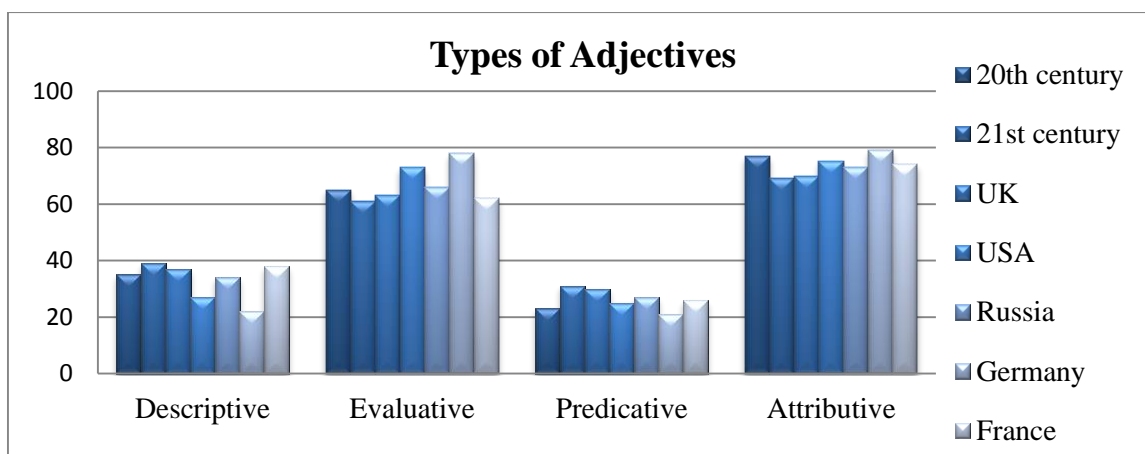


Figure 2.11. Frequency of types of adjectives in hard news articles across time and space

As indicated in Figure 2.11, the most frequently used type of adjectives both across time and space are **evaluative** adjectives making up 65% of the overall use of adjectives in the articles from the 20th century, 61% from the 21st century, 63% from the UK, 73% from the USA, 66% from Russia, 78% from Germany and 62% from France. **Attributive** adjectives make up 77% in the 20th century, 69% in the 21st, 70% in the UK, 75% in the USA, 73% in Russia, 79% in Germany and 74% in France. **Descriptive** adjectives making up 35% in the 20th century, 39% in the 21st century, 37% in the UK, 27% in the USA, 34% in Russia, 22% in Germany and 38% in France; and **predicative** adjectives constitute 23% in the articles from the previous century, 31% nowadays, 30% in the UK, 25% in the USA, 27% in Russia, 21% in Germany, and 26% in France.

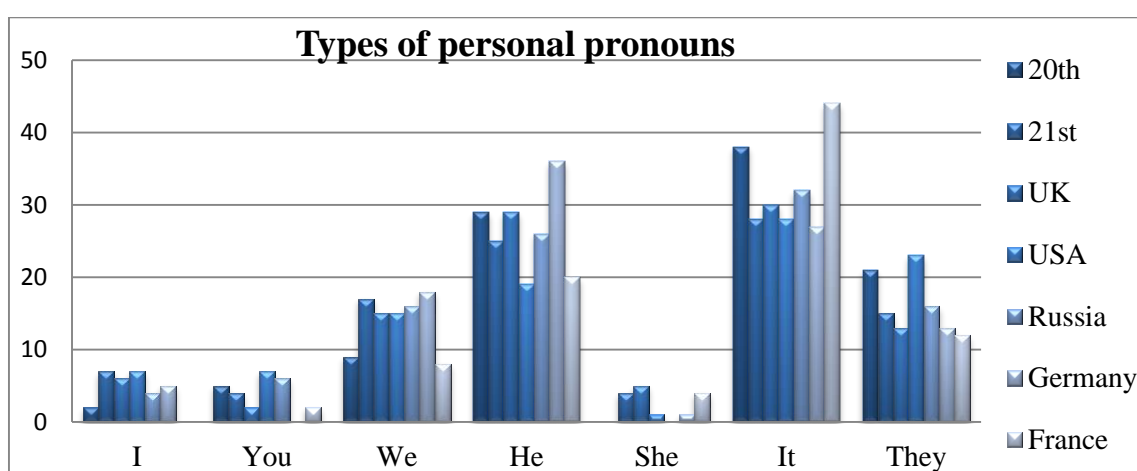


Figure 2.12. Frequency of types of personal pronouns in hard news articles across time and space

According to Figure 2.12, the most frequently used type of personal pronouns across countries diachronically is the **third person neutral personal pronoun ‘it’** making up 38% of the overall use of pronouns in the articles from the 20th century, 28% in the 21st century, 44% in France, 32% in Russia, 30% in the UK, 28% in the USA and 27% in Germany. **Third person masculine pronoun ‘he’** makes up 29% in the articles from the 20th century and from the UK, 25% in the 21st century, 36% in Germany, 26% in Russia, 20% in France and 19% in the USA. **Second person singular pronoun ‘You’** makes up 1% from the overall use in the 20th century, 4% in the 21st century, 2% in the UK, 7%, in the USA, 6% in Russia, and 2% in France. **First person singular pronoun ‘I’** constitutes 2% in 20th century, 7% in the 21st century, 6% in the UK, 7% in the USA, 4% in Russia, and 5% in Germany. **First person plural pronoun ‘we’** makes up 9% in the 20th century, 17% in the 21st century, 15% in the UK and the USA, 16% in Russia, 18% in Germany and 8% in the articles from France. **Third person singular feminine pronoun ‘she’** makes up 1% in the articles from Germany and the USA, 4% in the 21st century and in France and 5% in the UK. **Third person plural pronoun**

‘they’ constitutes 21% of the overall use in the articles from the 20th century, 15% in the 21st century, 23% in the USA, 13% in the UK and Germany, 16% in Russia and 12% in France.

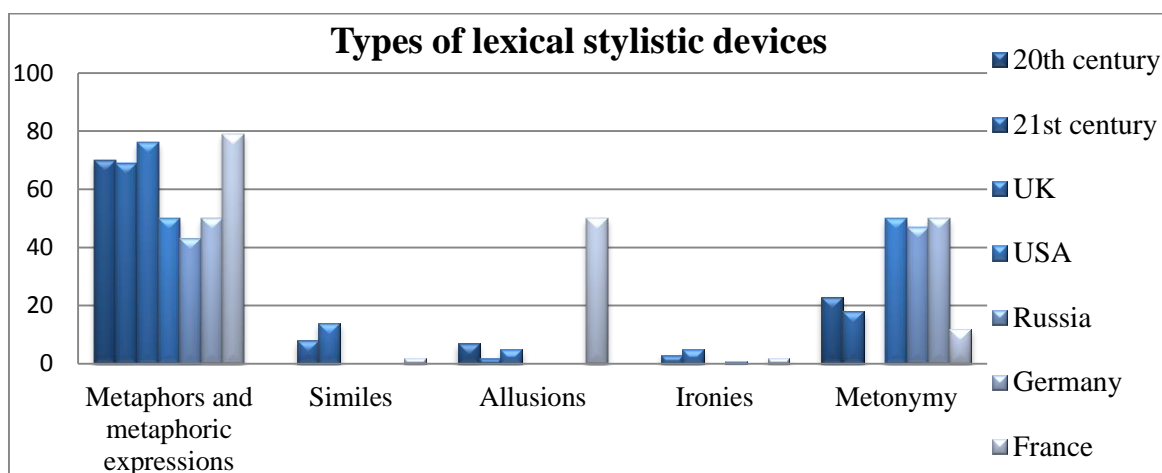


Figure 2.13. Frequency of types of lexical stylistic devices in hard news articles across time and space

As indicated in Figure 2.13, the most frequently used lexical stylistic devices across time and space are **metaphors and metaphoric expressions** constituting 70% of the overall use in the articles from the 20th century, 69% in the 21st century, 76% in the UK, 50% in the USA and Germany, 43% in Russia and 79% in France. **Metonymy** makes up 23% in the articles from the 20th century, 18% from 21st century, 50% from the USA and Germany, 47% from Russia, and 12% from France. **Similes** make up 8% in the articles from the 21st century, 14% from the UK and 2% from France. **Allusions** constitute 7% of the sum of linguistic phenomenon in the 20th century, 2% in the 21st century, 5% from the UK and 5% from France. **Irony** makes up 3% in the articles from the 21st century, 5% from the UK 2% from France and 1% from Russia.

Appendix 3

Sample Articles from Corpus

The linguistic peculiarities in the articles are marked as follows:

- **Passive voice**
- *Modality*
- Adjectives and adverbs
- Personal Pronouns
- Lexical stylistic devices

Articles from Twentieth Century

1. Article 1. The Independent (the UK) 25.08.1992.

Allies given excuse for Iraq air patrols

THE GULF war allies **were given fresh** justification for taking military action over the skies of southern Iraq yesterday by a confidential report circulating among United Nations Security Council members, writes Leonard Doyle.

The report by the Secretary- General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, revealed that all UN officials **had been ordered out** of the south of Iraq because of the danger to their lives from government-inspired demonstrations.

The result, he said, was that 'the UN *will not* be in a position to meet the essential humanitarian needs of vulnerable groups,' referring to Shias **being harried** in the south and Kurds in the north.

Eight UN guards and one UN Children's Fund official **have already been withdrawn** from Basra. Mr Boutros-Ghali warned that the deteriorating situation *could* lead to a 'renewed and large-scale' flood of refugees and that 'the population **will be placed** at serious risk' unless winter food supplies *are* in place by November.

The US, Britain and France **are expected** to lean heavily on Mr Boutros-Ghali's report to justify an air blockade of the southern third of Iraqi territory, the legality of which **has been questioned** by experts on international law. The justification for the action is a vague principle of humanitarian law calling for international action to stop grave violations of human rights.

The US is **expected** to announce the beginning of regular allied patrols over southern Iraq this week after delays that, in part, reflect Arab concerns that the exclusion zone *could* lead to the break-up of Iraq.

The British government faces embarrassment over plans to deploy six Tornados in support. Neither the Saudis nor Bahrainis *will* allow the aircraft on their territory.

Available from: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/allies-given-excuse-for-iraq-air-patrols-1542275.html> [Accessed on 12.02.2015]

2. Article 21. The New York Times (the USA) 22.12.1992.

CONFLICT IN THE BALKANS; Military Step: West Is Wary

WASHINGTON, Dec. 21— Although Slobodan Milosevic's seeming victory in the election in Serbia increases the pressure on Western nations to live up to their tough warnings in the Balkans, the Bush Administration and its allies *seem to* have little appetite for military action to stop the killing in Bosnia.

The only immediate military action that the Western nations are contemplating is enforcing the existing ban on military flights over Bosnia. But there are still disagreements about how and when to do that, and even if those **are resolved**, as *seems likely*, there is no expectation that this *would* stop the fighting in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Indeed, despite Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger's denunciation of Serbian leaders as war criminals and other strong talk from Western officials last week, the United States and its allies are primarily interested in preventing the fighting from spreading to regions around Bosnia. *They* do not have a clear military plan for dealing with the Serbs' "ethnic cleansing" in Bosnia or reversing Serbia's gains on the battlefield.

The allies' limited goals in the Balkans, as well as their differences over tactics, lay behind the public display of unity on Sunday by President Bush and Prime Minister John Major of Britain, who said *they* had agreed on the need for a new United Nations resolution that *would* enforce a ban on military flights over Bosnia.

For the Bush Administration, the main purpose of such a move *would be* to signal Mr. Milosevic that after months in which open Serbian violations of the United Nations ban have gone unpunished, the West is finally prepared to take action, a senior official said. By doing that, Washington hopes to make credible its warnings to the Serbs not to move on Kosovo or Macedonia, officials said.

Actually in recent days, the fighting in Bosnia has diminished, in part because of the onset of very cold weather, but also, diplomats in Belgrade say, because the Serbian authorities wanted to improve their image at the time of the elections. Cyrus R. Vance and

Lord Owen, the heads of a joint United Nations-European Community peace initiative, are pinning their hopes on a negotiated solution by trying to use the diminished fighting as a way of bringing about a stable cease-fire in Bosnia. Artillery the Main Weapon.

In the absence of a cease-fire, enforcing the flight ban *would* provide a measure of protection to the Bosnians, as it *would* stop the Serbs from using helicopters to resupply their troops, conduct reconnaissance missions and if Bosnian Government reports *are to be* believed, fire rockets at Government positions. But it *would* do nothing to stop the Serbs from attacking the Bosnians with artillery, mortars and tanks, which have been the main killing mechanism.

And limited though it is, there is even broad disagreement among the Western nations over when to enforce the flight ban and how much force to use.

The Administration is pressing for the ban **to be enforced** before Mr. Bush leaves office. But while Defense Secretary Dick Cheney has talked about giving the Serbs 15 days' warning, London remains wary of moving that quickly. Some British defense officials, worried that the enforcement of the ban on military flights *would lead* to Serbian retaliation against British peacekeeping forces in Bosnia and interfere with their effort to ship food and medicine, *reportedly* favor a warning period of about 30 days, which *would* mean that no action **is taken** until the Clinton Administration takes office on Jan. 20.

Mr. Cheney has also talked about the possibility of enforcing the ban by bombing Serbian airfields, which Pentagon officials say *would be* the simplest and most effective way to neutralize the Serbian aircraft. The British favor combat air patrols to deter the Serbians from flying -- and thus to avoid the need to stage attacks.

Appeal by Bosnia

Asserting that the United States *can* help defend the Bosnians without involving itself in a costly land war, Haris Silajdzic, the Bosnian Foreign Minister, said in an interview that his Government was not seeking Western ground troops. The Bosnians, he said, *could* defend themselves if *they* received infantry weapons and if Western aircraft attacked Serbian positions.

But Washington and its allies are reluctant to take sides. Having reversed its earlier opposition to sending arms to the Bosnians, the Administration has all but dropped its push to lift the arms embargo in the face of Western European opposition.

As the United Nations works on a resolution authorizing the enforcement of a flight ban, the Security Council *will also have to* take into account the views of the Russians, who *may be* protective of the Serbs, as well as those of Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, who has *reportedly* been wary of taking military steps to enforce the ban.

But the United Nations *will have to* weigh the growing cost of inaction, as well as the likelihood that pressure for tougher action *will* increase once President-elect Bill Clinton take office. While Mr. Clinton has said he understands the British concerns, he has also taken a more aggressive public stand on Bosnia than Mr. Bush, even suggesting the possibility of air strikes.

Available from: <http://www.nytimes.com/1992/12/22/world/conflict-in-the-balkans-military-step-west-is-wary.html> [Accessed on 12.02.2015]

3. Article 11. The Moscow Times (Russia) 06.03.1992.

Fighting moves closer to western Azerbaijan

An emergency session of the Azerbaijani parliament opened yesterday in the capital of Baku amid reports that Armenian shelling had killed 10 people overnight in the disputed region of Nagorno-Karabakh.

Radio Moscow said the lawmakers had gathered to discuss the escalating violence in the embattled enclave in the southern Caucasus Mountains.

Ten people **were killed** in overnight shelling by Armenians on the Azerbaijani village of Syrkhavend in Nagorno-Karabakh, the ITAR-TASS news agency said, quoting the Azerbaijani Interior Ministry.

ITAR-TASS said Armenian guerrilla's armored equipment failed to capture the village, 15 miles northwest of Agdam, the town inside Azerbaijan proper which is providing emergency medical care and temporary homes to refugees fleeing Nagorno-Karabakh. The disputed region's border is three miles west of Agdam, and ***the fighting was moving*** closer to the city of 120, 000 people. Helicopters fly missions out of Agdam, and there **is** sporadly shooting **heard** around the city.

The bodies of those killed in last week's Armenian attack on the predominantly Azerbaijani town of Khodshaly **have been brought** to Agdam for burial. But officials say Armenian snipers are preventing the recovery of more corpses from the mountainous region.

In the Feb. 25 to 26 attack, Azerbaijan claims that 1, 000 people including women and children **were gunned down** as they fled Khodzhalay. Armenia does not dispute the attack, but says the number of dead is greatly exaggerated.

Azerbaijan's government condemned last week's Armenian assault on the town of Khodzhalay as "deliberate genocide" and accused Commonwealth troops of complicity. The Commonwealth armed forces denied involvement.

Presidents Boris Yeltsin of Russian and Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan made urgent appeals for a ceasefire in the former Soviet Union's bloodiest ethnic conflict.

Before the latest casualties, more than 1, 000 people had died in four years of fighting over the mainly Armenian region of Nagorno-Karabakh, which has been under Azerbaijani administration since 1923.

Refugees from Khodzhalı, 12 miles from Agdam, streamed to cemeteries and to the city's central mosque Wednesday to weep for the victims of last week's attack and wait for more bodies.

Gunmen fired into the air to clear a path for ambulances and trucks carrying the wounded to a World War II-era hospital train outside Agdam, where the surgeons sometimes operate without anesthetic.

"Sleep.Food. They don't matter to me", said Dr.YegubovSattar. He said on Wednesday there were 300 wounded people on the train.

"We need antibiotics, blood, and all kinds of other medicines", he said as he tended the injured in the beat-up, seven-car train at a platform outside Agdam.

Agayev, the Azerbaijani presidential spokesmen, accused former Soviet troops of joining Armenian forces in the killings.

He said dozens of former Soviet armored personnel carriers and tanks had surrounded Khodzkalı, and that residents "spoke of Russian officers and soldiers who broke into their homes, who marauded and murdered the people".

A Commonwealth military spokesman, CoL Ivan Skrymyk, denied former Soviet troops were involved, saying soldiers **were "prohibited** from taking part in any of the military operations on either side. They have been fulfilling this order".

The troops **have been ordered** to withdraw from Nagorno-Karabakh, but the pullout **was halted** because of an attack by Armenian militants which left one soldier dead. Both sides have accused the army of aiding the other, but some civilians want the troops to stay.

Available from: <http://www.themoscowtimes.com/news/article/fighting-moves-closer-to-western-azerbaijan/221875.html> [Accessed on 12.02.2015]

4. Article 45. Stars and Stripes (Europe) 12.04.1945.

Reds Draw Ring Tight On Vienna

The last phase of the battle for Vienna—reputedly the most beautiful city in Europe—was under way last night, *according to reports*, as Marshal Tolbukhin's troops compressed what remained of the German garrison, trapped in the narrow section of the city between the Danube Canal and the river.

Marshal Stalin's latest communique said the section on the west bank of the Danube Canal **had been cleared** of Germans and reports from the front said Tolbukhin's men had crossed the Canal and were fighting to liquidate the Nazis still battling desperately in three of the city's 22 districts.

These German forces *evidently* were trying to keep the escape route to the north open but reports said that Marshal Malinovsky's forces had completed the encirclement of the city.

German reports, meanwhile, ignored the Vienna battle and concentrated on the Berlin front where, *according to* dispatches, large forces of Soviet cavalry **were on the move**. Nazi commentators for several weeks have been predicting an all-out assault against the Reich capital.

German News Agency also predicted a drive southeast of Berlin in a message quoting Field Marshal Ferdinand Schoerner, commander on the Eastern Front, that Marshal Koniev's troops, stretched along the Niesse River, were about to launch an offensive. Schoerner's warning, *according to* the Nazis, **was contained** in an Order of the Day to his troops.

The Order stated that the Russian 4th Tank Army **was concentrated** in the area of Guben and Forst, some 60 miles southeast of the Third Reich capital, with another tank army in reserve.

According to reports from the front, the battle had not entirely ended in Vienna, but German resistance *apparently* was concentrated in isolated groups of elite SS troops. Conscripted troops, dispatches said, were surrendering in large numbers.

Available from: <http://starsandstripes.newspaperarchive.com> [Accessed on 22.03.2015]

5. Article 46. Le Monde diplomatique (France) 03.12.1999.

WAR WITHOUT BLOOD?

Hypocrisy of 'non-lethal' arms

The horror of images of deaths **caused** by Western armies in military operations, designed to maintain peace and security, has led to the development of new arms that are intended to paralyse, not destroy. Yet for all this seductive rhetoric, so-called "non-lethal" arms have the potential to increase the level of violence, spawning ever more advanced techniques of repression. And if democratic countries let their arms manufacturers develop these techniques, they *will be* exported to places less concerned about brutalising their populations.

The use of "human shields" and civilian hostage-taking is becoming increasingly common in modern warfare. All-out bombing is not just politically primitive but does not

help resolve complicated internal conflicts - even if we are talking about smart, carbon fibre bombs. A revolution in military strategy is coming in the **wake of the conflict** over Kosovo .

Perhaps the major beneficiary of this thinking is the Pentagon, which has benefited from President Bill Clinton's decision to give it a gold-plated spending increase of \$110bn over six years to boost "military readiness". *According to* William Hartnung, senior research fellow at the US World Policy Institute (New York), the total United States military budget of \$260bn plus, only makes sense in terms of politics and economics, rather than any real threat to American security. Such a sum is, *he* says, "already twice as large as the combined budgets of every conceivable US adversary, including major powers like China and Russia and regional "rogue states" such as Iraq, North Korea and Libya"(2). For Hartnung, the weapon-makers are shaping US foreign and military policy. *They* are preparing, within the framework of a new doctrine, weapons systems which *will* break down the delineation between military and police.

With the end of the cold war we have seen a move away from conflicts between states towards questions of national security or external intervention. Since then US military policy makers have been dreaming of "war without blood". The emergence of a second generation of maiming, paralysing and immobilising weapons in the early 1990s *grew out of a collaboration* between naive US science fiction writers (such as American Quakers Chris and Janet Morris) and high-profile futurologists (Alvin and Heidi Toffler) with former CIA Director Ray Cline along with Colonel John Alexander (3).

Together *they* developed a doctrine of "non-lethal" warfare centred on the provision of advanced "soft-kill" weapons and options. The US Defence Department defines these as "weapon systems that are explicitly designed and primarily employed so as to incapacitate personnel or materiel, while minimising fatalities, permanent injury to personnel, and undesired damage to property and the environment" (4). However, most advocates of the doctrine recognise the theoretical nature of this notion and prefer to speak of "less lethal" technologies. The collaboration of writers with the military opened up doors into the US national nuclear weapons laboratories at Los Alamos and Lawrence Livermore, desperate for *a new role* at the end of the cold war. The humane new doctrine of "war without blood" had a double advantage: it relaunched research and was at the same time a useful public relations exercise after a series of disastrous episodes (including the high profile beating of Rodney King, the Waco siege, and the humiliating confrontations US troops endured in Somalia).

As US commander in chief, President Clinton **is known** to be particularly susceptible to such a doctrine. His aides say *he* still agonises over *bringing death* to innocents and remembers the name of Layla Al Attar - a celebrated Iraqi painter **who was crushed** by the

first military air- strikes on Baghdad. Besides, in the information era civilian deaths and “collateral damage” have a big impact on public opinion.

Thus current US doctrine now says it is unrealistic to “assume away” civilians and non-combatants on today’s battlefield. The army *must be* able to execute its missions in spite of and/or operating in the midst of civilian personnel. These missions include blocking an area; controlling crowds; stopping vehicles and seizing individuals.

Pandora’s box

The potential tools for achieving these objectives include blunt trauma impact munitions, riot agent dispensers, calmatives, pyrotechnic stun, electric stun, anti-traction, acoustics, entanglement/nets; foams; barriers; directed energy, isotropic radiators, super polymers (to create an immobilising fog) and “non-lethal” mines.

This quest for a **magic bullet weapon** that does no harm created a new arsenal of weapons more useful in developing a media-friendly “quick fix” for the symptoms of social and political problems than resolving their real causes. The US military freely admit that the doctrine is not meant to replace lethal weapons with “non-lethal” alternatives but to augment the use of deadly force in both war and “operations other than war”, where the main targets include civilians. A **dubious Pandora’s box** of new weapons has emerged, designed to appear - rather than be - safe. Because of the ubiquitous CNN factor they *need* to be media friendly. Progress in this area of innovation has been swift. By 1995 the US Joint Non-Lethal Weapons working group had tested various blunt impact devices, chemical irritants, disorientating technologies, entanglements and aqueous foam barriers. By 1996 this group had evaluated entanglements and sticky foam; modular non-lethal claymore mines; chemical riot control agents; slippery barriers and Caltrops/Volcano mines (that explode when someone enters a forbidden zone) and an acoustic “vortex ring” weapon.

Many of these projects have already **been evolved** including sniper stopper systems such as the SDS system, commissioned by the US Defence Department’s Advanced Research Projects Agency, which can detect muzzle blast and fire back (5). We also have M16 rifle adaption which allows it to fire 40 mm XM1006 sponge grenades whilst retaining its lethal force option of firing 5.56 mm bullets; a variable velocity projectile system that enables a single munition to be used as a crowd control blunt impact device or become a lethal sabot if a switch is pulled to open gas vents. There is also the USAF’s Saber 203 laser dazzler system, prototypes of which **were used** by US Marines in Somalia in 1995 (6).

Even though most of the new less-than-lethal initiatives are highly classified, they have spawned a string of lucrative commercial contracts which are occasionally reported in the defence press. However, the clearest picture of progress to date has emerged from three

recent conferences sponsored by Jane's Defence Weekly, held in London between 1997 and 1999.

For their 1997 programme the Joint Non-Lethal Weapons directorate had proposed six topics to government laboratories. These included personnel sensing fuses; frangible shell casings; non-lethal anti- materiel/materiel, “tunable” weapons; long range delivery means; and unmanned vehicle capability. It received 63 responses. Two review panels looked at technical and user merit, and three **were selected** for funding: chemical diffusers, spider fibre and non-lethal electromagnetic pulsers for stopping vehicles. The 1998 programme included four topics: “tunable” non-lethal effects, long range projection, gap analysis and non-lethal alternatives to antipersonnel land mines.

At the 1997 conference, Hildi S. Libby, systems manager for the US army's non-lethal material programme, advocated a range of advanced technologies to “insert into existing weapons platforms”. Not surprisingly many of her proposals centred on area denial munitions (7). The US *will not* sign the land mines treaty until 2006, when “suitable” alternatives **have been developed**. Libby presented options such as:

- a non-lethal antipersonnel mine, based on the design of the M1*A1 lethal system. Little in the way of hard data exists to determine how much of a 'sting' this device produces. Riot munitions based on kinetic impact rounds have often caused internal organ damage, blindness and death;
- a non-lethal 66 mm vehicle-launched payload; a flexible response weapon that *might be* used in conjunction with other systems to corral or punish a crowd;
- cannister-launched area denial systems, used for delivering so-called non-lethal mines, malodorous devices or kinetic systems for attacking crowds;
- a bounding anti-personnel net mine which springs up from the ground to entangle the victim. So-called improvements already tested include the incorporation of adhesive, pain-delivering irritant or electroshock, or in the larger versions, razor-bladed additions which oblige the targets to remain completely still to avoid further lacerating injuries (8).

Both the 1997 and 1998 Jane's conferences discussed a range of invisible weapons such as the Vortex gun (an advanced system for delivering shock waves to the human body); acoustic bio-effect weapons (which according to US expert William Arkin can be “merely annoying” or “can be tuned to produce 170 decibels and rupture organs create cavities in human tissue and cause potentially lethal blastwave trauma”).

The 1998 Jane's conference presented the “layered defence concept” where the outer layers of the control onion are less-lethal and the central area is deadly. Video was shown of

microwave weapons **being used** by troops **accompanied** by medical staff who treated the comatose targets.

Contradiction in terms

Apart from potentially undermining the Hypocratic oath, this work **has been carried out** in such secrecy that it is difficult to evaluate claims of safety. For example, Steven Aftergood, director of the Federation of American Scientists, has commented that high-powered microwaves are almost uniquely intrusive. “*They* do not simply attack a person’s body”, *he* says. “Rather *they* reach all the way into a person’s mind ... They are meant to be disorientating or upset mental stability.” Such devices heat up and interfere with human body temperature, including so-called bio- regulators; radio-frequency weapons that interfere with the brain and body’s own electrical circuitry; and laser systems that can either semi-blind or induce so-called tetanisng electrical shocks (that paralyse muscles) (9). In January the European parliament called for a ban on such weapons.

Many non-governmental organisations have voiced opposition to non-lethal weapons arguing that they are a contradiction in terms. Critics say ***that in the heat of the moment*** few operatives will favour “phasers on stun” (in Startrek parlance) if they also have a more permanent lethal option. This risks blurring the distinction between crowd control and summary street executions.

Apart from undermining international humanitarian law, such weapons *can be* deployed in very different contexts from those that the designers envisage. For example, the daily rate of executions recorded in the Rwandan conflict was due to a paralysing tactic of cutting the Achilles tendon that allowed the subsequent killing to be done at leisure.

Sticky foam guns that glue targets to the ground, calmative chemicals that knock out a crowd and paralysing systems that fix people in place are devices that *might* paradoxically make conflict zones even more lethal - deadly weapons *could* well be deployed against sitting ducks. In Ireland, the laboratory of the first generation of non-lethal weapons, the use of these weapons encouraged and exacerbated the conflict (10).

Amnesty International has already reported cases where such weapons **have been used** for street punishment, for example in the US, where peaceful environmental protesters **had their eyes directly sprayed** with pepper gas — which Amnesty characterised as “tantamount to torture”. The organisation has also documented the repeated use in Kenya of a very strong form of tear gas. Two years after it succeeded in getting the British government to ban its exportation, Amnesty reported that the substance used to subdue a peaceful demonstration on 10 June 1999 **was supplied** by a French company, Nobel Sécurité (11).

Once the repressive systems are developed, their manufacturers *will be* tempted to service the market demands of the torturing states. Amnesty has recognised this prospect and is examining whether weapons that are inherently “abusable” *should be* banned, like electro-shock and stun technology (12). The basic question is to what extent these systems undermine international treaties and human rights law. With its Sirius project, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) is adopting a similar approach (13). To date, most weapons that **have been prohibited**, such as poison gas, exploding bullets, blinding laser weapons and landmines, **were designed** to inflict a specific injury, and to do so consistently. *According to* the ICRC, it is time to impose a general ban on all so-called non-lethal weapons that cause superfluous injury or unnecessary suffering by specifically singling out anatomical, biochemical or physiological targets.

Available from: <http://mondediplo.fr/1999/12/09wright> [Accessed on 16.03.2015.]

Articles from the Twenty First Century

6. Article 5. The Independent (the UK) 08.02.2015.

'Russia's growing threat': After Ukraine, fears grow that Baltic states *could be* Vladimir Putin's next targets

The West *must* stand up to Russia over Ukraine or Europe *could* descend into a major war for the first time since 1945, diplomats warned today as efforts to negotiate peace hung by a thread.

As the German Chancellor, Angela Merkel, prepared to brief Barack Obama in Washington on Monday about the state of the negotiations, a former US ambassador to Ukraine predicted that Estonia and the other Baltic states – all members of Nato – *could be Vladimir Putin's next targets* if he is **allowed** to hold on to territory won by force.

Ms Merkel, who strongly opposes arming Ukraine, spent the weekend desperately trying to negotiate with Mr Putin. In a four-way phone call yesterday afternoon, the German and Russian leaders agreed with the French President, François Hollande, and his Ukrainian counterpart, Petro Poroshenko, that they *would* meet in the Belarusian capital, Minsk, on Wednesday.

The Estonian President, Toomas Hendrik Ilves, compared Western inaction against Russia with the appeasement of Adolf Hitler in 1938, when Nazi Germany **was allowed** to seize parts of the former Czechoslovakia.

“We know from history that appeasement *will never* satisfy those that **are being appeased**,” *he* said. **“Munich '38** *I think should be* a lesson to all of us even today.”

British Foreign Secretary Philip Hammond accused Mr Putin of “acting like some mid-20th century tyrant”, while the French Foreign Minister, Jean-Yves Le Drian, said *he would* “fear the worst” if peace talks this week failed.

Last night, reports put the death toll from the conflict at 50,000 – 10 times previous estimates.

The US has considered sending weapons to Ukraine, but the UK, Germany and France oppose arming Kiev’s forces, saying this *could* lead to an escalation of the fighting.

Writing in The Independent today, Lord Ashdown, the former Liberal Democrat leader, urges the West to use “military diplomacy”, while avoiding direct conflict.

“The right reaction to the Russian arming of the Ukrainian rebels is to make it clear we are prepared to do the same for the Ukrainian government,” he writes. “Start small, slow and unaggressively – with communications and intelligence equipment for example.”

But a hardline with the Kremlin over Ukraine *should be* matched with efforts to build a strategic partnership with Moscow in the fight against Isis and Islamist terrorism, Lord Ashdown adds.

The worst-case scenario facing Europe **was outlined** today by John Herbst, former US ambassador to Ukraine, who said *it* was time to send military help to Ukraine.

“*I think* that those who argue against helping Ukraine defend itself against a much bigger and stronger aggressor do not understand the strategic stakes,” Mr Herbst said.

“[Putin’s] statements, his provocations against the Baltic states, against Kazakhstan, indicate his goals are greater than Ukraine. If we don’t stop Mr Putin in Ukraine, *we may be* dealing with him in Estonia. *I’m* not saying *we will*, but *he* has given indication that this *could* happen. The most important national security challenge in the world today is a rogue Kremlin and we need to stop him and Ukraine is the place to do *it*.”

Mr Ilves told Sky News that while *he* was not yet afraid of a Russian invasion, action *must be* taken to halt its “reckless and irresponsible behaviour throughout our region”.

The peace summit due to take place in Minsk on Wednesday **was described** by Mr Hammond as “one of the last opportunities that Russia *will* have to avoid further significant damage to its economy” if the world **is forced** to increase its sanctions against the Kremlin.

He said any peace deal *would have to* include a Russian withdrawal from Crimea, which it annexed from Ukraine following a disputed referendum.

“Don’t make it sound like that is an outrageous thing for us to demand,” Mr Hammond said. “This man has sent troops across an international border and occupied another country’s territory acting like some mid-20th century tyrant.”

“We do not see any reason to tolerate this kind of outrageous and outdated behaviour from the Kremlin.”

Mr Putin, Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko, German Chancellor Angela Merkel and French President François Hollande are all due to take part in the Minsk summit. However, Mr Putin, who has repeatedly talked peace while his forces carry out attacks on the ground, suggested that the negotiations *might not* actually happen. “We *will be* aiming for Wednesday, if by that time we are able to agree on a number of the positions that we recently have been discussing intensely,” *he* said.

The mixed messages from Moscow continued with Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov saying Russia expected “important decisions” *would be* made at the meeting.

Ms Merkel **is expected** to brief US President Barack Obama on the state of negotiations during a previously scheduled trip to Washington today.

Dismissing talk of a transatlantic rift, US Secretary of State John Kerry said today that America and its European allies were “united in our diplomacy” on Ukraine. “There is no division, there is no split,” he said.

US Senator John McCain, said “defensive arms” *should be* sent to the Kiev government as a matter of urgency. “The Ukrainians **are being slaughtered** and we’re sending them blankets and meals. **Blankets don’t do well against Russian tanks,**” he said.

Germany’s Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung newspaper reported today that German intelligence estimated up to 50,000 soldiers and civilians **had been killed** during the conflict, nearly 10 times higher than Kiev’s estimate. “The official figures are clearly too low and not credible,” a source said.

Available from: <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/europe/russias-growing-threat-after-ukraine-fears-grow-that-baltic-states-could-be-vladimir-putins-next-targets-10032378.html> [Accessed on 10.02.2015]

7. Article 25. The New York Times (the USA) 21.04.2014.

Russia Displays a New Military Prowess in Ukraine’s East

WASHINGTON — Secretary of State John Kerry has accused Russia of **behaving in a “19th-century fashion”** because of its annexation of Crimea.

But Western experts who have followed the success of Russian forces in carrying out President Vladimir V. Putin’s policy in Crimea and eastern Ukraine have come to a different conclusion about Russian military strategy. They see a military disparaged for its decline since the fall of the Soviet Union skilfully employing 21st-century tactics that combine cyber

warfare, an energetic information campaign and the use of highly trained special operation troops to seize the initiative from the West.

“It is a significant shift in how Russian ground forces approach a problem,” said James G. Stavridis, the retired admiral and former NATO commander. “**They have played their hand of cards with finesse.**”

Over the weekend, masked gunmen robbed the homes of several of the 150 Roma families in Slovyansk, demanding gold and telling them to leave town.

The abilities the Russian military has displayed are not only important to **the high-stakes drama in Ukraine**, they also have implications for the security of Moldova, Georgia, Central Asian nations and even the Central Europe nations that are members of NATO.

The dexterity with which the Russians have operated in Ukraine is a far **cry from the bludgeoning artillery**, airstrikes and surface-to-surface missiles used to retake Grozny, the Chechen capital, from Chechen separatists in 2000. In that conflict, the notion of avoiding collateral damage to civilians and civilian infrastructure appeared to be alien.

Since then **Russia has sought** to develop more effective ways of projecting power in the “near abroad,” the non-Russian nations that emerged from the collapse of the Soviet Union. It has tried to upgrade its military, giving priority to its special forces, airborne and naval infantry — “rapid reaction” abilities that **were “road tested”** in Crimea, *according to* Roger McDermott, a senior fellow at the Jamestown Foundation.

The speedy success that Russia had in Crimea does not mean that the overall quality of the Russian Army, made up mainly of conscripts and no match for the high-tech American military, **has been transformed.**

“The operation reveals very little about the current condition of the Russian armed forces,” said Mr. McDermott. “Its real strength lay in covert action combined with sound intelligence concerning the weakness of the Kiev government and their will to respond militarily.”

Still, Russia’s operations in Ukraine have been a swift meshing of hard and soft power. The Obama administration, which once held out hope that Mr. Putin *would seek* an **“off ramp”** from the pursuit of Crimea, has repeatedly **been forced to play catch-up** after the Kremlin changed what was happening on the ground.

“It is much more sophisticated, and it reflects the evolution of the Russian military and of Russian training and thinking about operations and strategy over the years,” said Stephen J. Blank, a former expert on the Russian military at the United States Army War College who is a senior fellow at the American Foreign Policy Council.

For its intervention in Crimea, the Russians used a so-called snap military exercise to distract attention and hide their preparations. Then specially trained troops, without identifying patches, moved quickly to secure key installations. Once the operation was underway, the Russian force cut telephone cables, jammed communications and used cyberwarfare to cut off the Ukrainian military forces on the peninsula.

“*They* disconnected the Ukrainian forces in Crimea from their command and control,” the NATO commander, Gen. Philip M. Breedlove, said in a recent interview.

As it **cemented control**, the Kremlin has employed an unrelenting media campaign to reinforce its narrative that a Russian-abetted intervention **had been needed** to rescue the Russian-speaking population from right-wing extremists and chaos.

No sooner had the Obama administration demanded that Russia **pull back** from Crimea than the Kremlin raised the stakes by massing about 40,000 troops near Ukraine’s eastern frontier.

Soon, the Russians were sending small, well-equipped teams across the Ukrainian border to seize government buildings that *could be* **turned** over to sympathizers and local militias, American officials said. Police stations and Interior Ministry buildings, which stored arms that *could be* **turned** over to local supporters, **were targeted**.

“Because *they* have some local support they *can* keep leveraging a very small cadre of very good fighters and move forward,” said Daniel Goure, an expert on the Russian military at the Lexington Institute, a policy research group.

While the Kremlin retains the option of mounting a large-scale intervention in eastern Ukraine, the immediate purposes of the air and ground forces massed near Ukraine *appears to* be to deter the Ukrainian military from cracking down in the east and to dissuade the United States from providing substantial military support.

The Kremlin has used its military deployment to buttress its diplomatic strategy of insisting on an extensive degree of federalism in Ukraine, one in which the eastern provinces *would be* largely autonomous and under Moscow’s influence.

And as **Russians have flexed their muscles**, the White House *appears to* have refocused its demands. Crimea barely figured in the talks in Geneva that involved Mr. Kerry and his counterparts from Russia, Ukraine and the European Union.

The Obama administration’s urgent goal is to persuade the Kremlin to relinquish control over the government buildings in eastern Ukraine that the American officials insist **have been held** by small teams of Russian troops or pro-Russian separatists under Moscow’s influence. Despite the focus on the combustible situation in eastern Ukraine, the joint

statement the diplomats issued in Geneva did not even mention the presence of Russia's 40,000 troops near the border, which President Obama has urged *be* withdrawn.

Military experts say that the sort of strategy the Kremlin has employed in Ukraine *is likely* to work best in areas in which there are pockets of ethnic Russians to provide local support. The strategy is also easier to carry out if it **is done** close to Russian territory, where a large and intimidating force *can be assembled* and the Russian military *can* easily supply special forces.

"It *can be used* in the whole former Soviet space," said Chris Donnelly, a former top adviser at NATO, who added that Georgia, Moldova, Armenia, Azerbaijan and the Central Asia states were "very vulnerable."

"The Baltic States are much less vulnerable, but there *will* still be pressure on them and there *will* on Poland and Central Europe," Mr. Donnelly added.

Admiral Stavridis agreed that Russia's strategy *would be* most effective when employed against a nation with a large number of sympathizers. But *he* said that Russia's deft use of cyberwarfare, special forces and conventional troops was a development that NATO needed to study and factor into its planning.

"In all of those areas *they* have raised their game, and *they* have integrated them quite capably," he said. "And *I* think that has utility no matter where *you* are operating in the world."

Available from: <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/04/22/world/europe/new-prowess-for-russians.html> [Accessed on 12.02.2015]

8. Article 19. The St. Petersburg Times (Russia) 27.06.2012.

TURKEY THREATENS SYRIA WITH RETALIATION

ANKARA, Turkey — Turkey warned Tuesday that any Syrian military unit approaching its border **will be treated** as a direct threat, a serious escalation in tensions days after Syria shot a Turkish military plane out of the sky.

Turkey's NATO allies expressed solidarity with Ankara and condemned the Syrian attack but made no mention of any retaliatory action against Syria.

"The rules of engagement of the Turkish Armed Forces have changed," Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan said in a televised speech. "Any military element that approaches the Turkish border from Syria and poses a security risk and danger *will be regarded* as a threat and **treated** as a military target."

“No one *should be* **deceived** by our cool-headed stance,” Erdogan added. “Our acting with common sense *should not* **be perceived** as a weakness.”

Syria insists the Turkish military plane violated its air space on Friday. Turkey says although the RF-4E reconnaissance jet had unintentionally strayed into Syria’s air space, it was inside international airspace when it **was brought** down over the Mediterranean by Syria. Its two pilots are still missing.

The head of the NATO military alliance called the downing of the jet unacceptable Tuesday after Turkey briefed NATO’s North Atlantic Council on the incident. The talks **were held** under Article 4 of NATO’s founding treaty, which allows a NATO member to request consultations if its security **has been threatened**.

NATO Secretary-General Anders Fogh Rasmussen said the alliance condemned the Syrian attack “in the strongest terms” and expressed solidarity with Turkey but did not speak of any possible armed action against Syria.

The Syrian opposition says Syrian President Bashar Assad’s crackdown on an increasingly armed popular uprising has killed some 14,000 people since it began in March 2011.

“It’s my clear expectation that the situation *won’t* continue to escalate,” Fogh Rasmussen told reporters after Tuesday’s meeting. “What we have seen is a completely unacceptable act and I would expect Syria to take all necessary steps to avoid such events in the future.”

Erdogan said Syria shot down the unarmed plane in international airspace without warning in a ‘deliberate’ and ‘hostile’ act. He said border violations in the region were not uncommon and Syrian helicopters had violated Turkish airspace five times recently without a Turkish response. The two countries share a 566-mile (910-kilometer) border.

Syria said the downing was an accident **caused** by the “automatic response” of an officer commanding an anti-aircraft position who saw an unidentified jet flying at high speed and low altitude.

Erdogan said Syrian forces also fired on a CASA-type search-and-rescue plane on Friday following the downing of the jet. It was not clear if the second plane **was hit**. The downing of the jet has aggravated tense ties between the two neighbors.

Turkey has repeatedly called on Assad to step down as 33,000 Syrians have sought refuge in Turkey, fleeing a government crackdown on a popular uprising. The country is also hosting civilian opposition groups as well as members of the Free Syrian Army, which is fighting against the Syrian regime.

“We will continue to support the struggle of our brothers in Syria at any cost,” Erdogan said. Turkey, however, denies harboring armed Syrian rebels.

The public anger in Turkey is largely muted and Huseyin Celik, a senior member of Erdogan's ruling party, said party members are against going to war.

Fogh Rasmussen declined to answer a question about how long the Turkish jet loitered in Syrian air space before heading out to sea again, saying he didn't want to discuss details.

Fogh Rasmussen has repeatedly said NATO *would* need a clear international mandate and regional support before it embarked on a mission in Syria. Last year, NATO launched air attacks on Libyan government targets only after receiving such a mandate from the UN Security Council, along with backing from the Arab League.

But in Syria's case, the Arab League hasn't been able to agree on the need for military intervention. And Russia and China — both veto-wielding members of the Security Council — have consistently shielded Assad's regime from international sanctions over its violent crackdown on protests. They have called on neighboring countries to refrain from provocative actions that *could* spark a wider war.

Available from: http://www.sptimes.ru/index.php?action_id=2&story_id=35872 [Accessed on 21.03.2015.]

9. Article 33. The Local (Germany) 05.09.2008.

Steinmeier calls for probe into Georgia conflict

German Foreign Minister Frank-Walter Steinmeier called for an independent investigation of what led to the conflict between Russia and Georgia, *according to* an interview published Friday.

He told the daily Hannoversche Allgemeine Zeitung that determining who bore what part of the blame for the deadly violence in the Caucasus last month *would* have a bearing on future relations with the West.

"The question of who bears guilt and responsibility are not the priority when people are suffering, have lost their possessions and **are forced** to flee," he said. "But I have also said that in a second phase, in which we will define our medium- and long-term relations with the conflicting parties, the issue of who bears what part of the responsibility for the escalation to the point of a military conflict will play a role."

Steinmeier, tipped as a possible challenger next year to Chancellor Angela Merkel, urged Russia and Georgia to support the work of an independent team of investigators with military expertise.

"I see no lack of institutions, for example in the framework of the UN or the OSCE," that *could* run the probe, he said. "But until now there has above all been an unwillingness on both sides to take part in such an investigation."

Steinmeier *will join* his 26 European Union counterparts in the French town of Avignon later Friday for a meeting aimed at highlighting their unity ahead of crucial EU-Russia talks next week on seeking a way out of the crisis.

Georgia and Russia have accused each other of starting the five-day conflict over the Moscow-backed breakaway region of South Ossetia and have traded accusations of ethnic cleansing. Russia has since withdrawn some forces but left others deep inside Georgian territory.

Moscow's recognition last week of South Ossetia and another breakaway region, Abkhazia, as independent states drew condemnation from Georgia and many Western countries.

EU heads of state and government announced Monday a freeze on talks with Russia on a new strategic partnership pact pending the withdrawal of its forces from Georgia to the positions held before the conflict erupted on August 7.

Available from: <http://www.thelocal.de/20080905/14127> [Accessed on: 15.03.2015.]

10. Article 50. Le Monde diplomatique (France) 03.2015.

Ukraine's impossible future

The value of a frozen conflict

Transnistria would love to join Russia, but Russia doesn't welcome that. *It* wants the not-quite independent territory to stay as *it* is, causing trouble for Moldova and keeping it out of the EU and NATO.

"Towards the future together with Russia." The Russian words cover the side of a trolleybus in Tiraspol, capital of Transnistria, the "Trans-Dniester Moldavian Republic". Russian is the territory's main official language, and the words are part of an ad sponsored by the Eurasian Economic Union, showing a local family looking towards a silhouette of the **Kremlin as a protective fortress**. Passengers *seem* to step in and out of the picture. The bus is on the main street, named 25 October after the 1917 revolution.

The annexation of Crimea in March 2014 brought Western media attention to many frozen conflicts stemming from the creation of breakaway states not recognised when the Soviet Union collapsed; there has been speculation that the Kremlin leadership *might* also annex Abkhazia, South Ossetia and Transnistria — all de facto independent states, but not

recognised internationally — in reaction to the association agreements signed in June 2014 between the EU and Moldova, Ukraine and Georgia. But Russia has been careful not to do so. Back in 2006, a referendum showed that 98% of voters in Transnistria (population half a million) favoured “potential future integration into Russia”, though the vote **was organised** by the Transnistrian government on the direct instructions of (then) president Igor Smirnov.

In Transnistria, on the eastern bank of the Dniester, you pass checkpoints controlled by peacekeeping forces, some displaying the Russian tricolour on their uniforms. Transnistria and Moldova contribute manpower as well. The peacekeepers **have been stationed** here since the 1992 war between Moldovan government troops and Slavonic language-speaking insurgents in this narrow strip of territory between the Dniester and Ukraine, which led to Transnistria’s breakaway (1). The victorious insurgents proclaimed independence and adopted a constitution, flag, national anthem and coat of arms. The republic has its own government, parliament, military, police and postal system, but is not recognised by any UN member state.

Transnistria has been linked to Russia since the treaty of Jassy, signed in 1792 when Moldova was still part of the Ottoman empire. From 1945 to 1991, the Dniester’s east bank was part of the Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic, one of the 15 republics of the USSR. In June 1990, as the Soviet Union was breaking up, the Slavonic language-speaking population revolted against the Moldovan parliament’s adoption of a law making Romanian the sole official language. In February 2014 the new government of Ukraine, formed after the Maidan protests in Kiev, made the same mistake by proposing to abolish Russian as a regional official language, a move **seen** as provocation in the east of the country. In both Moldova and Ukraine, these laws ***have played a key role*** in the ***escalation of political conflict*** between ethnically heterogeneous regions, leading to civil war.

In March 1992 Moldovan nationalist forces tried to gain control of Transnistria, where 60% of the population is Russian or Ukrainian. The Moldovans **were repelled**, in part by the 14th Russian Army, which had its headquarters in Tiraspol. A ceasefire that June ended the fighting but ***froze the conflict***. The current Russian military presence **is estimated** at 2,000, including 400-500 peacekeepers, stationed there under the 1992 agreement. The rest are part of the Operational Group of Russian Forces (OGRF), formerly the 14th Russian army.

Moldova and most western governments see their presence as unlawful. But Russia argues that the OGRF is needed to protect large weapon stockpiles in Transnistria (especially in the northern village of Kolbasna) dating back to the cold war. The Russian military presence on soil that is officially Moldovan is a significant problem for western politicians like US senator John McCain, who, wants to “accelerate the path of Georgia and Moldova into NATO” (2). There is no official rule against countries with a ***frozen (or even open)***

conflict joining NATO, but in practice Georgia, Ukraine and Moldova have little chance of winning the unanimous approval of the member states for their candidature while they have not found a solution to their dissident problems. There *would be* objections from several member states on the grounds that *they could be* drawn into conflicts under article 5 of the North Atlantic Treaty, which provides for mutual assistance in the event that a member state **is attacked**.

‘Here, we are for Russia’

There was a renewed indication of feelings for Russia in Tiraspol when Crimea **was annexed** last year. Transnistria’s parliamentary speaker, Mikhail Burla, sent a request to the chairman of the Russian State Duma, Sergey Naryshkin, asking for Transnistria to become a part of Russia officially. Russia already supports Transnistria through free gas and pays pensions to the many elderly with Russian passports (180,000-200,000 Transnistrians hold Russian passports, about 35% of the population). Burla’s request **was rejected**.

One of those receiving a pension from Russia is Nadejda Gynj, 60, from Tiraspol’s Balka neighbourhood. “Here, we are for Russia,” she says. She thinks of herself as Russian: she was born in Odessa, 100km to the southeast, where some of her family still live. She used to work in a textile factory in Tiraspol. Her daughter has moved to Smolensk, in Russia. “Life here is better than in Moldova,” says Valentina Boiko, 53, who comes from her village outside the capital to sell bottled milk among the Soviet-era apartment blocks. That view is heard around Transnistria. In Moldova proper, since independence, there has been a huge rise in the cost of utilities and services, which has hit the poorest hard. A majority of Moldovans (62%) expect the EU association agreement to have a similar impact on living costs (3). This partly explains the success of pro-Russian parties at the parliamentary election of 30 November in Moldova proper. With 39% of the vote, they were only narrowly defeated by the pro-western block, which won 44%.

In Transnistria, ordinary people benefit from generous Russian aid. The territory’s economy combines elements of the socialist model inherited from the USSR and free-market initiatives. It has a welfare system funded by Russia alongside the oligarchic structures that have developed in many other post-Soviet societies, such as the Sheriff conglomerate owned by the magnate Viktor Gushan, who has established a near-monopoly in filling stations and supermarkets. The company logo is everywhere.

Transnistria’s economy is based on steel, cement, textiles and electricity. Nearly all the output (95%) of the four large industrial plants **is exported** (4) and the main trade partners are Moldova, Russia, Romania, Ukraine and Italy. Transnistria also exports to Germany, Austria and Greece. But the economy is far from self-sufficient. Without the funds generated

by reselling Russian gas to consumers, remittances from expatriate workers and direct financial aid from Russia, the state *could face* bankruptcy. Russia's support goes back to the beginning of Transnistria's separation from Moldova and **was stepped up significantly** in 2008. Between 2008 and 2012 Russian aid was estimated at \$27m annually, for pensions and food supplies for those most in need (5).

'We don't want war'

Gynj thinks her pension *could be higher*. It is 1,400 Transnistrian roubles a month (\$115) but she pays nearly \$90 in rent, so she supplements her income by sweeping the yard five days a week. Her husband fought in the war against Moldova 22 years ago. It was a painful experience and one she has rethought lately, now that Ukraine is going through something similar: "We don't want war. We want peace. It's hard to know what to think about the confrontation with the West, but Russia helps us."

Transnistria's location makes it particularly important to Russia, which **is determined** to stop EU and NATO expansion in countries of the former Soviet Union. "There *is no doubt* that the people of Transnistria are pro-Russian. The leaders of the republic hold that the association agreement between Moldova and the EU is not favourable to Transnistrian interests," says Artem Fylypenko, director of the Odessa branch of the Ukrainian National Institute for Strategic Studies.

Kamil Całus, research fellow at the Centre for Eastern Studies in Warsaw, says Russia is pursuing the same strategy in Transnistria as in eastern Ukraine, where the self-proclaimed people's republics of Donetsk and Luhansk seceded on 7 and 27 April 2014: "Moscow's plan for Transnistria is not to support its independence or its incorporation into the Russian Federation. On the contrary, Russia wants Transnistria to be a part of a federalised Moldova. The idea is to use ***Transnistria as a foot in the door***, with a view to dominating all of Moldova and preventing it from turning to the West. The same goes for the new republics in the Donbass. Moscow wants them to be part of a federalised Ukraine. In that way it *will try* to use them to block Ukraine's further integration into organisations like the EU and NATO."

An illustration of Russia's policy is the Kozak memorandum of 2003, its proposal for settlement of the ***frozen conflict***. This *would have given* Transnistria a de facto right to veto important decisions from Chişinău, thanks to the composition of the Senate of the proposed federal republic of Moldova, where Transnistria and another pro-Russian region, Gagauzia, *would* appoint 13 out of 26 senators (6). The memorandum **was also meant** to legalise deployment of Russian troops on the territory of the federalised state until 2020. *According to* Całus, this *would* guarantee that Moldova *could* never join European or Atlantic structures.

Russia's desire to apply this strategy to Ukraine **was made clear** in March last year, when the foreign minister, Sergei Lavrov, asked "that the US and its European partners accept its proposal that ethnic Russian regions of eastern and southern Ukraine be given extensive autonomous powers independent of Kiev" (7). *But according* to a 2014 report by the Finnish Institute of International Affairs, the Kiev government was ready only for decentralisation — expanding the powers of the local communities — not for changing the constitutional structure of the country (8).

Even so, there are some important differences between Transnistria and Ukraine's Donbass region. The Donbass has ten times the population, a common border with Russia and, officially at least, no Russian soldiers. Unlike in Transnistria, main gas pipelines leading to Ukraine do not cross the separatist territories, depriving the separatists of an important bargaining chip (9). In the far larger Donbass area, Russia's financial and military support *would have* to be significantly higher than in Transnistria. This makes the Donbass far harder for Moscow to handle. But the example of Transnistria shows that, short of having the West take serious account of its strategic interests, Russia *can be* satisfied with precarious situations.

Available from <http://www.france24.com/en/20091031-obama-holds-productive-meeting-afghanistan-strategy/>[Accessed on 16.03.2015.]

Dokumentārā lapa

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