



Mainstream Media in Contemporary Fluid News Environments: Brandcasting the News in the TV Genre of News Tickers

Antonio Fruttaldo

Department of Literary, Linguistic and Comparative Studies, University of Naples "L'Orientale", ITALY

 0000-0002-6282-3761

 afruttaldo@unior.it

ARTICLE INFO

Received: 25 May 2019

Accepted: 17 June 2019

Published: 25 July 2019

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.29333/ojcm/5862>

ABSTRACT

The following contribution focuses on a corpus-based linguistic analysis (Baker, 2006; McEnery & Hardie, 2012) of how the BBC World News uses its news tickers in order to promote itself and its 'products'. More specifically, this contribution uses a newly developed framework of analysis in approaching the study of News Discourse. Originated within the field of Media Discourse analysis, the Discursive News Values Analysis approach (Bednarek, 2016a, 2016b; Bednarek & Caple, 2012b, 2014, 2017; Caple & Bednarek, 2016) investigates "how newsworthiness is construed and established through discourse" (Bednarek & Caple, 2012b, p. 104). In this way, a discursive perspective sees news values as a "quality of *texts*" (Caple & Bednarek, 2016, p. 13, emphasis in the original) rather than as something linked to the event reported itself. Their analysis can thus allow us to "systematically investigate how these values are constructed in the different types of textual material involved in the news process" (Bednarek & Caple 2012b, p. 104). Therefore, through the use of corpus linguistic methodologies, we can gain "first insights into a conventionalised repertoire of rhetoric of newsworthiness" (Bednarek & Caple, 2014, p. 14) in the case of corpora representative of specific media events or specific genres. In this way, the combination of Discursive News Values Analysis and corpus linguistic methodologies can be used to better define how news stories are reported in news tickers since, by underlining what is newsworthy for a particular news organisation, they can help researchers 'sneak a peek' into the professional practices at the very heart of the news production process.

Keywords: news discourse, genre analysis, news tickers, corpus linguistics, news values

INTRODUCTION

In the last few years, the increasing pressure of digital media and the ever-growing development of new technologies has challenged the professional routines of the newsroom, thus altering the traditional genres found in this professional environment. Our society can be seen as constantly in flux, due to the fact that "the conditions under which its members act change faster than it takes the ways of acting to consolidate into habits and routines" (Bauman, 2005, p. 1). This has inevitable consequences on the genres and discourses created by social institutions, since genres and discourses are socially and linguistically significant entities (Fairclough, 1992). Given this picture, journalistic

practices and genres “should be understood within the wider context of liquidity” (Bivens 2014, p. 77), as practices which try to incorporate the liquidity of contemporary society in their routines and genres.¹

The tension between innovation and stability has given rise to new trends in the genres found in this context, where journalistic practices are constantly exploiting forms of hybridity and genre-mixing in order to compete with new ways of delivering the news (Deuze, 2008). For instance, as new media technologies are introduced, Bednarek and Caple (2012a) argue that while linguistic variation across media might be traditionally due to differences between written and spoken language, new and unexplored seepages from other registers can be noticed. This is due to what Cotter (2010, p. 61) refers to as “modality bleeds”, thus blurring the line between the different media and allowing the colonisation of given media spaces by new genres.

An iconic example of this phenomenon is represented by a tragic moment in the history of the United States. On the morning of 9/11, there was more news than could fit on a TV screen (Poniewozik, 2010) and, in order to deal with the problem of information overload, each of the 24-hour American news channels implemented news tickers at the bottom of their screens. Thus, written messages colonised the mostly aural and/or visual approach of TV newscasts. Since 9/11, various TV news channels and programmes have adopted news tickers in order to constantly deliver to viewers a summary of the major news stories of the day or to alert viewers of particular breaking news events. However, over the years and given the increasing pressure on TV journalism to attract viewers, news tickers have been slowly appropriating certain generic conventions from other genres to serve this purpose. Given “the growing ability of viewers to avoid or ignore traditional commercials” (Elliott, 2009), TV news networks have found in news tickers a subtle way to market their products “due to the ticker’s location at the bottom of the screen, and its format, which does not interrupt programming” (Coffey & Clearly, 2009, p. 896).

In a previous investigation (Fruttaldo, 2017), a corpus-based analysis was applied to the analysis of the strategies used in news tickers in order to promote the news network on which they are displayed, thus underlining the news tickers’ hybrid nature (see Sections “Marketising the news” and “Branding and legitimising the news” for a summary of these features). The lexico-grammatical patterns retrieved in news tickers allowed for a better definition of the mixed nature of this genre. News tickers seem to merge two functions traditionally belonging to the journalistic genres of headlines and lead paragraphs. In this way, news tickers must at the same time catch viewers’ attention and give viewers a point of view on the news story. These different but, at the same time, ancillary purposes coexist in news tickers thanks to specific linguistic choices, giving rise to a mixed genre developed from the transmediation of the traditional genres (Prior & Hengst, 2010).

The following investigation will take a step forward in the definition of this genre, taking into account how newsworthiness is enhanced in the news tickers displayed on the BBC World News channel. A major factor in defining a genre is represented by the purpose(s) that it is intended to serve, and the way these purposes are achieved textually determines the structure of a genre (Bhatia, 2004). Additionally, in the context of

¹ The following investigation expands on and develops the author’s PhD research and some of the observations provided therein (Fruttaldo, 2017). In particular, while the focus of the previous research was on defining the genre under investigation, this paper aims to demonstrate how specific characteristics linked to the way newsworthiness is discursively enhanced can be linked to given purposes the genre wants to serve.

professional practices, these purposes take the form of private intentions that are incorporated “within the concepts of professionally shared values, genre conventions, and professional cultures” (Bhatia, 2012, p. 23). In the context of the news industry, there is a series of factors that editors take into consideration when deciding which events can be included in the news and how they should be presented (Bell, 1991). These values that govern the professional practice of media production in a particular way are generally referred to as news values. Thus, thanks to a Discursive News Values Analysis approach (Bednarek, 2016a, 2016b; Bednarek & Caple, 2012b, 2014, 2017; Caple & Bednarek, 2016), this contribution will better define the nature of the genre under investigation. The focus will be on how, in the professional environment where news tickers are developed, changes can be highlighted when contents migrate from one platform to another, with a specific reference to the different ways in which newsworthiness is enhanced.²

JOURNALISM AND FLUID HYBRIDITY

Journalistic practices have been undergoing, in the last few years, a radical change due to the increasing pressure of new digital media on professional practice (Deuze, 2008). The ceaseless fluctuation of social practices has inevitable consequences on the genres and discourses created by social institutions. Thus, as our society becomes more and more characterised by forms of liquidity (Bauman, 2000, 2005), social practices are also changing in order to stay up to date within this constant state of flux.

Given this picture, journalistic practices and genres “should be understood within the wider context of liquidity” (Bivens, 2014, p. 77), as practices which try to incorporate the liquidity of contemporary society in their routines and genres. However, since liquid modernity is unrestrainable, journalistic practices try to convey this flow of ever-changing information by relying on their traditional boundaries and formats. Therefore, contemporary journalism is at the mercy of two opposite forces. The first one constrains journalism within its traditional norms of production and reproduction, while the second leads it to new forms of fluid contents and the implementation of digital media. Mixed or hybrid forms are most frequently the result of this tension between innovation and preservation, and they are particularly due to the competitive professional environment, where users exploit hybridity and genre-mixing “to achieve private intentions within the context of socially recognized communicative purposes” (Bhatia, 1996, p. 51). These private intentions, however, are not detectable at first hand since they blend into the social context where the hybrid genre is created. Kress (1987) explains this by referring to the so-called *appropriate authority to innovate*, which depends on the likelihood of developing new generic forms on the basis of social change. In other words, “unless there is a change in the social structures – and in the kinds of social occasions in which texts are produced – the new generic forms are unlikely to succeed” (Kress, 1987, p. 41-42). Thus, if genre-mixing, defined as the “mixture of two or more communicative purposes through the same generic form” (Bhatia, 2002, p. 11), does not meet the appropriate social environment, such forms are less likely to flourish and will soon perish. In this sense, hybridity is strictly connected to the social context where it blossoms. If fluidity is one of the major characteristics of our contemporary society, hybridity should thus be

² The author of this manuscript would like to thank the anonymous reviewers for their generous support, insightful criticisms, and constructive remarks. The reviews were extremely helpful in contributing to this final product. While the author could not always follow their advice, this manuscript reads in a more focused way thanks to their efforts. The author takes full responsibility for any time he has neglected to implement their recommendations.

understood as a fluid phenomenon, as an inevitable “consequence of the extraordinary contemporary flux in certain communities of practice” where their “boundaries become less secure in response to social pressures and to changes in their own institutional, professional and organizational structures” (Bhatia, 2004, p. 10). Thus, Hasan (2014, p. 43) argues that “the metaphor of *genre combination* as also that of *hybridity* appears less than desirable”, since it seems to imply a simple “co-location or a fusion of two (or more) already existing recognisable objects”. The metaphor on which the notion of hybridity is based seems to ignore the complexity of our contemporary society, where genres’ manifestations are constantly changing in order to keep up with the fluidity of the social and professional contexts in which they are created. However, hybridity might be regarded differently: as a phenomenon which allows two (or more) entities to shortly come to share in a given socio-historical context some of their characteristics as a result of an affinity between them. This affinity is the by-product of a given social context that enables this combination. The mingling of these two (or more) entities must be seen as non-static and deeply on the move. And, more importantly, these combinations must not be seen as unilateral, but as characterised by reciprocal influences/tensions. In this sense, Bazerman’s notion of *genre chains*, defined as “a system of interrelated genres that interact with each other in specific settings” (Bazerman 1992, n.p.), can help better characterise the fluidity of hybrid genres. Shalom further defines genre chains as “constituted by both public and private texts and will involve spoken and written language which may be face-to-face, electronic or telephonic” (1997, p. 189). In this way, genres must be seen as links in a never-ending chain that keeps on going thanks to forms of innovation, mixing and hybridity.

This is the reason why hybridity and fluidity must always be regarded as linked to each other. In order to better understand this, Heraclitus’ famous aphorism of the πάντα ῥεῖ can be used, explained by Plutarch in the following way (Kirk, 1954, p. 381):

Every mortal nature, being in the middle of coming-to-be and passing away, provides a phantom, a dim and uncertain apparition of itself; for it is impossible to step twice in the same river according to Heraclitus, or to lay hands twice on mortal substance in a fixed condition. But, by the swiftness and speed of its change, it scatters and again gathers, or rather not ‘again’ or ‘afterwards’, but at the same time it comes together and flows away, and approaches and departs; therefore its [mortal substance’s] becoming does not terminate in being [...].

The aphorism aptly summarises some of the key concepts underlined by Spinuzzi (2003) in his analysis of forms of genre hybridity in the workplace. Spinuzzi argues that the centripetal forces that allow genres to come together and give rise to hybrid forms can be seen as both places of tension and destabilisation, but also, and at the same time, as places which entail a certain degree of innovation.

Innovation, Modality Bleeds and Graphic Elements in TV Newscasts

Given the ever-changing social context where journalistic practices operate and given the increasing pressure on the professional practice coming from new digital media, forms of hybridity and genre-mixing are exploited in order to compete with new ways of delivering the news. In the particular case of TV news journalism, for instance, this is particularly clear in the increasing implementation of the graphic layout of TV newscasts. In this environment, such textual elements represent by themselves an interesting colonisation of a space which, traditionally, relied merely on aural and visual stimuli. Generally speaking, TV has always been regarded as the space where spoken language

plays a primary role, compared to print news, for instance, where written language dominates (Bednarek & Caple, 2012b). Cotter (2010) explains that this clear-cut distinction has been slowly blurring, since “there are seepages of one media form to another, ‘modality bleeds’ that come about through changes in media technology” (Cotter, 2010, p. 61).

Thus, the development of new graphic software, which allows journalists to take advantage of these unexplored territories, has enabled the gradual and increasing complexity and sophistication of graphic elements on TV newscasts, “such that visual stimuli are presented diversely in the visual space” in order to “provide extra information or additional messages to complement the anchor and news video” (Rodrigues *et al.*, 2012, p. 357). Just like an online webpage, TV news broadcasts tend to assign given functions to designated areas of the TV screen, since viewers need to recognise immediately what they are looking at from the place where the textual element is displayed. This is the reason why TV news graphic layouts tend to be strict in the placement of textual elements. Thus, in the following paragraphs, we will focus on the most frequently displayed graphic elements in newscasts, in order to determine their placement in a specific area of the TV screen and, more importantly, in order to define their function(s).

Firstly, the most common and well-known graphic element of TV news broadcasts is represented by lower thirds, in the US also referred to as superbars (or simply supers) or as chyrons, “due to the popularity of Chyron Corporation’s *Chiron I* character generator, an early digital solution developed in the 1970s for rendering lower thirds” (Lower Third, 2005). Lower thirds are also known as local ticker texts (Jindal *et al.*, 2011). This name does not refer to the relevance of the news story from a geopolitical point of view. The adjective ‘local’ is used in order to underline that the graphic content being displayed is in sync with the news story being presented by the anchor. In other words, in the case of local ticker texts, the aural and visual channels work together in delivering the news. Global ticker texts, on the other hand, are defined by Jindal *et al.* (2011, p. 460) as displaying “the highlights of all important stories in the news program”, while scrolling texts provide “the gist of relatively unimportant news”.

However, the definitions provided for global ticker texts and scrolling texts are too specific to the TV news channel (*Times Now*) that Jindal *et al.* (2011) chose to analyse (and, in the case of scrolling texts, a bias towards this graphic element can also be noticed). Hence, a more general definition of global ticker texts is needed. In this respect, global ticker texts can be defined as all the graphic elements that display news stories which are not directly related to and/or are in sync with the news story being presented by the anchor. Scrolling ticker texts (also known as news tickers, crawlers or ticker tapes) are a particular form of global ticker texts, which can be identified by the way they are displayed on the screen, that is, as graphic elements that scroll from right to left at the bottom of the screen. The degree of newsworthiness of the news stories conveyed by scrolling ticker texts is bound to the journalistic practices specific to each network station.

This picture on the graphic elements that are typically used during TV newscasts confirms the previous comment on how TV news layout has become more complex in its implementation of the information conveyed by the anchor and the news video. However, while TV news channels and programmes have increasingly been using graphic elements in the past few years, from a discourse analysis point of view, very few studies have been conducted on the topic. An exception is the work of Montgomery (2007), who focuses his attention on the discourse of headlines in TV newscasts. Another important analysis of TV news headlines is the work of Bednarek and Caple (2012a), who offer some examples

of linguistic structures typical of TV headlines compared to the ones found in print newspapers. However, even though these analyses do offer some important insights on the nature of TV news headlines, they do not regard other graphic elements, such as subheadlines, news tickers, breaking news headlines, etc. This may be due to the fact that since some graphic elements (e.g. headlines and subheadlines) are also found in other genres (i.e. print and online newspapers), researchers tend not to regard them as elements of analysis. Instead, they misleadingly hypothesise that the observations made for print newspapers' headlines, for instance, will also be valid for TV headlines, disregarding the fact that each form of media relies on different linguistic strategies to satisfy specific communicative purposes.

TV news graphics, on the other hand, have attracted the attention of some scholars belonging to the field of reception studies, where the analysis of TV news graphic layouts has been most flourishing in the last few years. For instance, Josephson and Holmes (2006) have investigated whether the attention spent by participants in different areas of the TV screen (crawler, headline, title, globe and main area) varied. From the analysis of the data collected from an eye tracker, the results of this investigation suggested that the presence of related (i.e. headlines) or unrelated (i.e. news tickers) items draws the attention of the viewers away from the main screen area, that is, from the anchor and, consequently, from the audio content. Given these results, they also tested whether the information recall for the audio content of the TV news story was influenced by the presence of on-screen visual enhancements. The results of this part of their research suggested that the presence of related textual elements enhanced the recall of key information in the news story, while unrelated textual elements did not diminish it. However, a "diminished recall of non-headline content suggests an interference effect as well" (Josephson & Holmes, 2006, p. 161), meaning that the more the screen is cluttered, the more difficult it is for viewers to recall other story points, exhibiting an information interference effect. Josephson and Holmes' results are confirmed by Matsukawa *et al.* (2009), who focused on the information redundancy effect of graphic elements in TV news programmes on viewers.

In the studies reviewed so far, emphasis has been given to whether TV news layout affects viewers' understanding of the news stories being presented by the anchor. However, amongst the various TV news graphics at the centre of these studies, no distinction has been made so far between them in terms of which ones are viewed and, thus, used the most by viewers during TV newscasts. The research study conducted by Rodrigues *et al.* (2012) focuses on this aspect of TV news graphics. The authors investigated which graphics during TV news broadcasts were viewed the most in terms of the number of fixations as well as the fixation times by analysing the data gathered from an eye tracker. The result of this study was that, in terms of visual behaviour, viewers give more visual attention to the graphic elements that move, that is to say, the anchor (fixation points: 30.1%; fixation time: 41%) and the news ticker (fixation points: 28.6%; fixation time: 15.3%). Thus, the analysis offered by Rodrigues *et al.* seems to point out that, from a visual behaviour perspective, the most viewed and used graphic during TV news broadcasts is represented by news tickers, the graphic element at the centre of our investigation. This important insight justifies our interest in them. Since the viewers' attention is partly caught by crawlers, these elements of TV newscasts seem to work together with the aural channel in order to convey the news stories presented by TV news channels and programmes. Thus, an analysis of this genre is needed so as to better understand which peculiar discursive strategies are identifiable.

HYBRIDITY AND NEWS TICKERS

Following Bhatia's definition of hybridity, that is, the "invasion of the integrity of one genre by another genre or genre convention, often leading to the creation of a hybrid form" (2004, p. 66), news tickers can be considered as a hybrid macro-genre (and a subgenre of broadcast journalism; see Bhatia (2004) on the notion of genre colony). During their development (see Fruttaldo (2017) for a detailed analysis of the evolution of this genre), they have come to share given characteristics with other genres, creating a colony in which micro-genres and their textual realisations can be distinguished and identified in terms of the communicative purposes that they tend to serve. News tickers can therefore be seen as a macro-genre, which is made up of a constellation of various micro-genres. However, these micro-genres are *per se* macro-genres with their own generic forms. Therefore, these members of the colony fashion the macro-genre of news tickers in certain ways and with given purposes. Amongst these purposes, specific attention will be paid to a particular aspect of crawlers, which is nonetheless a general trend of contemporary journalism.³

Marketising the News

In an era where user-generated content, online news blogs and social networking systems are increasingly becoming ways of delivering the news to the public, TV networks are struggling to attract viewers through new forms of hybrid journalism. As BBC presenter George Alagiah confirms (in Bivens, 2014, p. 73):

[...] we're constantly being told that the attention span of our average viewer is about 20 seconds and if we don't grab people – and we've looked at the figures – the number of people who shift channels around in my programme now at six o'clock, there's a movement of about 3 million people in that first minute, coming in and out.

One of the most common strategies used in order to catch viewers' attention is represented by what has been defined as the infotainment (or conversationalisation) of the news, that is, "the colonization of the discursive practices of the media by private domain practices" (Fairclough, 1995, p. 89). This is particularly evident in political interviews nowadays, where "a mixing of the language of private-domain relationships with the language of public-domain relationships, and a mixing of the language of face-to-face interaction with the language of mass communication" can be noticed (Fairclough, 1995, p. 89-90).

One of the most pervasive colonisations of TV news genres is represented by forms of marketisation, "the process whereby social domains and institutions, whose concern is not producing commodities in the narrower economic sense of goods for sale, come nevertheless to be organized and conceptualized in terms of commodity production, distribution and consumption" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 207). In particular, in the case of crawlers, we can see these phenomena of marketisation of the news in two textual realisations.

These are represented by the messages that continuously signal the end of a complete round of tickers. In our corpus (see Section "Methodology and theoretical framework" for a description of the data under scrutiny), which lists the news tickers displayed on the

³ The observations provided in the following sections (Sections "Marketising the news" and "Branding and legitimising the news") briefly summarise the results of a previous investigation on the hybrid nature of news tickers. For a detailed analysis, see Fruttaldo (2017).

BBC World News channel from March 2013 to April 2014, up until December 17, 2013, two messages were continuously displayed at the end of each round of tickers:

1. WEBSITE
MORE ON ALL THESE STORIES AT bbc.com/news TWITTER FOR LATEST FOLLOW US VIA @bbeworld AND @bbcbreaking
2. CONTACT US
HAVE YOUR SAY AT [facebook/bbcworldnews](https://www.facebook.com/bbcworldnews) WEBSITE: bbc.com/haveyoursay EMAIL: haveyoursay@bbc.co.uk SEND YOUR VIDEOS TO: whysvideo@bbc.co.uk FOR TERMS ON SENDING PICTURES AND VIDEOS: bbc.com/terms

In example (1), the news network promotes its online content, signalling a shift in news promotion, since news networks do not treat their web presence as an advertisement for offline products (Deuze, 2008), but as an extension and implementation of their offline content. This is also in line with what Meech (1999) defines as ‘brandcasting’, since in the competitive multichannel, multiplatform environment of contemporary journalism, “multiplatform offerings have been shown to result in positive attitudes, repeat viewings of the network and its sister properties, and audience satisfaction” (Coffey & Cleary, 2011, p. 162).

In example (2), on the other hand, viewers’ participation in the production of the news is elicited. However, while the news network seems to promote a relationship with the viewers that shifts from a vertical to a horizontal one, data sent to the BBC creates traffic on their website, thus turning the data into product sales and advertising income for the news network.

Branding and Legitimising the News

Another interesting phenomenon of the marketisation of the news in the data under investigation can be found in the frequent use of the news network’s authority in order to legitimise the newsworthiness of the stories displayed in news tickers. We can ascribe this type of authority to what Van Leeuwen (2007) defines as expert authority, that is, when “legitimacy is provided by expertise rather than status” and “[t]ypically, expert legitimation takes the form of ‘verbal process clauses’ or ‘mental process clauses’ [...] with the expert as subject” (Van Leeuwen, 2007, p. 94-95). In order to better understand this strategy, the following examples have been taken from our corpus:

3. ONE OF THE SUSPECTS IN THE BOSTON BOMBINGS WAS IN POSSESSION OF US RIGHT-WING EXTREMIST LITERATURE IN THE RUN-UP TO THE ATTACK, THE BBC HAS LEARNT
4. FORMER CO-OP BANK CHAIRMAN PAUL FLOWERS HAS BEEN ARRESTED IN MERSEYSIDE IN CONNECTION WITH A “DRUGS SUPPLY INVESTIGATION”, THE BBC UNDERSTANDS

In examples (3) and (4), Van Leeuwen’s description of the typical form of expert authority is confirmed. In both cases, the BBC is the subject of a mental process clause, which is placed at the end of the news story in order to legitimise its newsworthiness. Additionally, in these two examples, the BBC seems to be used as a membership categorisation device (Sacks, 1972; see also Montgomery, 2007). According to Montgomery (2007, p. 78), “[p]ersons in headlines are designated by expressions that refer to them not so much as particular individuals but as members of significant groups or institutions”. However, membership categorisation devices depend on the degree of popularity of the person presented in the headline. If the person is well-known to the viewers/readers, then no membership categorisation device is needed. When, on the other hand, the person is not well-known, then membership categorisation devices are applied. In the case of

examples (3) and (4), the name of the reporter should have been displayed. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that, while collecting a reference corpus of all the news stories published on the BBC website from June to July 2014 (see Section “A Discursive News Values Analysis (DNVA) approach to the study of newsworthiness in news tickers”), we noticed that the name of the reporter is displayed on the website in lieu of the news network. Thus, in the multi-platform authoring environment of the BBC (Bivens, 2014), when content is migrated from one platform to another, some transformations will occur. In news tickers, since it is impossible to add a byline with all the information on the reporter and, as previously seen, since crawlers represent a prolific environment for strategies of marketisation, the news network is displayed as the source of the news story. In conclusion, in the analysed cases, while at first it seems that the underlined strategy is being used in order to convey the source of the news, it also has a second purpose: the authority of the news network is being exploited in order to legitimise the news. In other words, the news must be considered true and newsworthy, given the authority of the BBC. Additionally, in this process, a subconscious representation in the viewers’ minds of the BBC as a source of reliability and trustworthiness is constructed. Thus, in evaluating the news through the use of the BBC’s authority, this particular strategy found in the corpus under investigation also seems to underline the marketisation features of news tickers. However, this strategy is not particular to news tickers. Reporting clauses are typically found in lead paragraphs of newspapers. However, given the continuous repetition of (the same) strings of texts in the news tickers, this aspect, combined with the message at the end of each round of tickers, acquires a promotional nuance.

NEWS VALUES AND GENRE ANALYSIS: HOW NEWSWORTHINESS IS DISCURSIVELY CONSTRUCTED IN NEWS TICKERS

Methodology and Theoretical Framework

When approaching the analysis of professional practices, Bhatia (2007, 2008, 2012, 2017) underlines how his analytical framework can help researchers highlight the conflict underlying genres found in professional contexts between genre integrity and genre bending, that is, “the appropriation of generic resources to achieve ‘private intentions’ within the context of ‘socially accepted generic norms’” (Bhatia, 2008, p. 175). On the basis of genres viewed as places of instability and conflict (Bhatia, 2000), first highlighted by Berkenkotter and Huckin (1995), Bhatia (1993, 2004) further develops Swales’ (1990) approach to genre analysis. In this analytical framework, forms of interdiscursivity play a significant role in genre construction, appropriation, and interpretation. In all these cases, “the use of specific lexico-syntactic as well as socio-pragmatic resources, are cleverly exploited to ‘bend’ the norms and conventions” (Bhatia, 2007, p. 395) of specific professional genres by members of the community that have the knowledge to perform these types of genre construction, appropriation and bending. In this context, Bhatia calls for “a critical study of discursive activities of professional cultures” (2007, p. 399), thus, introducing his Critical Genre Analysis (CGA) approach.

CGA is the result of the combination of two fields of enquiry, that is, Genre Analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). As Bhatia states, CGA is “an attempt to extend genre theory beyond the analyses of semiotic resources used in professional genres to understand and clarify professional practices or actions in typical academic and professional contexts” (2012, p. 22). According to this view, genre analysis should have the following aim:

[...] ‘demystifying’ professional practice [...] [by focusing] as much on generic artefacts, as on professional practices, as much on what is explicitly or implicitly said in genres, as on what is not said, as much on socially recognized communicative purposes, as on “private intentions” [...] that professional writers tend to express in order to understand professional practices or actions of the members of corporations, institutions and professional organizations. (Bhatia 2012, p. 23)

The key element in this view is that professional practices are not assumed but, as was initially made clear by Bhatia (2000), are a site of struggles and, thus, are always negotiated through and outside language. In this way, private intentions are incorporated “within the concepts of professionally shared values, genre conventions, and professional cultures” (Bhatia, 2012, p. 23). Professional practices give shape to actions in specific professional contexts and, since language plays a key role in establishing specific conventions, “CGA makes a commitment [...] to explain, clarify, and ‘demystify’ professional practice” (Bhatia, 2012, p. 23-24), highlighting the lexicogrammatical cues present in genres.

Therefore, within the framework of a CGA corpus-based approach to the study of the genre of news tickers, this contribution aims to explain, thanks to a bottom-up analysis, how particular lexicogrammatical cues are indicative of specific private intentions in the context of the professional environment of the BBC.

By highlighting specific shared values in the context of professional practices, researchers may be able to further investigate the private intentions of a given community of practice when it resorts to these values. In particular, in the context of the news industry, editors usually and routinely rely on a series of factors when deciding which and how specific events can be included in the news. These factors are generally referred to as news values (Bell, 1991; Bednarek & Caple, 2012a, 2012b, 2014, 2017; Potts *et al.*, 2015). By highlighting the way specific media genres regularly enhance given values, a first insight can be gained into the professional practice of news reporting in specific situations. Consequently, we can further investigate the specific private intentions of given genres in discursively constructing newsworthiness. Thus, in the following section, we will concentrate on the way news tickers routinely enhance given news values.

A Discursive News Values Analysis (DNVA) Approach to the Study of Newsworthiness in News Tickers

This part of our investigation has been carried out by using corpus linguistic methodologies and, in particular, by following the methodology used by Bednarek and Caple (2014, 2017) and Potts *et al.* (2015). While the purposes of their investigations are not specifically linked to our type of analysis, we can nonetheless use their approach to the analysis of news values in order to see if, from a newsworthiness point of view, the observations introduced in Sections “Marketising the news” and “Branding and legitimising the news” on the phenomena of brandisation and marketisation are confirmed or contradicted.

Bednarek and Caple’s (2014) discursive approach to news values (more specifically, their Discursive News Values Analysis (DNVA); Bednarek & Caple, 2017) investigates “how newsworthiness is construed and established through discourse” (Bednarek & Caple, 2012b, p. 104). According to the authors (Bednarek, 2016a, 2016b; Bednarek & Caple, 2012b, 2014, 2017; Caple & Bednarek, 2015), a discursive perspective views news values as a “quality of *texts*” (Caple & Bednarek, 2015, p. 13, emphasis in the original),

and their analysis can allow us to “systematically investigate how these values are constructed in the different types of textual material involved in the news process” (Bednarek & Caple, 2012b, p. 104).⁴ This approach to news values allows Bednarek and Caple (2012b, 2014, 2017) to highlight given textual traces, referred to as “pointers” to newsworthiness (Bednarek & Caple, 2014, p. 11),⁵ that can let us glimpse at how they are realised in news discourse.

A discursive approach to news values analyses news discourse by taking into consideration various factors that may point to or enhance to particular news values being discursively constructed in the media outlet. The approach is mainly qualitative in its nature, arising empirically from the observation of the behaviour of specific words in context. Attention is also placed on the way evaluation and stance are constructed in discourse, since they are both means through which newsworthiness is enhanced (Bednarek & Caple, 2014, p. 6).

As this methodology is mainly qualitative in nature, it seems peculiar to use corpus linguistic techniques to analyse how news values are constructed. However, when approaching large amounts of data, Bednarek and Caple (2014, 2017) and Potts *et al.* (2015) argue that corpus linguistic techniques (such as the analysis of frequencies (word forms, lemmas, clusters), the analysis of keywords or grammatical/semantic tags, dispersion analysis, etc.) can help with news values analysis, especially in those cases where a non-topic-specific corpus is under investigation. Through the use of corpus linguistic methodologies, we can gain “first insights into a conventionalised repertoire of rhetoric of newsworthiness” (Bednarek & Caple, 2014, p. 14) in the case of corpora representative of specific media genres. Thus, if “every journalist and every editor will have a different interpretation of what is newsworthy” (Rau, 2010, p. 15), corpus linguistic techniques can help researchers identify “what kind of discursive devices are repeatedly used [...] to construct different news values” (Bednarek & Caple, 2014, p. 16) and, consequently, they can take us to the backstage of the news production process. In this way, the combination of news values analysis and corpus linguistic methodologies can be used to better define a genre since, by underlining what is newsworthy for a specific news organisation, they can help researchers ‘sneak a peek’ into the professional practices at the very heart of the news production process.

In order to carry out our analysis of the news values that are routinely enhanced in the news tickers displayed on the BBC World News, a corpus has been used comprising the news tickers displayed on the BBC World News from March 12, 2013 to April 11, 2014 (for a total of 365 days). The News Tickers Corpus (NTC) is comprised of 168,513 tokens (for a total number of 6,937 news tickers). In order to analyse it, we have resorted to the word list tool available on the Sketch Engine online platform (Kilgarriff *et al.*, 2004, 2014), which was our primary analysis tool for this investigation. As for the computation of keywords in the NTC, the word list was calculated by searching for lemmas attributes.⁶ A

⁴ Given space constraints, we will not set out to describe all the news values highlighted by Bednarek and Caple (2012b, 2014, 2017). However, in the analysis of our corpus, the following news values have been coded: Eliteness, Personalisation, Proximity, Timeliness, Novelty, Superlativeness, Negativity and Impact.

⁵ As Bednarek and Caple explain, they use the term ‘pointer’ because they have not “examined each occurrence in its co-text” (2012a, p. 196), meaning that, by looking at corpus word lists, they have focused on those items potentially embodying a specific news value without further investigating its collocates, for instance.

⁶ Compiling a keyword list by showing lemmas attributes means allowing users not only to look at the lemmas that are most typically used but also to show next to the lemmas the type of part of speech (POS) that has

cut-off point of a minimum frequency of five occurrences was imposed and, in order to further ensure that the selection of given items was not only due to their frequency but also their dispersion in the corpus, we decided to make use of the Average Reduced Frequency (ARF; Savický & Hlaváčová, 2002), a statistical measure available on Sketch Engine that allows the “frequency for words with bursty distributions” to be discounted (Kilgarriff, 2009). Thanks to this statistical measure, “for a word with an even distribution across a corpus, ARF will be equal to raw frequency, but for a word with a very bursty distribution, only occurring in a single short text, ARF will be a little over 1” (Kilgarriff, 2009). In this way, when using a non-topic-specific corpus, as in the case of the NTC, this measure guarantees that the items highlighted in a word list are truly indicative of the conventionalised repertoire of the rhetoric of the genre under investigation as they are well-distributed in the corpus and do not just occur in a single news ticker.

The word list thus computed was contrasted with a reference corpus of all the headlines and lead paragraphs found on the BBC news website thanks to the online database LexisNexis from June 1, 2014 to July 31, 2014, thus creating the *bw_14* corpus. The reason behind this choice is linked to our conviction that, from a textual point of view, headlines and lead paragraphs are the most similar in length and function to news tickers, and thus they can help us highlight differences/similarities in the genre under investigation. The reference corpus created is comprised of 617,311 tokens (for a total number of 20,205 headlines and their accompanying lead paragraphs) and its selection as a reference corpus was based on the following hypothesis: given the same professional environment (i.e. the BBC newsroom), what changes can be highlighted when content migrates from one textual genre to another and, more importantly, from one platform to another?

Results and Discussion

Among the items in the word list computed in accordance with the criteria previously described (see Section “A Discursive News Values Analysis (DNVA) approach to the study of newsworthiness in news tickers”), we decided to focus only on the first 200 words in this list, since the statistics used in order to calculate them ensure that they do represent the most routinely used lexical items in the NTC.⁷ We then proceeded to the manual analysis of the items extracted, attributing to each one of them a news value in accordance with the DNVA approach developed by Bednarek and Caple (2014). The Concordance and Collocation tools⁸ were used in order to help decide what value given words convey in their context of occurrence, thus enabling us to better understand the way they were strategically used in order to enhance this value. However, in line with Bednarek and Caple (2014), we decided to refer to them as ‘potential pointers’ to specific news values because, while the majority of the collocates pointed towards the realisation of a given news value, others did not corroborate this analysis. As such, when referring to given items as ‘potential pointers’ to specific news values, we do not mean that they are always

been automatically attributed to them. From a news value perspective, this is essential since it has allowed us to better characterise what type of news value a specific word was generally conveying in the corpus.

⁷ More specifically, the first 200 words in this list display a sufficiently high ARF (i.e. an ARF score above 1.6), thus displaying a certain degree of dispersion in the corpus under investigation.

⁸ In the computation of the collocations for each item under investigation, in order to more precisely attribute a specific news value, the Log Dice has been used as a statistical measure. This is due to the fact that the Log Dice allows for a better understanding of the usage of a specific word, being a “lexicographer-friendly association score” (Rychlý, 2008, p. 6), because it highlights exclusive but not necessarily rare cooccurrences of words (a problem that the MI tends to show).

used in order to convey these values but, rather, that they discursively show a strong tendency towards the realisation of specific news values.

We must also underline that, in the analysis of the first 200 words in the word list computed according to the criteria previously described, some items have not been considered as enhancing a specific news value (this is particularly the case, for instance, for function words).⁹

Finally, we must also acknowledge that, in the attribution of given news values to specific items found in the word list, some words have been analysed as simultaneously construing more than just one news value (for instance, the adjective late-j (ARF score: 64.6), which was specifically used in the NTC in order to present the 'latest' results of given reports or elections, was analysed as a potential pointer of both Timeliness and Novelty).¹⁰

Annex 1 shows all the results of our manual annotation of the first 200 words in the word list. These results seem to corroborate the observations that we made in Sections "Marketising the news" and "Branding and legitimising the news". In particular, as we can see in **Annex 1**, Eliteness is one of the most frequently enhanced news values in the NTC, proving our claim that socially validated authorities are routinely allowed to see their voices represented in news tickers. Examples (5) and (6) show how this news value is constructed in the NTC corpus:

5. PRESIDENT BARACK OBAMA SAYS THE US IS ENGAGING IN "TOUGH TALK" WITH CHINA ABOUT HACKING ATTACKS, ALTHOUGH HE PLAYS DOWN TALK OF CYBER WAR
6. OFFICIALS SAY THE NUMBER OF DEAD PIGS FOUND IN SHANGHAI'S HUANGPU RIVER HAS RISEN TO NEARLY 6,000, AMID ONLINE CONCERN OVER WATER QUALITY

The news value of Eliteness entails that "[s]tories about 'elite' individuals or celebrities are more newsworthy than stories about ordinary people" (Bednarek & Caple, 2012a, p. 43). This also means that Eliteness plays an important role in the selection of certain sources over others in terms of 'attribution' (Bednarek & Caple, 2012a, p. 43; see also Bednarek, 2016a), since socially validated authorities have better chances of seeing their 'voices' being represented in the media. By repeatedly enhancing this news value, the BBC seems to consequently enhance the authority of the news network, which constantly controls and lets these voices 'speak' in the genre of news tickers. In the examples previously seen, it is worth noticing that, in our manual attribution of given news values to specific items in the first 200 words in the word list, we have included the verbs say-v (ARF score: 1180.1), tell-v (ARF score: 72.1), and report-v (ARF score: 68.7) in the potential pointers to Eliteness. This is due to the fact that they are particularly used in the NTC in order to refer to certain elite sources. A collocation analysis was performed in order to test this and, given the strong association of these verbs with lemmas such as

⁹ Function words might have been excluded from the word list by using a stop-list that would have allowed the software not to take these items into consideration in the computation of the word list. We decided to include them, however, because some of them may be used to enhance specific news values. For instance, the word 'after', which might be considered a function word, is sometimes used to construe the news value of Timeliness.

¹⁰ In the following paragraphs, due to reasons of space, attention will be paid only to those news values whose pointers show the highest frequency and dispersion in the corpus under investigation (i.e. a higher ARF compared to other elements). This is the reason why we will only focus on how Eliteness, Timeliness, Negativity and Impact are discursively constructed in the NTC.

president-n, government-n, police-n, minister-n, etc., they were then included in the list of pointers to the news value of Eliteness.

A particular way in which Eliteness is also enhanced in news tickers is represented by the frequent use of the BBC's authority in order to report the news story (see also Section "Branding and legitimising the news"):

7. AMERICAN SPRINTER TYSON GAY'S POSITIVE TEST WAS FOR A BANNED STEROID THAT CARRIES A TWO-YEAR SUSPENSION, THE BBC LEARNS
8. ENGLAND CRICKET STAR MONTY PANESAR IS FINED BY POLICE FOR BEING DRUNK AND DISORDERLY AFTER URINATING ON BOUNCERS AT A BRIGHTON NIGHTCLUB, THE BBC UNDERSTANDS

Bearing in mind that the word list was computed by comparing the NTC with a reference corpus of headlines and lead paragraphs taken from the BBC website, it seems particularly interesting, given the work environments the two corpora are representative of are the same (i.e. the BBC newsroom), to see how attribution plays a significant role in validating what is being reported in the textual realisation of news tickers. The BBC is, thus, constructed as an elite actor whose authority is being used to give access to specific information. As previously said, in these cases, Eliteness is realised in the way a key role is given to sources that have selected what events could be turned into news stories. The BBC, therefore, is discursively constructed as a source of reliability and trustworthiness in the eyes of the viewers, contributing to the marketisation strategies previously analysed in the structural organisation of news tickers.

Annex 1 also shows the particular enhancement of the news value of Timeliness in the NTC:

9. NORTH KOREA SAYS IT IS ENTERING A "STATE OF WAR" WITH SOUTH KOREA, IN THE LATEST ESCALATION OF RHETORIC AGAINST ITS NEIGHBOUR AND THE US
10. CHINA IS CONTINUING RESCUE EFFORTS IN SICHUAN PROVINCE, BLASTING BLOCKED ROADS AND DEPLOYING THOUSANDS OF WORKERS, AFTER SATURDAY'S EARTHQUAKE

Timeliness entails that "[m]ore recent events are often more newsworthy" (Bednarek & Caple, 2012a, p. 42), and, therefore, more relevant to readers/viewers. Timeliness, however, can also be constructed in discourse to project the temporal deictic centre to that of the viewers/readers. The peculiar enhancement of this news value in the NTC, in comparison with the reference corpus of headlines and lead paragraphs taken from the BBC World News website, points to a specific discursive construction of how events are represented in news tickers. It seems that the 'breaking news' aspect is particularly highlighted in this genre, thus pointing to a discursive strategy whereby the online and offline channels of communication are challenged and merged. News tickers, in this way, represent or, rather, discursively construct a constant conjunction between what the newscaster is reporting and what is happening in the 'real' world. In other words, news tickers are being deployed in order to convey that impression of live reporting typical of online news media platforms. This might not seem immediately clear by looking at the way news stories are reported, but if we look at example (9), the present continuous seems a rather odd choice in reporting the event (at the expense of brevity), since a typical choice in news discourse might have been the use of analytical forms. However, by using this tense, Timeliness is enhanced, thus highlighting how this news value plays a major role in the way news is reported in the genre under investigation. Thus, the combination of lexicogrammatical features found in the NTC demonstrates how this genre found in the professional environment of the BBC World News website is strategically shaped in order

to enhance recency, giving viewers the impression of a continuous and live commentary of events.

Potential pointers to Negativity and Impact also seem to be significantly used in the NTC:

11. AT LEAST 12 PEOPLE DIED AND DOZENS MORE WERE HURT WHEN A SMALL LORRY LOADED WITH FIREWORKS EXPLODED IN A SMALL VILLAGE IN CENTRAL MEXICO
12. AT LEAST 21 PEOPLE DIE AFTER A SERIES OF CAR BOMBS IN SHIA AREAS OF BAGHDAD ON THE 10TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE US-LED CAMPAIGN IN IRAQ
13. THE ISSUES OF JOBS AND GROWTH DOMINATE AN EU SUMMIT IN BRUSSELS, AS THOUSANDS OF PROTESTERS DEMONSTRATE AGAINST TOUGH AUSTERITY MEASURES
14. AT LEAST 12 PEOPLE ARE KILLED IN A BOMBING AT THE JALOZAI REFUGEE CAMP CLOSE TO THE NORTH-WESTERN PAKISTANI CITY OF PESHAWAR, OFFICIALS SAY
15. AT LEAST FIVE PARAMILITARY SOLDIERS ARE KILLED AS GUNMEN OPEN FIRE ON SECURITY FORCES NEAR A SCHOOL IN SRINAGAR IN INDIAN-ADMINISTERED KASHMIR, POLICE SAY

As can be seen from the examples, while some of the pointers can be specifically linked solely to the news value of Negativity (e.g. the lepos kill-v (ARF score: 275.2) and die-v (ARF score: 119.4)), the majority of them seem to be used in order to highlight the effects of given events. In this way, the news value of Impact seems to be highlighting the current effects of a given event, thus implicitly enhancing the Timeliness of the news story reported in news tickers. If the effects of a specific action are always placed in a prominent position in the sentence (note, for instance, the prepositional phrase 'at least' followed by the number of people affected by a specific action, i.e. the impact of the action), this means that Negativity becomes a means through which Impact is enhanced. Therefore, the consequences of a specific action highlight its Timeliness.

As the analysis of some of the news values enhanced in the genre of news tickers shows, by looking at the professional practice in the way given shared values are textually constructed in discourse, we can further see how given specificities in the genre are particularly highlighted. This analysis has, thus, allowed us to further investigate the genre of news tickers as found in the professional media context of the BBC World News, and to see how given claims are further confirmed by looking at the genre from the way in which particular values are enhanced in the genre.

CONCLUSION

As argued at the very beginning of this contribution, journalistic practices have been undergoing radical changes in the last few years, due to the increasing pressure of new digital media on professional practice. In such a fluid social context (Deuze, 2008), genres are, therefore, increasingly becoming dynamic rhetorical configurations, whose conventions can be exploited to achieve new goals. Thus, mixed or hybrid forms are the most frequent results of these manipulations. Given the ever-changing social context in which journalistic practices operate, they are constantly exploiting new forms of hybridity and genre-mixing in order to compete with new ways of delivering the news. This intensifying pressure on traditional media has given rise to a variety of hybrid and mixed-generic forms, among which we have focused our attention on a relatively new genre of TV news broadcasts, generally referred to as news tickers (or crawlers).

This genre, which made its reappearance on 9/11 in order to deal with the enormous amount of information coming from the American news agencies, has been adopted by various TV news channels and programmes in order to constantly deliver a summary of the major news stories of the day or to alert viewers to particular breaking news stories. However, as we have seen, over the years and given the increasing pressure on TV journalism to attract viewers, the genre of news tickers has been slowly appropriating certain generic conventions from other genres to serve this purpose. Thanks to a corpus-based linguistic analysis, we have seen how the BBC World News uses its news tickers in order to promote itself and its products. However, this function coexists with myriad other communicative purposes retraced thanks to structural patterns through the use of corpus linguistic methodologies.

One of these communicative purposes, as we have seen, can be ascribed to what Meech (1999) defines as 'brandcasting', which refers to the vast array of corporate branding techniques that broadcasters use in order to project their brand identity. These branding techniques are highly frequent in the NTC corpus and, while some of them may be classified as overt promotional strategies (Coffey & Cleary, 2008, 2011), others may be seen as achieving the same purpose more subtly. In these cases, a DNVA approach has provided elements which may lead us to think that the authority of the BBC is used in order to legitimise the newsworthiness of the stories found in the news ticker, thus conveying a subconscious representation in the viewers' minds of the BBC as a source of reliability and trustworthiness. Thus, these results highlight how relevant brandcasting is for a TV genre such as that of news tickers, which has found a compromise between its communicative function to 'inform' its viewers/readers and subtly promoting its brand identity.

REFERENCES

- Baker, P. (2006). *Using Corpora in Discourse Analysis*. London/New York: Continuum International Publishing Group.
- Bauman, Z. (2000). *Liquid Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bauman, Z. (2005). *Liquid Life*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bazerman, C. (1992). *Systems of Genres and the Enactment of Social Intentions*. Paper presented at the *Rethinking Genre Colloquium*, Carleton University, Ottawa, April 1992.
- Bednarek, M. (2016a). Voices and Values in the News: News Media Talk, News Values and Attribution. *Discourse, Context & Media*, 11, 27–37. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.dcm.2015.11.004>
- Bednarek, M. (2016b). Investigating Evaluation and News Values in News Items that are Shared via Social Media. *Corpora*, 11(2), 227–257. Retrieved on 26 July 2017 from <http://www.eupublishing.com/doi/pdfplus/10.3366/cor.2016.0093>
- Bednarek, M., & Caple, H. (2012a). *News Discourse*. London/New York: Bloomsbury.
- Bednarek, M., & Caple, H. (2012b). 'Value Added': Language, Image and News Values. *Discourse, Context & Media*, 1(2), 103–113. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.dcm.2012.05.006>
- Bednarek, M., & Caple, H. (2014). Why do News Values Matter? Towards a New Methodological Framework for Analyzing News Discourse in Critical Discourse Analysis and beyond. *Discourse & Society*, 20(10), 1–24.
- Bednarek, M., & Caple, H. (2017). *The Discourse of News Values: How News Organizations Create Newsworthiness*. New York: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190653934.001.0001>

- Bell, A. (1991). *The Language of News Media*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Bhatia, V. K. (1993). *Analysing Genre: Language Use in Professional Settings*. London: Longman.
- Bhatia, V. K. (1996). Methodological Issues in Genre Analysis. *Hermes, Journal of Linguistics*, 16, 39–59. <https://doi.org/10.7146/hjlc.v9i16.25383>
- Bhatia, V. K. (2000). Genres in Conflict. In A. Trosborg (ed.), *Analysing Professional Genres*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 147–161. <https://doi.org/10.1075/pbns.74.13bha>
- Bhatia, V. K. (2002). Applied Genre Analysis: A Multi-Perspective Model. *Ibérica*, 4, 3–19.
- Bhatia, V. K. (2004). *Worlds of Written Discourse: A Genre-Based View*. London: Continuum International.
- Bhatia, V. K. (2007). Interdiscursivity in Critical Genre Analysis. In A. Bonini, D. de C. Figueiredo, & F. J. Rauen (eds), *Proceedings from the 4th International Symposium on Genre Studies (SIGET)*, Unisul, Tubarão, 391–400. Retrieved on 30 April 2018 from <http://linguagem.unisul.br/paginas/ensino/pos/linguagem/eventos/cd/English/36i.pdf>
- Bhatia, V. K. (2008). Towards Critical Genre Analysis. In V. K. Bhatia, J. Flowerdew, & R. H. Jones (eds), *Advances in Discourse Studies*. London/New York: Routledge, 166–177.
- Bhatia, V. K. (2012). Critical Reflections on Genre Analysis. *Ibérica*, 24, 17–28.
- Bhatia, V. K. (2017). *Critical Genre Analysis: Investigating Interdiscursive Performance in Professional Practice*. London/New York: Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315690315>
- Bivens, R. (2014). *Digital Currents: How Technology and the Public are Shaping TV News*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press. <https://doi.org/10.3138/9781442669161>
- Caple, H., & Bednarek, M. (2016). Rethinking News Values: What a Discursive Approach can Tell us about the Construction of News Discourse and News Photography. *Journalism: Theory, Practice and Criticism*, 17(4), 435–455. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1464884914568078>
- Coffey, A. J., & Cleary, J. (2008). Valuing New Media Spaces: Are Cable Network News Crawls Cross-Promotional Agents? *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 85(4), 894–912. <https://doi.org/10.1177/107769900808500411>
- Coffey, A. J., & Cleary, J. (2011). Promotional Practices of Cable News Networks: A Comparative Analysis of New and Traditional Spaces. *International Journal on Media Management*, 13(3), 161–176. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14241277.2011.568421>
- Cotter, C. (2010). *News Talk: Investigating the Language of Journalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511811975>
- Deuze, M. (2008). The Changing Context of News Work: Liquid Journalism and Monitorial Citizenship. *International Journal of Communication*, 2, 848–865.
- Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and Social Change* (16th edn., 2013). Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Fairclough, N. (1995). *Media Discourse*. London: Hodder Arnold.
- Fruttaldo, A. (2017). *News Discourse and Digital Currents: A Corpus-Based Genre Analysis of News Tickers*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Hasan, R. (2014). The Uses of Talk. In S. Sarangi, & M. Coulthard (eds), *Discourse and Social Life*. London/New York: Routledge, 28–47.

- Jindal, A., Tiwari, A., Ghosh, H. (2011). Efficient and Language Independent News Story Segmentation for Telecast News Videos. *Multimedia (ISM), 2011 IEEE International Symposium*, epub ahead of print 5 December 2011. <https://doi.org/10.1109/ISM.2011.81>
- Josephson, S., & Holmes, M. E. (2006). Clutter or Content? How On-Screen Enhancements Affect How Tv Viewers Scan and What They Learn. *Proceedings of the 2006 Symposium on Eye Tracking Research & Applications*, epub ahead of print 27 March 2006. <https://doi.org/10.1145/1117309.1117361>
- Kilgarriff, A. (2009). Simple Maths for Keywords. In M. Mahlberg, V. González-Díaz, & C. Smith (eds), *Proceedings of Corpus Linguistics Conference CL2009*, University of Liverpool, UK. Retrieved on 30 April 2018 from http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/publications/cl2009/171_FullPaper.doc
- Kilgarriff, A., Baisa, V., Bušta, J., Jakubíček, M., Kovár, V., Michelfeit, J., Rychlý, P., & Suchomel, V (2014). The Sketch Engine: Ten Years on. *Lexicography*, 1(1), 7–36. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40607-014-0009-9>
- Kilgarriff, A., Rychlý, P., Smrz, P., & Tugwell, D. (2004). The Sketch Engine. In G. Williams, & S. Vessier (eds), *Proceedings of the Eleventh EURALEX International Congress: EURALEX 2004*. Lorient: Université de Bretagne-Sud, 105–116.
- Kirk, G. S. (1954). *Heraclitus: The Cosmic Fragments. A Critical Study with Introduction, Text and Translation by Geoffrey Stephen Kirk*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kress, G. (1987). Genre in a Social Theory of Language: A Reply to John Dixon. In Reid, Ian (ed.), *The Place of Genre in Learning: Current Debates*. Geelong, Australia: Deakin University Press, 35–45.
- Matsukawa, R., Miyata, Y., & Ueda, S. (2009). Information Redundancy Effect on Watching Tv News: Analysis of Eye Tracking Data and Examination of the Contents. *Library and Information Science*, 62, 193–205.
- McEnery, T., & Hardie, Andrew 2012. *Corpus Linguistics: Method, Theory and Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511981395>
- Meech, P. (1999). Watch This Space: The On-Air Marketing Communications of UK Television. *International Journal of Advertising*, 18, 291–304. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02650487.1999.11104762>
- Montgomery, M. (2007). *Discourse of Broadcast News: A Linguistic Approach*. London: Routledge.
- Poniewozik, J. (2010). The Tick, Tick, Tick of the Times. *The Time*. Retrieved on 20 April 2018 from http://content.time.com/time/specials/packages/article/0,28804,2032304_2032745_2032850,00.html
- Potts, A., Bednarek, M., & Caple, H. (2015). How can Computer-Based Methods Help Researchers to Investigate News Values in Large Datasets? A Corpus Linguistic Study of the Construction of Newsworthiness in the Reporting on Hurricane Katrina. *Discourse & Communication*, 9(2), 149–172. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1750481314568548>
- Prior, P. A. & Hengst, J. A. (2010). Introduction: Exploring Semiotic Remediation. In P. A. Prior, & J. A. Hengst (eds), *Exploring Semiotic Remediation as Discourse Practice*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1–23. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230250628_1

- Rau, C. (2010). *Dealing with the Media: A Handbook for Students, Activists, Community Groups and anyone who can't Afford a Spin Doctor*. Sydney: University of New South Wales Press.
- Rodrigues, R., Veloso, A., & Mealha, Ó. (2012). A Television News Graphical Layout Analysis Method Using Eye Tracking. *Proceedings of the 16th International Conference on Information Visualisation (IV)*, epub ahead of print July 2012. <https://doi.org/10.1109/IV.2012.66>
- Rychlý, P. (2008). A Lexicographer-Friendly Association Score. In P. Sojka, & A. Horák (eds), *Proceedings of Recent Advances in Slavonic Natural Language Processing, RASLAN*. Brno: Masaryk University, 6–9.
- Sacks, H. (1972). On the Analyzability of Stories by Children. In J. J. Gumperz, & D. Hymes (eds), *Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication*. New York: Rinehart and Winston, 325–345.
- Savický, P., & Hlaváčová, J. (2002). Measures of Word Commonness. *Journal of Quantitative Linguistics*, 9(3), 215–231. <https://doi.org/10.1076/jqul.9.3.215.14124>
- Shalom, C. (1997). That Great Supermarket of Desire: Attributes of the Desired Other in Personal Advertisements. In K. Harvey, & C. Shalom (eds), *Language and Desire: Encoding Sex, Romance and Intimacy*. London: Routledge, 186–203.
- Spinuzzi, C. (2003). *Tracing Genres through Organizations: A Sociocultural Approach to Information Design*. Cambridge (MA): The MIT Press. <https://doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/6875.001.0001>
- Swales, J. M. (1990). *Genre Analysis: English in Academic and Research Settings* (13th edn., 2008). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- van Leeuwen, T. (2007). Legitimation in Discourse and Communication. *Discourse & Communication*, 1(1), 91–112. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1750481307071986>

ANNEX 1

Pointers to Newsworthiness in the NTC

News values	Lempos
Not clearly related to a specific news value: function words	the-x (ARF score: 5295.7); a-x (ARF score: 3259.5); in-i (ARF score: 3040.9); of-i (ARF score: 2851.9); to-x (ARF score: 1662); and-c (ARF score: 1293.5); for-i (ARF score: 1064.3); to-i (ARF score: 922.6); on-i (ARF score: 829.7); as-i (ARF score: 713.3); at-i (ARF score: 704.5); by-i (ARF score: 597.8); with-i (ARF score: 549.2); an-x (ARF score: 537.8); its-d (ARF score: 475.2); from-i (ARF score: 436.6); his-d (ARF score: 397.2); it-d (ARF score: 364.9); over-i (ARF score: 323.2); he-d (ARF score: 232.9); their-d (ARF score: 198.7); that-i (ARF score: 186); who-x (ARF score: 167.1); than-i (ARF score: 166.9); that-x (ARF score: 152.7); not-a (ARF score: 145.6); into-i (ARF score: 135.4); which-x (ARF score: 124.1); they-d (ARF score: 113.3); but-c (ARF score: 104.8); amid-i (ARF score: 89); out-x (ARF score: 84.5); up-x (ARF score: 81.9); between-i (ARF score: 58.1); him-d (ARF score: 56.6); her-d (ARF score: 54.3).
Not clearly related to a specific news value: nouns	us-n (ARF score: 702); world-n (ARF score: 245.4); china-n (ARF score: 202.9); country-n (ARF score: 153.5); city-n (ARF score: 146.1); talk-n (ARF score: 115); group-n (ARF score: 109.4); australia-n (ARF score: 105.8); capital-n (ARF score: 96.2); syria-n (ARF score: 92.8); economy-n (ARF score: 90.4); election-n (ARF score: 76.2); india-n (ARF score: 69.9); cup-n (ARF score: 69.8); part-n (ARF score: 69.2); trial-n (ARF score: 68.4); league-n (ARF score: 67.8); champion-n (ARF score: 67.1); sale-n (ARF score: 66); car-n (ARF score: 62.2); share-n (ARF score: 61.3); korea-n (ARF score: 59.1); test-n (ARF score: 58); japan-n (ARF score: 57.9); russia-n (ARF score: 55.7); home-n (ARF score: 54.8); plan-n (ARF score: 53.6); power-n (ARF score: 52.7); protester-n (ARF score: 50.9); rebel-n (ARF score: 50.9); oil-n (ARF score: 49.3).
Not clearly related to a specific news value: verbs	be-v (ARF score: 2215.6); have-v (ARF score: 772.8); take-v (ARF score: 115.1); make-v (ARF score: 98.5); could-x (ARF score: 74.7); go-v (ARF score: 70); may-x (ARF score: 68.1); use-v (ARF score: 63.7); accord-v (ARF score: 62.2); include-v (ARF score: 57.9); can-x (ARF score: 49); help-v (ARF score: 49).
Not clearly related to a specific news value: adjectives	south-j (ARF score: 129.3); international-j (ARF score: 82.8); Chinese-j (ARF score: 71.4); north-j (ARF score: 64); Indian-j (ARF score: 61.6); foreign-j (ARF score: 55.4); northern-j (ARF score: 54.4); economic-j (ARF score: 52.5); Australian-j (ARF score: 49.4); Syrian-j (ARF score: 48.9).
Potential pointers to Eliteness	say-v (ARF score: 1180.1); president-n (ARF score: 328); government-n (ARF score: 223.1); official-n (ARF score: 220.4); police-n (ARF score: 180.7); state-n (ARF score: 172.1); former-j (ARF score: 149.9); report-n (ARF score: 149.5); minister-n (ARF score: 147.5); bank-n (ARF score: 147.1); leader-n (ARF score: 142); court-n (ARF score: 131.4); central-j (ARF score: 86.5); European-j (ARF score: 84.2); company-n (ARF score: 83.8); force-n (ARF score: 83.4); international-j (ARF score: 82.8); security-n (ARF score: 82.6); prime-j (ARF score: 72.7); tell-v (ARF score: 72.1); medium-n (ARF score: 69.5); report-v (ARF score: 68.7); bbc-n (ARF score: 65.4); firm-n (ARF score: 62.6); military-j (ARF score: 59.5); obama-n (ARF score: 57.5); eu-n (ARF score: 55.2); pm-n (ARF score: 54.2); agency-n (ARF score: 52.5); authority-n (ARF score: 51.1); chief-j (ARF score: 51.1); market-n (ARF score: 50.9).
Potential pointers to Personalisation	people-n (ARF score: 341.6); man-n (ARF score: 81.7); child-n (ARF score: 52.5).
Potential pointers to Proximity	england-n (ARF score: 97.1); Uk-n (ARF score: 96.1); European-j (ARF score: 84.2); British-j (ARF score: 74.2); eu-n (ARF score: 55.2).
Potential pointers to Timeliness	after-i (ARF score: 678.8); will-x (ARF score: 335.6); year-n (ARF score: 302.3); day-n (ARF score: 125.5); month-n (ARF score: 105.2); last-j (ARF score: 82.7); since-i (ARF score: 80.1); agree-v (ARF score: 79.5); time-n (ARF score: 77); find-v (ARF score: 76.1); announce-v (ARF score: 73); expect-v (ARF score: 70.3); second-j (ARF score: 68.4); begin-v (ARF score: 68.4); week-n (ARF score: 67.9); hold-v (ARF score: 67.5); during-i (ARF score: 67.5); see-v (ARF score: 66.3); late-j (ARF score: 64.6); continue-v (ARF score: 60.7); become-v (ARF score: 60.7); end-v (ARF score: 57.2); call-v (ARF score: 57.2); face-v (ARF score: 53.3); next-j (ARF score: 53); this-x (ARF score: 52.6); give-v (ARF score: 50.7); reach-v (ARF score: 49.5).
Potential pointers to Novelty	new-j (ARF score: 288.4); first-j (ARF score: 226); time-n (ARF score: 77); find-v (ARF score: 76.1); announce-v (ARF score: 73); late-j (ARF score: 64.6).
Potential pointers to Superlativeness	two-x (ARF score: 214.8); least-j (ARF score: 164.1); more-j (ARF score: 141.3); one-x (ARF score: 122.1); bn-n (ARF score: 110.2); three-x (ARF score: 104.3); m-n (ARF score: 103.6); six-x (ARF score: 72.2); five-x (ARF score: 67); about-i (ARF score: 65); late-j (ARF score: 64.6); big-j (ARF score: 64.5); some-x (ARF score: 59.9); four-x (ARF score: 58.1); high-j (ARF score: 55.9); thousand-n (ARF score: 55).
Potential pointers to Negativity and Impact	kill-v (ARF score: 275.2); against-i (ARF score: 170.8); die-v (ARF score: 119.4); attack-n (ARF score: 100.9); win-v (ARF score: 100.5); deal-n (ARF score: 87.2); leave-v (ARF score: 86.5); warn-v (ARF score: 83.4); set-v (ARF score: 82.1); follow-v (ARF score: 75.9); death-n (ARF score: 74.8); protest-n (ARF score: 74.5); rise-v (ARF score: 68.8); fall-v (ARF score: 67); growth-n (ARF score: 62.3); hit-v (ARF score: 60.1); accuse-v (ARF score: 58.6); bomb-n (ARF score: 58.1); charge-n (ARF score: 57.1); lead-v (ARF score: 56.6); opposition-n (ARF score: 56.5); beat-v (ARF score: 55.2); profit-n (ARF score: 54.9); show-v (ARF score: 54.4); record-n (ARF score: 53.3); despite-i (ARF score: 52.2); injure-v (ARF score: 51.8); final-j (ARF score: 49.5).

