

**UNIVERSITY OF TARTU
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH STUDIES**

**CORPUS-BASED STUDY OF THE REPRESENTATION OF DONALD
TRUMP IN TWO AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS DURING THE
IMPEACHMENT PERIOD
BA THESIS**

**LIISA PIISKOP
SUPERVISOR: PROF. RAILI MARLING**

**TARTU
2020**

ABSTRACT

Donald Trump was the third American president to be impeached on 18 December 2019 for abuse of power and obstruction of Congress. A divided Senate, voting nearly completely along party lines, acquitted Trump on 5 February 2020. The aim of this study is to examine the representation of Donald Trump during the impeachment process in two of the most appreciated newspapers in the United States, *The New York Times* and *The Wall Street Journal*, by using a corpus of 200 articles collected from these newspapers, 100 from each. The two newspapers were chosen for their differences as *The New York Times* tends to be more liberal and *The Wall Street Journal* more conservative. Antconc toolkit is used for the corpus analysis.

The introduction discusses the essence of the impeachment, its history in the United States and the background of Trump's impeachment process. Chapter 1 explains the notion of political discourse and critical discourse analysis. It continues with a discussion of the position of newspapers in the United States. Chapter 2 provides an overview of corpus-based study of discourse. In the method chapter, the corpus and method of analysis are described. In the section of findings, the corpus analysis is conducted, bringing out the most vital findings. The conclusion summarizes the results and implications of the analysis and makes recommendations for further research.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	2
TABLE OF CONTENTS	3
INTRODUCTION	4
1. POLITICAL DISCOURSE AND MEDIA	7
1.1 The connection of politics and language	7
1.2 Language in newspapers.....	8
1.3 News media in the United States	12
2. CORPUS BASED STUDY OF DISCOURSE.....	14
3. METHOD	16
3.1 Principles of corpus creation	16
3.2 Method of analysis	19
4. FINDINGS	22
CONCLUSION	32
REFERENCES	34
RESÜMEE	40
Lihtlitsents lõputöö reprodutseerimiseks ja lõputöö üldsusele kättesaadavaks tegemiseks	41
Autorsuse kinnitus	42

INTRODUCTION

On 18 December 2019, Donald Trump, 45th president of the United States, was impeached for abuse of power and obstruction of Congress thus facing potential removal from the office (Fandos & Shear 2019). Impeachment is a process by which a legislative body addresses major misconduct by a government official (Encyclopedia Britannica 2020a). The U.S Constitution gives the House of Representatives the sole power to impeach all civil officers, the president and vice president (United States Senate 2020). Impeachment is the legal statement of charges, as it does not in itself ultimately remove the public official from the office. Impeachment thus is considered to be a political process. In the U.S, impeachment is infrequently implemented, mostly because of it being a burdensome procedure.

In the history of the United States a total of three presidents have been impeached by the House of Representatives: Andrew Johnson (1868), Bill Clinton (1998) and Donald Trump (2019). The root cause of the impeachment of Andrew Johnson was the fact he vetoed civil rights legislation thus hindering racial equality (McCarthy 2020). The main charge was violation of the Tenure of Office Act, as he removed from office his secretary of war, Edwin M. Stanton, who was a key figure in moving towards racial fairness (United States Senate 2020). These disagreements finally led to his impeachment for high crimes and misdemeanors, particularized in eleven articles. On the other hand, the impeachment articles against President Clinton were altogether different. Bill Clinton was charged with lying under oath to a federal grand jury and obstructing justice. The impeachment of Clinton was the result of a lawsuit accusing the president of sexual harassment by Paula Jones in 1994 as well as Clinton's sexual relationship with White House intern Monica Lewinsky (2020). Clinton then lied about the essence of this affair and asked Lewinsky to lie about it too. Both presidents were acquitted

and remained in the office.

Three months prior to the impeachment, Democrats found evidence that Trump had abused his power by seeking election assistance in the form of pressuring the president of Ukraine to investigate disproved corruption allegations against his Democratic rivals Joe and Hunter Biden (BBC 2020). It was the formal complaint of an unnamed whistleblower who revealed concern over president Trump's actions in a written letter (BBC 2019). The intelligence official was worried about a half-hour phone call made by Mr. Trump to Ukraine's president, Volodymyr Zelensky, on 25 July 2019. The transcript of the call confirmed Mr. Trump pressuring the president to announce investigations on several of his Democratic opponents. A U.S diplomat later testified that the Trump administration threatened not to release the 400 million dollars of military aid for Ukraine until Mr. Biden was being investigated. The White House denied this claim. The defense claims of the Republicans consisted of three components: the U.S military aid was still released, the president of Ukraine did not feel the pressure, the Ukrainians knew the aid was delayed (BBC, 2019).

On 18 December, the House of Representatives approved the impeachment articles. Votes fell mostly along party lines as the first article, abuse of power, passed 230 to 197, with two Democrats opposing the charge. The second charge of obstruction of Congress passed 229 to 198 when a third Democrat joined the opposition. Trump himself called the impeachment a "witch hunt" and "hoax" orchestrated by the media and Democrats (BBC 2019). The president also ranted about the impeachment on Twitter calling it an assault on America and the Republican Party (Fandos & Shear, 2019).

The impeachment trial began 16 January 2020 with the two articles being submitted to the Senate. There were no witnesses at the trial or documents being subpoenaed due to Republicans voting to reject Democrats' subpoenas for new evidence on 21 January (Fandos

2020). After several months of hearings and investigations into the matters of Donald Trump and Ukraine, on 5 February 2020 the voting in the U.S senate ended in the acquittal of both charges: article I with 48 votes in favor and 52 against and article II with 47 votes in favor and 53 against. The threshold of two-thirds needed for the conviction, meaning 67 “guilty” votes, was not met. Senator Mitt Romney was the only one to cross party lines declaring Trump guilty of abuse of power. Otherwise, the verdicts came down completely along party lines.

Because impeachment is a very rare occurrence in the political arena of the U.S, it is intriguing to look into the media coverage of the event. The two newspapers chosen for this study, *The New York Times* (NYT) and *The Wall Street Journal* (WSJ), are two of the most popular newspapers in the U.S that represent different political views. The aim of this study is to examine the representation of Donald Trump during the impeachment process in the two newspapers by using a corpus of 200 articles collected from these newspapers. The analysis focuses on news articles, leaving opinion articles out, to see if newspapers can maintain a neutral tone and not use emotional language when mentioning a controversial figure like Mr. Trump. The study focuses mainly on adjectives, as this word class describes or modifies the noun. To achieve the aim, the literature review focuses on the essence and connections of political discourse and media discourse, as well as corpus based study of discourse. An overview of news media in the United States is also provided. In the method section, the background information about both newspapers, data collection method and the Antconc toolkit, used for the corpus analysis, is presented. The conclusion summarizes the main findings of the analysis.

1. POLITICAL DISCOURSE AND MEDIA

1.1 The connection of politics and language

It is clear that politics has to do with language extensively as the processes and functions of politics include negotiations, speeches, debates and composing laws and statements. Chilton and Schäffner (2002) have explored politics as text and talk. This pragmatic approach is based on the assertion that political activity is highly connected to the use of language. There is also potential for physical coercion, but politics is mainly established through language (Chilton & Schäffner 2002). Pelinka (2007: 129) also agrees with the inseparable relationship of language and politics as she states that “language must be seen (and analyzed) as a political phenomenon”. Language is a vital part of all social activities, but politics can be considered the one field where the objectives are achieved while leaning on language the most (Romagnuolo 2009). Murray Edelman’s (1988) approach to language and politics considers creating meaning as a crucial part of political practice and formation of ideas about leaders, events and different problems.

The most evident definition of political discourse, as reported by van Dijk (1998: 12) is the “text and talk of professional politicians and political institutions.” Politicians are people that are elected or appointed to work in the arena of politics. Politicians, however, are not the only actors, as from the viewpoint of discourse analysis, different recipients, like the public in political events, should also be taken into account (van Dijk, 1998). Media is also one participant in political discourse because it writes about different political events and thus also shapes political discourse and public attitudes.

Today the link between language and politics is discussed in the field called political discourse analysis (PDA). According to Dunmire (2012: 735) “PDA comprises inter-and

multi-disciplinary research that focuses on the linguistic and discursive dimensions of political text and talk and on the political nature of discursive practice.” PDA has to do with the comprehension of the nature and role of political discourse (Dunmire 2012: 736). PDA then tries to resolve and answer the important political questions and problems (van Dijk 1997). Political discourse can be seen as a way of maintaining power as well (Reyes 2011). Dunmire (2012: 737) also includes the notion of power in her elaboration on PDA, stating that PDA is concerned with “critiquing the role discourse plays in producing, maintaining, abusing, and resisting power in contemporary society.”

1.2 Language in newspapers

The media is intertwined with both language and politics. Political discourse is influenced by media discourse and the two also have common characteristics. When stressing the crucial part of political discourse, the recipients, van Dijk (1998) also points out the importance of the audiences when it comes to media discourse. Media discourse, as defined by Anne O’Keeffe (2011: 441) refers to “interactions that take place through a broadcast platform, whether spoken or written, in which the discourse is oriented to a non-present reader, listener or viewer.” Bednarek and Caple (2012) state that all the stages of news forming involve language, starting from all the gathered and used materials to the creation and evaluation of the news text. Language also plays a huge role in the competences that the mediators need to possess, such as interviewing and news writing (Bednarek and Caple 2012: 103).

Media has always affected politics and how certain events, sayings and processes are covered. Politicians do not have full control over how they are presented when it comes to newspaper coverage, as opposed to giving speeches and conducting their own electoral

campaigns, where the power of how they are perceived lies in their own hands. But the image that media paints of a politician is crucial in terms of their career and thus politicians try to use media to their advantage (Roskin et. al 2012). This, however, goes against the rules of unbiased journalism. The coverage of political events should ideally be as neutral as possible, meaning that no ideologies should be represented or preferred (editorials excluded). This is also the view journalists usually take, as the newspaper reports their collected facts without bias (Fowler 1991). It is important for the public to receive information that is not influenced by a certain viewpoint, so they could form their own conclusions and opinions and not be directed in some direction favorable to the mediator.

Fowler (1991) challenges the view that newspaper coverage is an unbiased portrayal of hard facts and argues that the social and political ground on which the news are formulated affect the outcome. He points out that representation in the media is a constructive process. Concepts and events are not mediated completely neutrally, as social circumstances affect the outcome. The structure of news texts also represents certain values and views. Representation carries within itself a specific ideological point of view because it cannot be completely separated from the views of writers or editors (Fowler 1991:25).

In the book *Language and Control* by Fowler et. al (1979), the idea of ‘critical linguistics’ (CL) was coined. Fowler (1991: 67) revises their idea and states that “critical linguistics seeks, by studying the minute details of linguistic structure in the light of social and historical situation of the text, to display to consciousness the patterns of belief and value which are encoded in the language.” The authors also took the viewpoint that all aspects of linguistic structure, be they syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, lexical or textual, have an ideological connotation (Fowler et. al 1979). What CL does is it “assists critical readers to identify patterns within language which legitimate or naturalize the dominant social order”

(Conboy 2007: 24). This means CL puts emphasis on the way news media uses language in order to enact power. CL recognizes language as one of the predominant devices when conducting critical analysis as it reveals “dominant structures of belief within a society” (Conboy 2007: 24).

Wodak (2011) states that critical linguistics and critical discourse analysis (CDA) are used in the same sense, as they frequently exist in similar context. Today, the phrase CDA is preferred and used more frequently as opposed to CL. Fairclough & Wodak (1997: 258) state that discourse, in the light of CDA, is a social practice and that describing it that way “implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation(s), institution(s) and social structures(s) which frame it”. It is also important to notice that CDA has never been focused on one particular methodology and one single theory but rather versatile methodologies and data are used (Wodak 2011).

Some studies using CDA of the NYT and the WSJ have been done before. Izadi and Saghaye-Biria (2007) conducted a discourse analysis of elite American newspaper editorials concerning Iran’s nuclear program. Two of the three elite media outlets they incorporated were the NYT and the WSJ. Shojaei and Lahegi (2012) used CDA when looking into political ideology and control factors in news translation, with one of their sources being the WSJ and Pyles and Svistova (2015) examined Haiti earthquake recovery in the NYT articles, through CDA.

Dunmire (2012) states that CDA research is often based on the Hallidayan approach. When explaining linguistic tools, Fowler (1991: 68) uses Halliday functional model, as it is “the best model for examining the connections between linguistic structure and social values.” Halliday focuses his approach largely on function. He suggests that language has three functions: ‘ideational’, ‘interpersonal’ and ‘textual’ (Halliday 1971). Through the ideational

function “the speaker or writer embodies in language his experience of the phenomena of the real world” (as cited by Fowler 1991: 68). The interpersonal function has to do with the speaker’s usage of language: his attitudes, comments, evaluations. Through the textual function “language makes links with itself and with the situation; and discourse becomes possible, because the speaker or writer can produce a text and the listener or reader can recognize one.” (as cited by Fowler 1991: 68)

Fowler (1991) introduces concepts that are particularly essential in the study of media. Transitivity in discourse analysis has a different meaning than in traditional grammar, where it refers to transitive or intransitive verbs, with the distinction illustrating whether a verb takes an object or not (Fowler 1991). This distinction, however, “oversimplifies or neglects some important differences of *meaning* between various types of clause.” (Fowler 1991:71). This means leaving out occasions where no action takes place, but a physical state or mental process is described (e.g. Jane is tall and Peter meditates) (Fowler 1991). Nevertheless, transitivity does not only concern verbs as there are three elements in transitivity: participant, predicate and circumstance. Fowler describes in detail all the different variants of the elements. For this study it is notable to mention a kind of predicate that is the distinction of verbs, or more often, adjectives, that can be referred to as states meaning they “imply no change or development” (Fowler 1991:73). Actions, states and processes can be material (e.g. verb *secure* and adjective *radioactive*) but also mental (e.g. verb *dream* and adjective *tough*). (Fowler 1991)

Lexis is also an important factor of ideational structure. When it comes to lexical structure, Fowler (1991) distinguishes between reference and sense. Reference in his words is “a relationship between a word or phrase and some aspect of the material or mental world” (Fowler 1991:81). An example of reference is the relationship between the word dog and a

certain canine (Fowler 1991). Sense is defined as “a relationship between words rather than a relationship between words and the world”. When analyzing discourse, it is also important to observe what distinct terms commonly appear in order to see which register characterizes the discourse. (Fowler 1991:81)

He also describes interpersonal elements: modality and speech acts. Fowler (1991:85) states that “modality can informally be regarded as ‘comment’ or ‘attitude’” and precedes to bring out four distinguishable types of comment: truth, obligation, permission and desirability. The tool called speech act is defined as “a form of words which, is spoken or written in appropriate conditions, under appropriate conventions, actually constitutes the performance of an action.” (Fowler 1991:88). Examples of this device include statements like *the ship is named* and *Peter and Jane are thereby married* (Fowler 1991).

Language is a tool of political persuasion and the analysis of political discourse and critical analysis of discourse try to explore power through language. Until now, research in this field has been predominantly qualitative, but there is a growing interest in how the knowledge of CDA could be applied to quantitative methods. This is what the present thesis also sets out to do.

1.3 News media in the United States

Although newspapers are more available than ever due to technological developments, fewer Americans are now interested in newspapers, as less than one third read them regularly. The newspaper landscape has also changed greatly. In 1919, 2600 daily newspapers existed and only half of these newspapers have survived today. In the 1960s, about 80% of Americans read newspapers, now the percent is lower than 35. Younger people prefer Web sites and blogs, having disregarded newspapers (Roskin et. al 2012).

The ownership of U.S media outlets today can be considered an oligopoly as a small number of big corporations dominate the market, for example News Corporation owning the *Wall Street Journal*, *New York Post*, *London Times*, DirecTV (Roskin et. al 2012). Some media critics consider it to be problematic because it might contribute to information turning dull and unvaried. Others, however, feel that with the Internet offering us countless sources, there is still sufficient amount of diversity (Roskin et. al 2012).

Chomsky (1997) talks about the notion of elite media or agenda-setting media that “sets a framework within which others operate”. The NYT and the WSJ are examples of elite media because they are read by a relatively small proportion of the U.S population, but are very influential. These publications are read by decision makers in Washington, opinion leaders and typically more educated people (Chomsky 1997). Their focus lies in news about politics, economics, and overseas matters (Conboy 2007).

The political news in the United States are on one side concerned with the race between two political ideologies and on the other side with the friction between Congress and the president (Schroeder 2018: 32). Roskin et. al (2012: 168) also point out that the U.S media is very selective, meaning that some areas are left undiscovered and others are always in the center of attention. One example is the presidency that gets the most coverage when it comes to the federal government, compared to the Congress (Schroeder 2018).

2. CORPUS BASED STUDY OF DISCOURSE

Sanderson (2008) demonstrates that corpus linguistics has not been very keen on discourse analysis before, focusing rather on lexicology and morphology. The situation is similar the other way around as discourse analysis prefers “introspection, elicitation and the unsystematic collection of anecdotal evidence” over corpora (Sanderson 2008: 59). Although corpus study and discourse are not a traditional pairing, it is nothing new. The supporters of corpus approaches to discourse analysis bring out that the findings through corpus analysis are probably more reliable than qualitative analysis, as a bigger dataset is used and the possibility to cherry-pick the data to prove a predetermined point is eliminated (Widdowson 2000, 2004). Corpus results also suggest findings based on frequency trends thus helping to discover more common and less dominant discourses (Baker & Levon 2015). This enables researchers to make different conclusions on why some language structures are more popular in a certain text corpus.

Studies combining CDA and corpus linguistics suggest that it is possible that there exists an imbalance between the theoretical frameworks and methods usually connected to the mentioned practices. Baker et al. (2008: 275) note that “corpus-based studies may adopt a critical approach, but may not be explicitly informed by CDA theory and/or its traditional methods, or may not aim to contribute to a particular discourse-oriented theory.” Also “studies aiming to contribute to CDA may not be readily identifiable by corpus linguists as being corpus-based/driven” (Baker et al. 2008: 275). They also state that corpus based studies of CDA often favor applying concordance analysis not quantitative analysis (Baker et al. 2008).

Studies using the pairing of corpora and discourse have gained popularity due to the rise and development of technology in the past decade. One late example of a corpus-based study of discourse was published by Rebechi (2019), dealing with the impeachment votes of

Brazil's former president Dilma Rousseff. In the study, she explored the speeches of 513 deputies, who during the open-mic session used the opportunity to comment on their decision to vote against or for the impeachment. She investigated different keywords in the statements to see whether and to what degree the lexical choices varied. The findings showed that both pro- and anti-impeachment voters tended to use similar vocabulary when explaining their decisions.

Another interesting work connecting corpus and discourse is the study by Baker et. al (2008) that combines the critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics for the exploration of the discourses of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK press. Their 140-million-word-corpus consisted of British news articles about refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants and migrants. The findings illustrated how collocation and concordance analysis made it possible to identify categories of representation of the mentioned groups of people.

In his study of US news media discourses about North Korea, Kim (2014), pointed out that “a quantitative, corpus-based approach is most illuminating for describing collocational and other recurrent patterns associated with specific lexical items across an entire corpus, while a qualitative, critical discourse analysis approach is best suited for scrutinizing specific stretches of text at various levels” (Kim 2014: 221). It can be said that when using corpus for discourse analysis, the quantitative and qualitative approaches are somewhat connected and intertwined.

These are just a few examples of how and what has been done in the field of corpus-based study of discourse that show the different aspects of language that corpus analysis enables to investigate. Similarly to this study, the articles mentioned in this section integrated political or media discourses with corpus-based analysis. However, because of limitations of space, this present thesis will not complement corpus analysis with a qualitative analysis.

3. METHOD

3.1 Principles of corpus creation

The corpus consists of 200 news articles from *The New York Times* and *The Wall Street Journal*, 100 from each. The period of time chosen was 10 December 2019-5 February 2020 in both newspapers. This was the most significant time period of the impeachment process: on December 10, Democrats unveiled the articles of impeachment and on 5 February, Mr. Trump was acquitted of the charges and the impeachment process ended. The search phrase, which was used, was ‘impeachment of Trump’. A total of 69 journalists contributed to the 200 articles used in the corpus, with 39 journalists in the NYT and 30 in the WSJ. The average length of the chosen articles in the NYT was 1447 words and in the WSJ it was 1043 words, meaning that the articles in the WSJ sub-corpus were shorter.

The choice of these two newspapers was made due to their popularity as well as their different perspectives. In the ranking of the most popular daily newspapers in the U.S as of 2019, the WSJ stands in second place with the circulation of 1,011,200 and the NYT in third place with its circulation of 483,701 (Cision 2019). Concerning their political views, the NYT tends to be more liberal. This is illustrated for example by the discovery of Puglisi (2011), who, based on a dataset of news articles of the NYT from 1946 to 1997, indicated that during presidential campaigns, the NYT focused more on the topics that the Democratic party represents, like civil rights and social welfare. The WSJ, on the other hand, is more conservative, which is revealed especially in its editorials (Vetter 2006). This study focuses on the online versions of newspapers as they are more widespread and easily accessible. Print articles might have differences when comparing to online articles, but these differences are not analyzed.

The writing style of the NYT relies on a book called "The New York Times manual of Style and Usage" published for the first time in 1895. In the stylebook are rules that, as Tumin (2018) puts it, indicate "renderings, syntax and abbreviations" bringing out examples like Gov. vs. Governor, the Oxford comma and capitalization of words for headlines. The goal is to make the paper easily readable. The writers and editors of the WSJ rely on "The Wall Street Journal Guide to Business Style and Usage" with the focus of the manual being on business writing.

As the study focuses on the online versions of the articles, it is also important to note if there exist differences between the consumption of articles if they are read on paper or online. A study by D'Haenens et al. (2004) revealed that there appeared no substantial differences between reader attention when it comes to print and online versions of newspapers. They found that the print version readers read more but did not discover any reading patterns (D'Haenens 2004). The consumption of news had rather more to do with the news category, interest in a certain issue and the gender of the reader. However, when it comes to agenda setting, Althaus & Tewksbury (2002) found out that print and online readers set their agendas differently, meaning they obtained different perceptions of the importance of certain political affairs. They used data from an experiment where people either read the print version or the online version of the NYT or did not obtain distinctive exposure of the newspaper, during one week. Results revealed that online news media contributes more to individual control over news and thus results in online readers developing different perceptions and different focus points than readers of paper newspapers (Althaus & Tewksbury 2002).

The NYT was founded in 1851 by The New York Company. The newspaper has never been number one as of circulation, but its greatness lies in the editorials (Encyclopedia Britannica 2020b). The NYT has become a respected newspaper across the world, ranking

18th in terms of world circulation (WorldAtlas 2017). The newspaper launched their online version in 1995. Struggling with their role in the age of free Internet, the NYT restricted the availability of free articles with its new membership plan in 2011 (Encyclopedia Britannica 2020b). The NYT gets almost two thirds of its income from digital subscriptions (Phys 2018). The NYT also has a Replica Edition that provides the print version of the newspaper online.

In the NYT it was possible to narrow down the search by adding specific dates, choosing a section and type of text. The mentioned time period of 10 December 2019-05 February 2020 was set and the section U.S was chosen amongst the ten sections (Business, Opinion, World etc.) available. The chosen type was ‘article’, leaving videos and interactive graphics out. Narrowing down the article types, sections and date range, the search result was 490 articles. Without any filters, the number of articles that came up using the search phrase was 11,592.

The WSJ is also a New York newspaper founded by Dow Jones & Company in 1889. In 2007, News Corporation acquired Dow Jones & Company. The WSJ’s main focus is on business related news (Encyclopedia Britannica 2020c). The paper is published six days a week. In 1996, the newspaper launched its online version as an addition to the print edition. The online newspaper has always been subscription based. As of 2018, The WSJ had 1.58 million digital subscriptions, occupying the second place behind the NYT’ 3 million subscribers (Phys 2018).

In the advanced search of the WSJ, it was possible to choose the source of the text, date range and insert the author name as well as subjects/regions/keywords. The date range and one source, WSJ Articles, out of eight sources were selected. Other possibilities of specification were not used. It was not possible to rule out opinion articles like it was in the NYT, meaning the number of articles found also included opinion articles. For the corpus only

articles under the section politics were chosen. With the mentioned specifications implemented, a total of 317 articles came up. Removing all the filters, 1247 articles were found. Articles were arranged by relevance, meaning the most relevant articles on the topic of Donald Trump's impeachment, came up first. This arrangement was done in the search function of the NYT as well as in the WSJ. All the articles were manually downloaded in full length from the homepages of the newspapers. All the articles were made accessible thanks to the full digital subscription of both newspapers.

It is hard to define what relevance in both of the papers exactly means and by what merits the articles are sorted when choosing this option. Even when choosing the relevance sequencing in the NYT as well as the WSJ, some articles popped up that only included the word 'impeachment' once. This is why it is not possible to make any assumptions on whether the articles are sorted by how many times the key word appears in the text or how many times the article has been viewed when choosing relevance. That meant manually choosing articles that talked about the impeachment process and not anything else, otherwise the results would not have been as accurate.

3.2 Method of analysis

The aim of this study is to examine and compare the representation of Donald Trump during the impeachment process in two different American newspapers by using a corpus of 200 articles collected from the NYT and the WSJ. For the corpus analysis a freeware toolkit called AntConc was used. The program was created by Professor Laurence Anthony and is a convenient tool for smaller text corpuses (KoGloss 2012). AntConc only accepts text files, meaning that PDF files had to be converted manually into text files. All the PDF files included links to the specific article in all of the pages. The links had to be removed manually, in order

to reduce unnecessary repetition of the word 'Trump'. That is why all the articles were downloaded in the Google Drive environment, where they were firstly converted into Word files. Word format enabled the removal of the links. The final step was converting the Word files into text files. Because of it being a time-consuming process, the analysis was limited to 200 articles. The articles were then inserted in the AntConc toolkit by newspaper. The search words "Trump" and "president" were used and concordance lines were formed by the concordancer of the program. Mcenery & Hardie (2011: 35) state that

A concordancer allows us to search a corpus and retrieve from it a specific sequence of characters of any length - perhaps a word, part of a word, or a phrase. This is then displayed, typically in one-example-per-line format, as an output where the context before and after each example can be clearly seen.

There are seven features in the AntConc toolkit that enable the users to analyze different aspects of the corpus: concordance, concordance plot, file view, clusters/n-grams, collocates, word list, and keyword list. The concordance feature shows concordance lines, enabling the user to choose if they want to highlight the words before or after the search word. The concordance plot tool shows how many times the search term appeared in each file. The feature of file view enables the users to choose specific files to see the search word in the context of the whole text, in this case showing the whole article with highlighted search words and the total hits of the term in this particular article. The clusters/n-grams tool has two functions. The clusters tool enables to search for a word or a pattern in a corpus and group the results together with the words being directly on the right or left from the search word. The n-grams feature scans the corpus for n-word clusters (for example two word clusters). The tool called collocates allows the users to search for words that appear in close connection with the search term. The word list feature ranks the most frequent words in the texts. The keyword list tool finds words in the corpus, which are unusually frequent when compared to the same

words in a reference corpus. The reference corpus is a general language corpus, for example the Brown University Standard Corpus of Present-Day American English. The last feature, word list, ranks the most frequent words in the texts. In this study, the following tools were used: concordance, concordance plot, file view, collocates and word list.

Raw and normalized frequencies were used when reporting results. As there existed a 40 000 word difference between the sub-corpus, normalized frequencies were used in order to compare the results. There exist two types of frequencies: raw or absolute and normalized or relative. Raw frequency consists of all the results of a certain word in a corpus. Normalized frequency shows how frequently a particular word occurs per x words of text (McEnery & Hardy 2011). The frequency counter in this study is normalized per 1,000 words. Normalized frequency (nf) is calculated according to the following equation (McEnery & Hardy 2011):

$$nf = (\text{number of examples of the word in the whole corpus} \div \text{size of corpus}) \times (\text{base of normalization})$$

The corpus of this study can be considered relatively small, as it consists of 249 095 words. Sinclair (2001: 11) states that a small corpus makes it possible to “be analysed manually or /.../ processed by the computer in a preliminary fashion.” Manual analysis is used when discovering adjectives preceding the keywords in this thesis. Adjectives are words that modify a noun or pronoun. According to Quirk et al. (1985: 417) “adjectives are attributive when they pre-modify the head of a noun phrase; likewise, they are predicative when they function as subject complement or object complement.” Only attributive adjectives were examined in this study.

4. FINDINGS

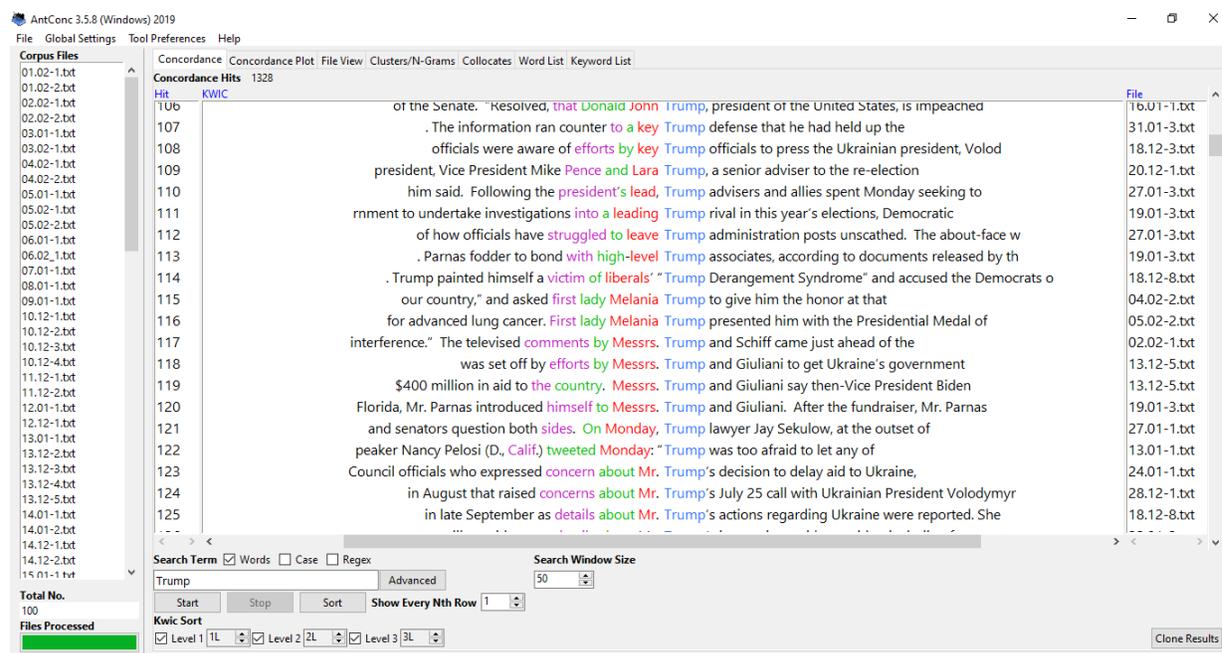
Firstly, the sub-corpus of 100 articles from the NYT was inserted into the Antconc toolkit. There were a total of 144 708 words in the corpus. A total of 1808 concordance hits appeared with the keyword ‘Trump’. The normalized frequency calculation thus was the following: $(1808 \div 144\,708) \times (1000) = 12.49$. The highest number of concordance hits in one article was 47. The article was published on 25 January 2020 consisting of 2258 words and was called “Tape Made Public of Trump Discussing Ukraine With Donors.” This article, however, was not the longest one in the corpus. On the word list feature that ranks the most frequent words in the texts, the keyword ‘Trump’ was in the tenth place. This can be considered a relatively high place, preceding the pronoun ‘he’ and nouns ‘president’ and ‘impeachment’. It is also the first noun in the frequency table.

In the WSJ corpus there were a total of 104 387 words and 1328 concordance hits with the keyword ‘Trump’. The normalized frequency calculation was the following: $(1328 \div 104\,387) \times (1000) = 12.72$. The difference between the number of words in the sub-corpora shows that the articles of the WSJ tend to be shorter compared to the NYT. Concordance plot revealed that the most keyword hits per article was 39. The article with the most hits called “House Votes to Impeach President Trump” consisted of 1748 words and was published on December 18, 2019. The word list feature revealed the word ‘Trump’ also being in tenth place based on frequency.

When examining the concordance lines, it was evident that the distinct lexical register of the texts was political. It was revealed by recurring words like ‘impeachment’, ‘Republicans’, ‘Democrats’, ‘president’, ‘senators’. These words have a strong technical application in the field of politics. Registers as such have a categorizing feature in discourse

analysis (Fowler 1991). Fowler (1991:84) also points out that vocabulary “makes detailed distinctions between classes of concept.” This kind of opposition is illustrated by the terms ‘Republicans’ and ‘Democrats’.

Figure 1. Screenshot of the concordance lines formed by the AntConc toolkit



To see how the two newspapers talked about Donald Trump, the adjectives that came up before the word ‘Trump’ were analyzed. The concordance lines are shown on Figure 1. The words before the search word ‘Trump’ (in blue) were sorted by levels: level 1 (in red), level 2 (in green) and level 3 (in pink). The level 1 words appeared in alphabetical order. At first the words of level 1, that is, the words right in front of Trump, were examined.

Figure 2. Most frequent words before keyword ‘Trump’

Level 1	New York Times	<i>nf</i>	Wall Street Journal	<i>nf</i>
Mr.	1364	754.42	927	698.04
President	263	145.46	156	117.47
the	62	34.29	66	49.70
Donald	13	7.19	15	11.30

The abbreviation ‘Mr.’ (Mister) was the main word occurring in front of the keyword ‘Trump’. Before the keyword, ‘Mr.’ appeared 1364 times out of the overall 1808 hits ($nf = 754.42$) in the NYT corpus and in the WSJ a total of 927 times out of 1328 hits ($nf = 698.04$). It is common and polite to refer to an office-holder by the abbreviation ‘Mr.’ In addition to names, ‘Mr.’ is also sometimes linked with different titles like Mr. President, Mr. Dean. The fact that the word ‘Mr.’ occurs so frequently shows us that the newspapers maintain a very polite tone when mentioning officials overall, as the abbreviation came up more than the word ‘Trump’ did. As the normalized frequency of the abbreviation ‘Mr.’ appearing in front of the keyword ‘Trump’ was comparatively similar in both newspapers, it can be said that the NYT and the WSJ both keep a polite tone.

Another word that appeared in front of the search word ‘Trump’ was ‘president’. This is another expected finding, as Donald Trump is the current president of the United States. ‘President’ came up 263 ($nf = 145.46$) times in the NYT and 156 times ($nf = 117.47$) in the WSJ. There is a reference relationship between the words ‘president’ and ‘Trump’. This means that although ‘Trump’ is not an inherent part of the meaning of the word ‘president’, the two are connected at the present moment. Trump’s first name Donald was used very rarely: 13 ($nf = 7.19$) times in the NYT and 15 ($nf = 11.30$) times in the WSJ.

Definite article ‘the’ was also one of the most popular hits before keyword ‘Trump’, with 62 hits ($nf = 34.29$) in the NYT and 66 ($nf = 49.70$) in the WSJ. The definite article is not generally used in front of proper nouns (names of places, people) (Quirk et al. 1985). In the cases occurring in the corpus texts, like the Trump administration, the Trump base, the Trump presidency, the Trump campaign etc., the word ‘Trump’ acts as a possessive adjective, showing whose administration or campaign is addressed. This illustrates that when Trump is

mentioned, not only the person himself, Donald Trump, is talked about.

The words ‘Mr.’, ‘President’, the and ‘Donald’ together made up 94% of all the words occurring right in front of the search word ‘Trump’ in the NYT and 88% in the WSJ. The majority of the words either showed title, politeness or a definite article. However, few adjectives also came up. In the NYT, the adjective ‘angry’ was used in two different articles. In an article published on December 19, the adjective ‘angry’ comes up in the title: “After Impeachment, an Angry Trump Looks to Voters for Vindication.” In another article published on January 16, the word ‘angry’ in front of Trump also appears in the title: “Angry Trump Says Focus Should Be on a Trade Deal, Not a ‘Hoax’.” From the start, the President was vocal about his feelings towards the impeachment process, labeling it corrupt and a ‘hoax’ in his emotional and often factually incorrect tweets (Qiu 2019). His comments revealed his anger towards the Democrats. Blom and Hansen (2014) point out that journalists use different techniques when writing headlines in order to catch readers’ attention, like stylistic and narrative devices, provoking and gossip-like content, with focus on scandal. The usage of the adjective ‘angry’ might then be concerned with catching the attention of readers, making them click on the article.

In a 29 December headline of a WSJ article, another emotional adjective comes up: “White House Counsel Drives Aggressive Trump Impeachment Defense.” ‘Aggressive’ is a word with a strong emotional connotation. Cambridge Dictionary (2020) defines aggressive as “behaving in an angry and violent way towards another person”. What is important to notice is that the adjectives ‘aggressive’ and ‘angry’ only appear in the headlines of these stories, verifying the fact that intriguing headlines are used to attract more readers. This fact was checked by inserting the adjectives in the concordance feature search term box, as this feature reveals how many times a word appears in the whole corpus.

An interesting pairing comes up in an 18 December NYT article, when adjective ‘vintage’ is mentioned when describing Trump. ‘Vintage’, in comparison to the adjective ‘angry’ symbolizing a mental state, represents a material state. Vintage Trump in the article is mentioned in the context of a rally speech Trump had delivered on the day of the impeachment decision: “The speech /.../ was vintage Trump, hitting on his favorite targets, like Lisa Page, the former F.B.I. lawyer, and James B. Comey, the former F.B.I. director” (Crowley et al. 2020: 3). This gives the notion that it is usual for Trump to slander certain individuals. When looking at the collocates feature, the most frequent pairings of words are ranked. ‘Angry’ was the second adjective to appear in collocation with ‘Trump’ with a ranking of 29 and ‘vintage’ being the third adjective with the ranking of 33.

In both of the newspapers, some adjectives that appeared in front of the keyword ‘Trump’ were not describing Donald Trump specifically or came up in the sayings of other people. Examples from the NYT and the WSJ include: ‘a *reliable* Trump ally’ (NYT), ‘*outspoken* Trump critic’ (NYT), ‘a *ferocious* Trump acolyte’ (NYT), ‘a *close* Trump ally’ (WSJ) and ‘*exponential* Trump’ (NYT).

In level 2 (second words before ‘Trump’), the variety of different words was greater. In the NYT, the adjective ‘angry’ came up in this level as well. The word appeared in the context of Trump signing the bill of sanctions on Russia, as he himself wanted to water down the sanctions but his party was against it. The gerund form ‘scowling’ before Mr. Trump, is also worth mentioning. ‘Scowling’ indicates to an angry and annoyed facial expression. It can be seen that angriness is associated with Trump repeatedly. When analyzing discourse, the political, social and historical context is of great importance (Baker et. al 2009). The reasons behind the notion of angriness could be connected to the emotion-packed way Donald Trump himself does politics. Trump can be considered as an example of a populist leader. The idea of

contemporary populisms can be considered as "discursively generating collective identities based on oppositions between 'the pure people' and 'the corrupt elite'" (Wahl-Jorgensen 2018: 767). Wahl-Jorgensen (2018: 766) coined an expression 'angry populism' that is also manifested by Trump and defined it as being "based on a rhetoric which seeks broad appeal through the deliberate expression of anger". Angry also comes up in the NYT articles before matters related to Trump, like his 'angry' tweets and 'angry' letter.

The adjective 'triumphant' was used to refer to Donald Trump after learning his acquittal was assured in the NYT. The word came up in the article itself but also in the title of the article, however, not being in front Mr. Trump. The 1 February article was called "While Stained in History, Trump Will Emerge From Trial Triumphant and Unshackled". An interesting approach can be seen in the heading that creates a contrast between negative word 'stained' and a negative prediction about Trump's reputation on the one hand and his triumph in the impeachment hearings on the other. This means emphasis is drawn to the fact that he was in fact impeached, as the heading starts with the negative side.

In a NYT article Trump is labeled 'deeply unpopular'. The article "Even From Half a World Away, Pelosi Keeps a Tight Grip on Impeachment" talked about the House speaker managing the impeachment process from the start. The word pairing is used when talking about the upcoming presidential elections, where members of both parties, Democrats and Republicans, seek presidency. However, the polls show at the time of the writing that the race between Donald Trump and the remaining Democratic nomination, Joe Biden, is quite even with the U.S being divided along partisan lines.

In the WSJ, the adjective 'improper' appeared. The word did not exactly describe Trump himself, but his actions. With levels 2 and 3 comes greater possibility of the words being endings of a previous sentence and that was the case with the adjective 'improper' as

well. In the article of 17 December, it was expressed that some Republicans also “found the president’s actions improper.” The adjective itself was used eight times in the whole sub-corpus of the WSJ, describing Trump’s behavior and his dealings with Ukraine. According to Cambridge Dictionary (2020), ‘improper’ is a formal word showing that someone has been dishonest and acted against a rule.

When it comes to level 3, the variety of the words was the largest and the most adjectives appeared when examining the words in the third place before keyword ‘Trump’ in comparison to other levels. However, these adjectives did not show anything particular about Trump because, as mentioned before, the words appeared rather in previous sentences, not in connection to the keyword ‘Trump’. In the WSJ there occurred adjectives about people’s feelings towards Trump’s candidacy (enthusiastic, uncomfortable). Some adjectives also came up in Trump’s tweets and statements from his lawyers. In the NYT examples like ‘voters *loyal* to Mr. Trump’, ‘a diplomat *disloyal* to Mr. Trump’ and ‘a conservative group *hostile* to Mr. Trump’ were among the most notable examples of adjectives in level 3. These adjectives show the contrast that exists between the supporters of Donald Trump and the people opposing the president.

When referring to Donald Trump, the title president frequently replaces the name. This is why a second keyword, ‘president’, was also examined. The search word ‘president’, revealed 1303 ($nf = 9.00$) concordance hits in the NYT. The highest number of concordance hits in one article in the NYT was 32. The article called “Trump’s Defense Team Calls Impeachment Charges ‘Brazen’ as Democrats Make Legal Case” consisted of 1606 words and was published on the day of Trump’s impeachment, 18 December 2019. In the WSJ, ‘president’ came up 959 ($nf = 9.19$) times. The highest number of keyword hits, 25, appeared in a 1676 word article called “GOP Senators Seek Quick Acquittal for Trump. The President

Wants More.” This keyword came up in every article in both newspapers, even though not being in the search term (impeachment of Trump) when looking up articles from the newspapers. Donald Trump, however, was not the only president mentioned in the corpus as Ukraine’s New President and former presidents of the U.S also occurred in the articles. When referring to any other presidents, the adjectives in front of them were excluded from the analysis.

Figure 3. Most frequent words before keyword ‘president’

Level 1	New York Times	<i>nf</i>	Wall Street Journal	<i>nf</i>
the	736	564.85	501	522.42
vice	63	48.35	80	83.42
a	64	49.12	31	32.33
of	49	37.61	42	43.80

The most frequent word occurring in front of the keyword ‘president’ was the definite article ‘the’, with 736 ($nf = 564.85$) hits in the NYT and 501 ($nf = 522.42$) hits in the WSJ. The word ‘vice’ is also among the most popular hits before the keyword ‘president’, with 63 hits ($nf = 48.35$) in the NYT and 80 hits ($nf = 83.42$) in the WSJ. The vice president is the second-highest officer in the U.S Government and it is natural that he is being referred to in this context, as he takes over the duties of the president when the latter is removed from the office. However, the articles mostly talk about the 47th vice president Joe Biden, who was at the center of the allegations against Donald Trump due to being his main Democratic rival in the U.S presidential elections of 2020.

The number of adjectives occurring before the keyword ‘president’, when comparing to the keyword ‘Trump’, was relatively the same. In the NYT and the WSJ, the adjective ‘corrupt’ occurred in level 1. At the beginning of the impeachment process Democratic House

Speaker Nancy Pelosi used the word ‘corrupt’ about the president when describing impeachment, referring to Trump as a president dishonestly using his position for personal gain. It can be said that this stand illustrated the general view of the Democratic Party. Even though this adjective appeared in the statement of another politician and not a journalist, it shows how in case of events like impeachment the statements and opinions of both sides have to be presented, no matter their ideological connotation. The phrase ‘out-of-control’ was also used by the Democrats when describing Trump with it appearing in both newspapers in front of the keyword ‘president’.

In a NYT article, published on the day Donald Trump was impeached and covering the rally, which Trump used to strike back, adjective ‘combative’ was used. It is said that the president painted a picture of himself as a “combative president standing unbowed” (Crowley et. al 2019). The adjective ‘combative’ refers to someone being ready to argue and its synonyms include word like ‘aggressive’, ‘belligerent’ and ‘argumentative’. This shows that once again, an adjective connected to features of a mental state of anger was used.

There were again adjectives that came up in the statements of others, like ‘successful president’ (NYT) and ‘tremendous president’ (NYT). With Trump being the present president, adjectives ‘current’ (NYT) and ‘sitting’ (NYT, WSJ) also appeared in front of the keyword ‘president’. A tweet of Donald Trump was also presented with him calling himself a ‘successful’ president.

Adjectives of level 2 and level 3 are presented in this section together. Most of the adjectives of these levels either described things related to the president or the impeachment process or appeared at the end of previous sentences, thus having no particular relationship with the keyword ‘president’. The adjective ‘aggressive’ again came up in the WSJ in level 3. It occurred in the context of the president wanting his team to be aggressive concerning the

impeachment processes. From the article it can be concluded that Trump and his team wanted to take aggressive action against the accusations, as the word pairing ‘aggressive defense’ came up in the same article as well. An adjective phrase ‘happy-go-lucky’ was used by the NYT when describing the impression Trump’s counselor Ms. Conway portrayed of him on the day of his impeachment. The article called “Key Moments: The Day the House Impeached Trump”, then directs attention to the contrast between this reportedly happy president and his angry tweets against Democrats. Some other examples of the use of adjectives in these levels include ‘unapologetic’ defense of president (NYT), ‘forceful’ rebuke of president (NYT), ‘historic’ trial of president (WSJ).

Figure 4. The total of adjectives in front of the keywords ‘Trump’ and ‘president’ according to levels

Keyword	Trump				president				
	Newspaper	NYT	<i>nf</i>	WSJ	<i>nf</i>	NYT	<i>nf</i>	WSJ	<i>nf</i>
LEVEL 1		20	11.06	7	5.27	21	16.12	7	7.30
LEVEL 2		18	9.96	15	11.30	8	6.14	5	5.21
LEVEL 3		38	21.02	29	21.84	36	27.63	21	21.90

Figure 4 illustrates the number of adjectives occurring in all the levels before the keywords ‘Trump’ and ‘president’ and their normalized frequencies. A total of 76 ($nf = 42.04$) adjectives in the NYT and 51 ($nf = 38.40$) in the WSJ appeared in front of the keyword ‘Trump’. Before the keyword ‘president’, 65 ($nf = 49.88$) adjectives in the NYT and 33 ($nf = 34.41$) adjectives in the WSJ came up. When looking at the normalized frequencies, no major differences in adjective usage between the NYT and the WSJ arise.

CONCLUSION

Politics and language are inseparable and their relationship essential as politics is mainly mediated through language. Political discourse, meaning the text and talk of politicians, also manifests itself in media discourse. Media is often the mediator between the people and politicians, thus shaping public views and opinions. That is why media coverage of political events is especially important. Discourse is mainly studied through qualitative methods, however, quantitative methods are also increasingly used when conducting discourse analysis and interest towards the opportunities that corpus-based analysis offers has grown.

The numbers of adjectives occurring in front of the keywords are relatively small considering not all the adjectives described Trump himself or occurred in the sentences with the keyword. Most adjectives appeared in the third level, but were rarely used to refer to Trump. This shows that when talking about Donald Trump during the impeachment period, both newspapers did not use many adjectives.

It can be concluded that quality newspapers, like NYT and WSJ, manage to keep a neutral tone when writing news articles about crucial political events, as Donald Trump was not slated and very few adjectives were used in front of the words 'Trump' and 'president'. The emotion that was mainly attributed to Trump was anger. Although he himself wanted to present himself as an unbowed and successful president, his ways of self-expression and emotions in his twitter feed and other statements revealed something else. Adjectives are used more frequently when describing the Trump administration, Trump base, Trump presidency and his tweets, critics and allies.

The findings of this study include some limitations. Firstly, the corpus of articles from the newspapers was limited. Further studies could add more articles to the corpus for more

reliable findings, as well as expand the time frame. Secondly, as the program used did not enable selecting particular adjectives and adjectives were looked at manually (which was possible due to the size of the corpus), another toolkit or already marked text could be used for further studies. Looking at other word classes or combining the corpus study with research using qualitative methods when analyzing the set of articles would be other possible options for further study.

REFERENCES

- Althaus, Scott L. and David Tewksbury. 2002. Agenda Setting and the “New” News: Patterns of Issue Importance Among Readers of the Paper and Online Versions of the New York Times. *Communication Research*, 29: 180, 180-207.
- Baker, Paul, Costas Gabrielatos, Majid Khosravini, Michal Krzyzanowski, Tony McEnery and Ruth Wodak. 2008. A useful methodological synergy? Combining critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics to examine discourses of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK press. *Discourse & Society*, 19: 3, 273–306.
- Baker, Paul and Erez Levon. 2015. Picking the right cherries? A comparison of corpus-based and qualitative analyses of news articles about masculinity: *Discourse & Communication*, 9: 2, 221-236.
- BBC. 2019. Trump impeachment: A very simple guide. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-39945744>, accessed April 15, 2020.
- BBC. 2020. Trump impeachment: the short, medium and long story. Available at <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-49800181>, accessed April 15, 2020.
- Bednarek, Monika and Helen Caple. 2012. *News Discourse*. London and New York: Continuum International Publishing Group.
- Blom, Jonas N. and Kenneth R. Hansen. 2015. Click bait: Forward-reference as lure in online news headlines. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 76, 87–100.
- Cambridge Dictionary. 2020. Available at <https://dictionary.cambridge.org/>, accessed May 15, 2020.
- Chilton, Paul and Christina Schäffner. 2002. *Politics as text and talk: analytic approaches to political discourse*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins Pub. Co.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1997. *What Makes Mainstream Media Mainstream*. Available at <https://chomsky.info/199710/>, accessed April 20, 2020.

Cision. 2019. *Top 10 U.S. Daily Newspapers*. Available at <https://www.cision.com/us/2019/01/top-ten-us-daily-newspapers/>, accessed April 19, 2020.

Conboy, Martin. 2007. *The Language of the News*. London: Routledge.

Crowley, Michael, Annie Karni and Maggie Haberman. 2019. Trump, Unbowed, Uses Rally to Strike Back Against Impeachment Vote. Available at <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/18/us/politics/Debbie-Dingell-husband.html>, accessed April 15, 2020.

D'Haenens, Leen, Nicholas Jankowski and Ard Heuvelman. 2004. News in online and print newspapers: differences in reader consumption and recall. *New Media & Society*, 6: 3, 363-382.

Dunmire, Patricia L. 2012. Political Discourse Analysis: Exploring the Language of Politics and the Politics of Language. *Language and Linguistics Compass*, 6: 11, 735–751.

Edelman, Murray. 1988. *Constructing the Political Spectacle*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Encyclopedia Britannica. 2020a. Impeachment. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/impeachment>, accessed April 2020.

Encyclopedia Britannica. 2020b. The New York Times. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/The-New-York-Times>, accessed April 2020.

Encyclopedia Britannica. 2020c. The Wall Street Journal. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/The-Wall-Street-Journal>, accessed April 2020.

Fairclough, Norman and Ruth Wodak (1997). Critical Discourse Analysis. In Teun A. van Dijk (ed). *Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction*, 2, 258–284. London: Sage.

- Fandos, Nicholas and Michael D. Shear. 2019. Trump Impeached for Abuse of Power and Obstruction of Congress. Available at <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/18/us/politics/trump-impeached.html>, accessed April 17, 2020.
- Fandos, Nicholas. 2020. Republicans Block Subpoenas for New Evidence as Impeachment Trial Begins. Available at <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/21/us/politics/senate-impeachment-republicans-democrats.html>, accessed April 14, 2020.
- Fowler, Roger. 1991. *Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the Press*. London: Routledge.
- Fowler, Roger, Bob Hodge, Gunther Kress and Tony Trew. 1979. *Language and Control*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Halliday, Michael A. K. 1971. Linguistic Function and Literary Style: an Inquiry Into the Language of William Golding's *The Inheritors*. *Literary Style: A Symposium*, 332-4.
- Izadi, Foad and Hakimeh Saghaye-Biria. 2007. A Discourse Analysis of Elite American Newspaper Editorials. The Case of Iran's Nuclear Program. *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, 31: 2, 140-165.
- Kim, Kyung H. 2014. Examining US news media discourses about North Korea: A corpus-based critical discourse analysis. *Discourse & Society*, 25: 2, 221-244.
- KoGloss. 2012. *KoGloss: collaborative corpus-based construction glossaries for foreign language learning in academia and advanced training*.
- McCarthy, Tom. 2020. Which other US presidents have been impeached? Available at <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2019/dec/18/trump-impeachment-history-andrew-johnson-bill-clinton-richard-nixon>, accessed May 12, 2020.
- McEnery, Tony and Andrew Hardie. 2011. *Corpus Linguistics: Method, Theory and Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Miaschi, John. 2017. The 10 Most Popular Daily Newspapers In The United States. Available at <https://www.worldatlas.com/articles/the-10-most-popular-daily-newspapers-in-the-united-states.html>, accessed April 2020.
- O’Keeffe, Anne. 2010. Media and discourse analysis. *The Routledge Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. London: Routledge, 441-454.
- Pelinka, Anton. 2007. Language as a political category: The viewpoint of political science. *Journal of Language and Politics*, 6: 1, 129–143.
- Phys. 2018. *NewsCorp sees higher profits as subscriptions rise*. Available at <https://phys.org/news/2018-11-newscorp-higher-profits-subscriptions.html>, accessed April 15, 2020.
- Puglisi, Riccardo. 2011. Being The New York Times: the Political Behaviour of a Newspaper. *The B.E Journal of Economic Analysis & Policy*, 11: 1, 1-32.
- Pyles, Loretta and Juliana Svistova. 2015. A Critical Discourse Analysis of Haiti Earthquake Recovery in New York Times Articles: Implications for Social Welfare Policies, Practices, and Education. *Critical Social Work*, 16: 1, 59-77.
- Qiu, Linda. 2019. After Acquittal, Trump Repeats Inaccurate Claims on Impeachment and Ukraine. Available at <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/06/us/politics/trump-fact-check.html>, accessed April 15, 2020.
- Quirk, Randolph, Sidney Greenbaum, Geoffrey Leech and Jan Svartvik. 1985. *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. London: Pearson Longman.
- Rebechi R., Rozane. 2019. God, Nation and Family in the impeachment votes of Brazil’s former President Dilma Rousseff: A corpus-based approach to discourse. *Journal of Corpora and Discourse Studies*, 2: 0, 144-174.
- Reyes, Antonio. 2011. Strategies of legitimization in political discourse: From words to actions. *Discourse & Society*, 22: 6, 781–807.

- Romagnuolo, Anna. 2009. Political discourse in translation: A corpus-based perspective on presidential inaugurals. *Translation and Interpreting Studies*, 4: 1, 1–30.
- Roskin, Michael G., Robert L. Cord, James A. Medeiros and Walter S. Jones. 2012. *Political science: an introduction (12th ed)*. Boston: Pearson Longman.
- Sanderson, Tamsin. 2008. *Corpus, Culture, Discourse*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.
- Savage, C. 2020. Barr Once Contradicted Trump's Claim That Abuse of Power Is Not Impeachable. *The New York Times*, 2.
- Schroeder, Ralph. 2018. *Social Theory after the Internet*. London: UCL Press.
- Shojaei, Amir, Fardin Laheghi. 2012. A Critical Discourse Analysis of Political Ideology and Control Factors in News Translation. *Theory and Practice in Language Studies*, 2: 12, 2535-2540.
- Tumin, Remy. 2018. The Elements of the Stylebook. Available at <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/22/insider/new-york-times-stylebook.html>, accessed May 17, 2020.
- United States Senate. 2020. The Impeachment of Andrew Johnson (1868) President of the United States. Available at https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/briefing/Impeachment_Johnson.htm, accessed April 2020.
- Van Dijk, Teun A. 1997. What is Political Discourse Analysis? In Jan Blommaert and Chris Bulcaen (eds). *Belgian Journal of Linguistics*, 11: 1, 11-52.
- Vetter, Richard. 2006. Wall Street Journal. In Bruce Frohnen and Jeremy Beer (eds). *American Conservatism: An Encyclopedia*, 898-899.
- Wahl-Jorgensen, Karin. 2018. Media coverage of shifting emotional regimes: Donald Trump's angry populism. *Media, Culture & Society*, 40: 5, 766-778.
- Widdowson, Henry G. 2000. On the limitations of linguistics applied. *Applied Linguistics* 21:

1, 3–25.

Widdowson, Henry G. 2004. *Text, Context, Pretext: Critical Issues in Discourse Analysis*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Wodak, Ruth. 2011. Critical Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis. In Jan Zienkowski, Jan-Ola Östman and Jef Verschueren (eds). *Discursive pragmatics*, 50-70. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

RESÜMEE

TARTU ÜLIKOOL
ANGLISTIKA OSAKOND

Liisa Piiskop

Corpus-based study of the representation of Donald Trump in two American newspapers during the impeachment period

Donald Trumpi ametist tagandamise menetluse kujundamine kahes Ameerika ajalehes: korpusepõhine uurimus

Bakalaureusetöö

2020

Lehekülgede arv: 39

Annotatsioon:

Donald Trump oli kolmas Ameerika president, kelle suhtes algatati ametist tagandamise menetlus 18. detsembril 2019. süüdistades teda võimu kuritarvitamises ja kongressi töö takistamises. Bakalaureusetöö eesmärk on uurida Donald Trumpi ametist tagandamise protsessi kujutamist kahes Ameerika Ühendriikide kõige hinnatumas ajalehes The New York Times ja The Wall Street Journal. Mõlemast ajalehest koguti 200 artiklist koosnev korpus. Artiklid sisestati Antconc tarkvarasse, mille abil viidi läbi korpuse analüüs, keskendudes kollokatsioonidele.

Sissejuhatuses käsitletakse tagandamise olemust ning selle ajalugu Ameerika Ühendriikides. Avatakse ka Trumpi tagandamise tausta. 1. peatükk keskendub poliitilise diskursuse ja kriitilise diskursuse analüüsi mõistete selgitamisele. Samuti kirjeldatakse Ameerika ajakirjandusmaastikku. 2. peatükis antakse ülevaade korpusepõhisest diskursuse analüüsist ning tuuakse välja eelnevaid uuringuid selles valdkonnas. 3. peatükis kirjeldatakse lähemalt korpuse olemust ning analüüsimeetodit. 4. peatükis viiakse läbi korpuse analüüs ning tuuakse välja tulemused. Kokkuvõttes esitatakse peamised järeldused ning antakse soovitusi edaspidisteks uuringuteks.

Analüüsist selgus, et mõlemad ajalehed hoidsid neutraalset tooni ega halvustanud Donald Trumpi. Peamiseks emotsiooniks, mis Trumpile omandati oli viha, mida saab seostada tema populistliku lähenemise ning emotsionaalsete eneseväljendusviisidega.

Märksõnad: meediadiskursus, poliitiline diskursus, korpusepõhine analüüs, Donald Trumpi ametist tagandamine

Lihtlitsents lõputöö reprodutseerimiseks ja lõputöö üldsusele kättesaadavaks tegemiseks

Mina, Liisa Piiskop

1. annan Tartu Ülikoolile tasuta loa (lihtlitsentsi) enda loodud teose Corpus-based study of the representation of Donald Trump in two American newspapers during the impeachment period,

mille juhendaja on Raili Marling,

1.1.reprodutseerimiseks säilitamise ja üldsusele kättesaadavaks tegemise eesmärgil, sealhulgas digitaalarhiivi DSpace-is lisamise eesmärgil kuni autoriõiguse kehtivuse tähtaja lõppemiseni;

1.2.üldsusele kättesaadavaks tegemiseks Tartu Ülikooli veebikeskkonna kaudu, sealhulgas digitaalarhiivi DSpace'i kaudu kuni autoriõiguse kehtivuse tähtaja lõppemiseni.

2. olen teadlik, et punktis 1 nimetatud õigused jäävad alles ka autorile.

3. kinnitan, et lihtlitsentsi andmisega ei rikuta teiste isikute intellektuaalomandi ega isikuandmete kaitse seadusest tulenevaid õigusi.

[allkiri]

Liisa Piiskop

Tartus, 26.05.2020

Autorsuse kinnitus

Kinnitan, et olen koostanud käesoleva bakalaureusetöö ise ning toonud korrektselt välja teiste autorite panuse. Töö on koostatud lähtudes Tartu Ülikooli maailma keelte ja kultuuride kolledži anglistika osakonna bakalaureusetöö nõuetest ning on kooskõlas heade akadeemiliste tavadega.

[Autori allkiri]

Liisa Piiskop

Tartus, 26.05.2020

Lõputöö on lubatud kaitsmisele.

[Juhendaja allkiri]

Raili Marling

Tartus, 26.05.2020