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Diachronic Analysis of Incongruent News Headlines: A Case Study of Inter-Korean Summits

Jin Hee Park

This article aims to examine the congruity between news headlines and full news stories and identify changes in the aboutness and style of incongruent news headlines over time. In so doing, it suggests a keyness approach to textual congruity. This case study makes use of the inter-Korean summit corpora, comprising news reports in *Chosun ilbo* and *Hankyoreh shinmun* in 2000, 2007, and 2018. The keyness analysis of aboutness reveals that news headlines highlighted individual newspaper's biased view of peace talks in a polarized manner, and discursive changes were more radically represented in the news headlines than the news stories. A stylistic analysis shows that individual newspapers utilize distinctive symbols to increase newsworthiness. Incongruent keywords detected by both aboutness and stylistic analyses indicate an obvious trend toward news headlines functioning as attention-getters despite the differences in communication with their readership. This study demonstrates that a keyness analysis can be applied to measure congruity between texts and that keyword analyses of aboutness and style produce complementary research findings.

Keywords: news headlines, (in)congruity, keyness, stylistic analysis, diachronic study, inter-Korean summit

Introduction

This study aims to examine textual congruity between news headlines and articles and changes in the aboutness and style of news headlines in South

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Korean newspapers. In so doing, it will suggest a novel method for measuring the congruity between news headlines and their full news stories. The present study makes use of existing inter-Korean summit corpora (henceforth IKS corpora) and compares the keyness¹ of news headlines and full-text news stories on IKSs in 2000, 2007, and 2018. The IKS was chosen as a case study because the peace talks are suited for a diachronic study, as it was held over a period of eighteen years. The political rapprochements between the two Koreas are considered newsworthy both domestically and internationally. In addition, news coverage of the summits provides a representative case of news reports as it encompasses both soft and hard news. Finally, the diachronic corpora of IKSs were already compiled and annotated for the study.

This study pays particular attention to news headlines due to their growing importance in communicating news. News headings are seen as a separate press (sub)genre thanks to their multifunctionality and distinctive writing style. Recent studies in journalism and media studies demonstrated newspaper headlines' considerable effect on the news-reading and sharing process.² In parallel, increased understanding of mis- or disinformation in journalism informs us that more news headlines deviate from their news stories. Incongruent newspaper headlines are investigated in the context of sensationalism or tabloidization, and newspapers' transition to online journalism is also believed to play a role in mushrooming misleading headlines. However, how incongruent newspaper headlines have changed over time is yet under-researched. In addition, a comprehensive analysis of both the congruity and alluring devices of news headlines has not been attempted.

In the following sections, previous research on headline incongruity and characteristic stylistic devices of misleading news headlines in South Korean newspapers will be reviewed. Then, the IKS corpora will be introduced, and the methodological approach as well as corpus tools employed in this study will be presented. Finally, the findings of keyness analyses in terms of aboutness and style will be discussed and conclusions provided.

Sensational News Heading and Headline Incongruity

Traditionally, sensationalism has been seen as an intrinsic feature of popular/tabloid newspapers, distinct from quality/broadsheet newspapers. In this view, sensational news headlines are flawed because, first and foremost, they do not provide an objective summary of their stories, and by so doing, they mislead or distract the reader. However, news headlines are an exceedingly

multifunctional text-type,³ as they function to summarize the story, attract the reader, maximize newsworthiness, and frame what they lead.⁴ In the context of media marketization, the transition to online journalism, and the emerging attention economy, it is unsurprising that news headlines that misrepresent their stories in order to gain a larger audience are also found in quality press.⁵

Nudged by a changing media landscape, recent studies in journalism and media studies paid particular attention to reader attraction or pragmatic function⁶ among the multifunctionality of news headlines. Zooming into the communication between the media (professionals) and the readership, Dor and Chovanec argue that sensational news headlines are reader-oriented devices to optimize the relevance of news stories for the readers and to encourage audience engagement by adding an interpersonal dimension.⁷ The non-prescriptive approaches shed light on the motivation of sensationalism and provide a better understanding of media communication. In addition, it gives a valuable insight into individual newspapers' diverse applications of stylistic and narrative devices, so-called house styles. As different (types of) newspapers serve different communities of readers, technical devices which enact an imagined community of readers can vary across newspapers, and individual newspapers may have distinctive patterns in utilizing such devices when writing news headlines. However, how different newspapers employ pragmatic devices remains under-researched.

It is widely accepted that news headlines trend toward attention-getters. Previous studies on alluring news headlines identified that headlines employ various stylistic and narrative devices to lure the readers' click⁸ and/or to increase the news value of the news item⁹ based on how they attempt to capture audience attention. Excessive emphasis on the pragmatic or communicative function facilitates mushrooming sensational and clickbait headings as well as loosening the relationship between news headlines and news stories.¹⁰ Incongruent headlines are viewed as being not only detrimental for information processing,¹¹ but also mis- or disinforming the reader of more fragmented and polarized views than the news stories.¹² Furthermore, headline incongruity is likely to be undetected by those who do not read beyond headlines.

Attempts have been made to detect misleading headlines automatically¹³ and to uncover the effect of incongruent headlines on a reader's information processing.¹⁴ However, the literature examining how headline incongruity has changed diachronically is rather sparse. In addition, recent empirical findings on headline incongruity are far from conclusive. Haider and Hussein found that a qualitative analysis of news headlines is

compatible with a corpus analysis of news stories,¹⁵ whereas Andrew uncovered that the emphasis and issue salience in news headings are considerably different from news articles.¹⁶ Therefore, this study sets out to examine the relationship between news headlines and news stories¹⁷ and aims to provide a novel approach to textual congruity between them. The current study seeks to answer the following questions: How congruent are news headlines with their full-text news stories? How has the congruity between news headings and articles changed over time? Finally, what salient linguistic patterns and devices have emerged in misleading headlines?

News Headlines in South Korean Newspapers

Existing studies on news headlines in South Korean newspapers are not interested in the distinction between popular newspapers and quality newspapers because so-called tabloid newspapers are not widely circulated in the country. According to the annual media audience report published by the Korea Press Foundation,¹⁸ the top ten newspapers by circulation in South Korea include only one entertainment newspaper, Sports *Chosun*, which is a subsidiary of *Chosun ilbo*, a quality newspaper. Furthermore, circulation figures show that the South Korean newspaper market is highly concentrated by three major newspapers, all of which are conservative quality presses: *Chosun ilbo*, *Joongang ilbo*, and *Dong-a ilbo*.

Previous literature examining the generic style of news headlines in South Korean newspapers identified the salience of quotations,¹⁹ symbols,²⁰ and ideophones,²¹ on top of the universal telegraph style. Empirical studies pointed to the excessive use of quotations in South Korean news headlines in comparison to the news media in the United States²² and criticized that Korean newspapers actively exploit anonymous direct quotations to inscribe their political inclinations. However, the emphatic use of quotation marks was not considered when investigating news headlines with direct quotations, so it remains unexplained why about 60% of direct quotations in news headlines do not have corresponding texts in the main stories.²³ It has been speculated that prevailing sensationalism facilitates the prevalence of quotations, but it does not explain why direct quotation is particularly favored in South Korean newspapers. In addition, the frequent use of quotation marks should be discussed in the context of the salience of symbols, which is another distinctive feature of South Korean news headlines.²⁴

Despite the marginal circulation of popular press, the distinction between semantic/informative and pragmatic/communicative functions

has been widely applied to research on South Korean news headlines. Jeong, Go et al., and Lee examined news headlines in quality newspapers and identified linguistic characteristics frequently employed in pragmatic headlines, such as neologism, colloquialism, adjunct, quotation, question, ellipsis, metaphor, and so on.²⁵ The limitations of this approach are that it looks only at the style of headlines, so the congruity of headlines remains uncovered, and changes in news headlines have not been explored. Therefore, this study attempts to fill the current knowledge gaps through a diachronic analysis of news headlines as well as a comparative analysis between two major newspapers, both online²⁶ and offline,²⁷ in South Korea, *Chosun ilbo* and *Hankyoreh shinmun*. News outlets in South Korea are seen to mirror the conservative versus liberal politics of the society,²⁸ and *Chosun ilbo* and *Hankyoreh shinmun* are the most frequently studied newspapers as conservative and liberal press representatives. By examining the two ideologically conflicting newspapers, this study aims to uncover different practices in making headlines. To accommodate the extended research objectives, the research questions raised in the previous section are revised: How congruent are news headlines with their full stories? How has the congruity between news headings and articles, and the style of news headlines, changed over time? Finally, how salient are quotations and symbols in misleading headlines, and how do their saliencies differ across newspapers?

Data and Methodology

The present study analyzes the IKS corpora comprising news reports on the peace talks that appeared in *Chosun ilbo* and *Hankyoreh shinmun* during each meeting (June 13–15, 2000, October 2–4, 2007, and April 27, May 26,²⁹ and September 18–20, 2018). The corpora were built and annotated in order to examine the discursive construction of IKSs in the South Korean media.³⁰ It is diachronic corpora of news articles encompassing both soft and hard news of the pivotal moments in the two Koreas' relations. The IKS corpora consist of two sub-corpora of *Chosun ilbo* (106,304 tokens) and *Hankyoreh shinmun* (201,449 tokens), each of which includes sub-corpora of headlines³¹ and articles. The breakdown for sub-corpora is shown in Table 1.

Table 1 shows that news headlines in South Korean newspapers have lengthened over time, and the proportion between headline and article has correspondingly increased. An interesting result of the quantitative comparison presented below is that the headlines in the conservative-leaning

Table 1. IKS Corpora Statistics

		2000 Summit	2007 Summit	2018 Summit	Total
<i>Chosun ilbo</i>	Word tokens of headlines	332	1,017	3,858	5,207
	Word tokens of articles	12,709	20,485	67,903	101,097
	Headlines/articles word ratio (%)	2.6	5	5.7	5.2
<i>Hankyoreh shinmun</i>	Word tokens of headlines	981	2,070	4,360	7,411
	Word tokens of articles	27,050	65,208	101,780	194,038
	Headlines/articles word ratio (%)	3.6	3.2	4.3	3.8

Chosun ilbo became extensive, although the newspaper has given less coverage of the summits in comparison to a liberal newspaper, *Hankyoreh shinmun*. We will revisit this finding when discussing keyness analysis of *Chosun ilbo* in the following section.

The present study suggests a keyness approach to news headlines. Keyness analysis identifies salient words and/or patterns in the subject corpus in comparison with the reference corpus, which serves as a larger and more general language sample. Keywords that are more frequently used in the subject corpus compared to the reference corpus are considered starting points to investigate the aboutness and style of a text in keyness studies.³² The study compared the word frequencies of the headline and IKS corpora with the reference corpus, respectively. Subsequently, concordance lines of each keyword were examined to identify recurring themes in the texts, and the keywords were categorized into thematic groups. Finally, the mixed-methods analyses of the headline and IKS corpora were compared to assess congruity between them. In addition, to uncover changes and differences in salient stylistic devices appearing in news headlines and to test the compatibility and complementarity of the results obtained through the keyness approach to congruity with the keyness analysis of style, the frequency of punctuation marks was compared between the headline corpora and the reference corpus, as well as between the IKS corpus and the reference corpus. A concordance analysis of prominent punctuation marks was also conducted.

Keyness analysis is quantitative because keyness is determined by calculating statistical significance in comparison to a reference corpus. However, the examination of keywords in text is context-informed and qualitative. The mixed approach, widely adopted within corpus-assisted

discourse studies, is seen to enhance the completeness of research by complementing and overcoming methodological limitations,³³ and has been applied to analyzing the media representations of refugees,³⁴ social movements,³⁵ natural disasters,³⁶ pollution,³⁷ and the COVID-19 pandemic³⁸ to uncover the cumulative effect of media power. However, despite its advantages, the combined approach to news headlines has not yet been attempted. Therefore, this study aims to compare the keyness of news headlines and their matching full-text news stories to measure the congruity between them and identify salient stylistic patterns that emerge in headlines to shed light on the distinctive practices of individual news outlets.

The study employed the KeyWord function of *WordSmith Tools*, version 8,³⁹ to compute keyword lists using the *Trends 21* corpus as reference texts. The *Trends 21* corpus comprises news articles in four major newspapers in South Korea: *Chosun ilbo*, *Joongang ilbo*, *Dong-a ilbo*, and *Hankyoreh shinmun*, during the period from 2001 to 2013, with more than 600 million words.⁴⁰ The keyness value was calculated using the Log Ratio metric, which compares normalized frequencies of words in the subject corpora and reference corpus.⁴¹ I set the KeyWord function to derive lists of keywords with Log Ratio values of 2.5 or above. A Log Ratio value of 2.5 indicates that the normalized word frequency in the IKS sub-corpus is around 5.7 times higher than the *Trends 21* corpus. To filter out keywords with low significance values, a threshold of a Bayesian information criterion (BIC) score greater than or equal to 2 with a cutoff *p*-value of 0.01 was set.⁴² Finally, a dispersion threshold of a minimum of 0.4 ($D > 0.4$) enabled exclusion of certain words that appeared frequently only in a small number of texts.⁴³

The IKS corpora were grammatically annotated according to the *Sejong* part-of-speech (PoS) tags modified for the *Trends 21* corpus (<http://corpus.korea.ac.kr/>). The PoS information tagging allowed identification of the different types of morphemes and counting of their frequencies. However, it does not provide sufficient information for a stylistic analysis of texts because the *Sejong* tags do not distinguish every punctuation mark. In addition, *WordSmith Tools* consider punctuation marks as structural delimiters, so the frequency data of punctuation marks cannot be obtained. Therefore, the study replaced selected punctuation marks⁴⁴ in both the study corpora and the word frequency list of the reference corpus with their corresponding Korean names, after identifying that the combinations of the Korean name of the punctuation mark and its designated PoS tag did not appear in the texts or the word list. The replacement allows the keyness analysis of the style of the news headlines. The replaced punctuation marks are listed as shown in [Table 2](#).

Table 2. Punctuation Mark Replacement

Punctuation Mark with PoS Tag	Names of Punctuation Mark in Korean with PoS Tag
.SF	<i>machimphyo</i> SF, ‘full stop’
,SP	<i>swimphyo</i> SP, ‘comma’
‘SS; ’SS	<i>cakunttaomphyo</i> SS, ‘single quotation mark’
“SS; ”SS	<i>khunttaomphyo</i> SS, ‘double quotation mark’
?SF	<i>mulumphyo</i> SF, ‘question mark’
!SF	<i>nukkimphyo</i> SF, ‘exclamation mark’

Findings and Discussion

Aboutness Analysis

This study compiled the keyword lists of news headline sub-corpora and full-text corpora using the *Trends 21* corpus as a reference corpus. Then only lexical items⁴⁵ in the keyword lists derived from the headline corpora were compared to those from the news stories. The comparison revealed that eight out of forty-eight keywords from *Chosun* and nine out of ninety-four from *Hankyoreh* headline corpora are absent in the keyword lists of the IKS corpora. Subsequently, concordance lines of both congruent and incongruent keywords were examined and compared between the headline and IKS corpora. The results of the comparative concordance analysis aligned with Park’s⁴⁶ thematic categorization established by keyness analysis of the IKS corpora, and this established categorization was applied. It is important to note that thematic grouping is determined by concordance analysis. Therefore, synonymous keywords, such as *pangpwuk*NNG, ‘visit to North Korea’ in the 2007 and 2018 sub-corpora, and *manna*VV, ‘meet’ in 2018, were respectively placed into [Travel to North or South Korea] and [Response and evaluations] groups because the contexts in which they appear differ. The thematic categorization is not only context-informed but also diachronically mirrored. Seemingly similar themes, for example, [Military conflict in the Western sea & Peace process] and [Denuclearization], emerging at different times and utilizing distinctive keywords, were set as separate themes to highlight the changes in meeting agendas across the corpora.

The results of navigating and comparing the corpora using a mixed methodology of quantitative keyness and qualitative concordance analysis are presented in [Tables 3](#) and [4](#). In the tables, keywords in headlines are

Table 3. Keywords in the Chosun Ilbo Headline Corpora Categorized into Thematic Groups

Category	C2000 Headline Corpus	C2007 Headline Corpus	C2018 Headline Corpus
Summit	<i>cengsanghoytam</i> NNG, ‘summit’ (13.41; 61.98)	<i>cengsanghoytam</i> NNG, ‘summit’ (11.47; 34.65)	<i>cengsanghoytam</i> NNG, ‘summit’ (12.72; 541.16); <i>hoytam</i> NNG, ‘talks’ (4.54; 57.98)
Two Koreas & their leaders		<i>cengsang</i> NNG, ‘head’ (5.94; 47.95)	<i>cengsang</i> NNG, ‘head’ (4.73; 62.32)
Travel to North or South Korea		<i>pangpuuk</i> NNG, ‘visit to North Korea’ (7.00; 2.20)	<i>pangpuuk</i> NNG, ‘visit to North Korea’ (5.82; 9.52); <i>tochak</i> NNG, ‘arrival’ (4.94; 8.55)
Ceremonies and protocol		<i>hwansong</i> NNG, ‘farewell’ (9.91; 2.52); <i>yengcep</i> NNG, ‘reception’ (10.07; 2.96)	<i>chamsek</i> NNG*, ‘attendance’ (3.95; 7.91); <i>cokwuk</i> NNG, ‘homeland’ (6.80; 16.28); <i>hwanyeng</i> NNG, ‘welcome’ (6.11; 24.50); <i>manchan</i> NNG, ‘banquet’ (7.41; 53.56); <i>noyo</i> NNG, ‘no-show’ (14.13; 14.09); <i>pangmuun</i> NNG*, ‘visit’ (3.64; 7.92); <i>paysek</i> NNG, ‘sitting with one’s superior’ (7.74; 5.24); <i>pyongyangnyemyen</i> NNG, ‘North Korean cold noodle dish’ (10.60; 4.41)
Inter-Korean exchange and cooperation	<i>cwuka</i> NNG, ‘stock price’ (6.03; 4.61); <i>eepeye</i> NNG, ‘fishing industry’ (19.55; 3.95); <i>silhyangmin</i> NNG, ‘dislocated people’ (12.00; 22.94); <i>sinkyenghyep</i> NNG, ‘new economic cooperation’ (20.07; 30.15)		

Continued on next page

Table 3. Continued

Category	C2000 Headline Corpus	C2007 Headline Corpus	C2018 Headline Corpus
Military conflict in the Western sea & Peace process		<i>phyenghwa</i> NNG, 'peace' (6.00; 29.80)	<i>kwunsa</i> NNG, 'military' (4.65; 10.72); <i>phyenghwa</i> NNG, 'peace' (4.07; 9.17)
Denuclearization			<i>cincen</i> NNG, 'progress' (6.68; 44.59); <i>enkeup</i> NNG, 'reference, mention' (5.10; 14.89); <i>pihayekhwa</i> NNG, 'denuclearization' (9.79; 418.94); <i>ujec</i> NNG, 'will' (4.32; 3.59); <i>wancen</i> NNG, 'complete' (5.36; 6.41)
Responses and evaluations	<i>phyoceng</i> NNG*, 'expression' (7.65; 4.87); <i>puwukphung</i> NNG*, 'the North wind (the influence of the North on the South)' (12.02; 8.36); <i>yakpal</i> NNG*, 'efficacious' (11.98; 8.24)	<i>cikse</i> NNG*, 'straight talk' (11.54; 7.04)	<i>hapup</i> NNG, 'agreement' (4.17; 21.80); <i>kimmilhi</i> MAG, 'closely' (7.98; 6.22); <i>kongtong</i> NNG, 'joint' (3.68; 18.10); <i>kwuchebyeck</i> NNG, 'detailed, concrete' (4.28; 7.31); <i>manma</i> VV*, 'to meet' (3.16; 5.06); <i>manmam</i> NNG, 'meeting' (5.43; 6.90); <i>onul</i> MAG, 'today' (6.68; 15.44); <i>senen</i> NNG, 'declaration' (5.84; 113.99); <i>tappang</i> NNG, 'return visit' (7.81; 14.38); <i>yeksacek</i> NNG, 'historic' (5.52; 13.19)
Media News value*			<i>oysin</i> NNG, 'foreign press' (6.04; 17.48) <i>cenmuun</i> NNG*, 'full-text' (3.44; 2.70); <i>sokpo</i> NNG, 'breaking news' (9.72; 116.68)

The Log Ratio (as an effect-size metric) values and BIC (as a statistical significance metric) scores are presented together in brackets.

Table 4. Keywords in the *Hankyoreh shinmun* Headline Corpora Categorized into Thematic Groups

Category	H2000 Headline Corpus	H2007 Headline Corpus	H2018 Headline Corpus
Summit	<i>cengsanghoytam</i> NNG, 'summit' (12.85; 137.09); <i>hoytam</i> NNG, 'talks' (6.16; 70.93)	<i>cengsanghoytam</i> NNG, 'summit' (12.77; 292.90); <i>hoytam</i> NNG, 'talks' (5.36; 72.19)	<i>cengsanghoytam</i> NNG, 'summit' (12.18; 395.45); <i>hoytam</i> NNG, 'talks' (4.84; 98.59)
Two Koreas & their leaders	<i>cengsang</i> NNG, 'head' (5.70; 32.51)	<i>cengsang</i> NNG, 'head' (5.26; 53.88); <i>namcok</i> NNG, 'the South' (6.49; 21.11);	<i>cengsang</i> NNG, 'head' (5.51; 177.85); <i>puukcok</i> NNG, 'the North' (5.35; 11.79)
Travel to North or South Korea		<i>pangpuuk</i> NNG, 'visit to North Korea' (6.71; 15.66); <i>puunkeyesen</i> NNG, 'The (Military) Demarcation Line' (9.63; 35.78)	<i>nemVV</i> *, 'cross' (3.36; 13.27); <i>pangpuuk</i> NNG, 'visit to North Korea' (5.64; 8.32); <i>puunkeyesen</i> NNG, 'The (Military) Demarcation Line' (9.04; 52.77); <i>tochuk</i> NNG, 'arrival' (4.77; 7.13)
Ceremonies and protocol		<i>hwanpyeng</i> NNG, 'welcome' (7.37; 53.07); <i>hwanpyengsik</i> NNG, 'welcoming ceremony' (11.28; 33.55); <i>kukcinhaVA</i> , 'to be very cordial' (10.28; 3.54); <i>sunhanyuqwen</i> NNG, 'attendant' (9.14; 11.04); <i>yengcep</i> NNG, 'reception' (11.22; 100.95)	<i>hwanpyeng</i> NNG, 'welcome' (6.29; 39.79); <i>inminpok</i> NNG, 'Mao suit' (11.49; 20.80); <i>kakha</i> NNG, 'excellency' (7.81; 5.55); <i>kesuikyenghyey</i> NNG, 'military salute' (10.32; 3.65); <i>kyengup</i> NNG, 'respect' (8.34; 7.75); <i>kyengmyen</i> NNG, (North Korean standard language) 'cold noodle dish' (13.33; 11.91); <i>manchan</i> NNG, 'banquet' (6.87; 31.81); <i>mitam</i> NNG, 'private talk' (10.82; 5.03); <i>mwukaycha</i> NNG, 'open car' (12.29;

Continued on next page

Table 4. *Continued*

Category	H2000 Headline Corpus	H2007 Headline Corpus	H2018 Headline Corpus
			9.07); <i>naengmyen</i> NNG, 'cold noodle dish' (8.05; 24.86); <i>nongtam</i> NNG, 'joke' (6.37; 6.45); <i>nosyo</i> NNG, 'no-show' (13.95; 13.60); <i>pangmyengnok</i> NNG, 'guest book' (8.89; 10.03); <i>pyongyangnaengmyen</i> NNG, 'North Korean cold noodle dish' (10.42; 3.92); <i>suubayngtan</i> NNG, 'attendant group' (13.55; 45.98); <i>tayhwa</i> NNG, 'conversation' (4.12; 13.48); <i>yengcep</i> NNG, 'reception' (9.56; 46.52); <i>yeypho</i> NNG, 'gun salute' (11.32; 6.40)
Inter-Korean exchange and cooperation	<i>inkongki</i> NNG, 'North Korean national flag' (10.43; 3.94); <i>isankacok</i> NNG, 'dispersed family' (7.90; 14.86); <i>kepyang</i> NNG, 'hoisting' (10.17; 3.22); <i>kyenghyep</i> NNG, 'economic cooperation' (8.78; 29.90); <i>thongil</i> NNG, 'unification' (6.13; 18.23)	<i>khosuphi</i> NNG, 'the Korean Composite Stock Price Index' (6.69; 8.21); <i>kyenghyep</i> NNG, 'economic cooperation' (7.96; 33.32); <i>penyeng</i> NNG, 'prosperity' (8.32; 36.30)	<i>kyenghyep</i> NNG, 'economic cooperation' (6.89; 24.43); <i>penyeng</i> NNG, 'prosperity' (7.47; 37.61); <i>sangpang</i> NNG, 'reunion' (6.19; 12.04)
Military conflict in the Western sea		<i>conggen</i> NNG, 'the end of a war' (6.65; 15.20); <i>kuunsan</i> NNG, 'military' (5.33; 11.64); <i>phyenghwa</i> NNG, 'peace' (6.29; 6.29)	<i>kuunsan</i> NNG, 'military' (4.84; 22.01); <i>phyenghwa</i> NNG, 'peace' (5.15; 77.65); <i>sehay</i> NNG, 'the West sea' (5.65; 8.42)

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Table 4. Continued

Category	H2000 Headline Corpus	H2007 Headline Corpus	H2018 Headline Corpus
& Peace process Denuclearization		114.07); <i>swuyek</i> NNG, 'waters' (7.62; 4.75)	<i>hayek</i> NNG, 'nuclear (weapon)' (4.19; 26.08); <i>pihayekhwa</i> NNG, 'denuclearization' (7.54; 55.19)
	Responses and evaluations	<i>chapuwunha</i> VA, 'to be calm' (7.25; 3.21); <i>cincen</i> NNG, 'progress' (7.00; 25.32); <i>hapuy</i> NNG, 'agreement' (4.93; 28.00); <i>kongtong</i> NNG, 'joint' (4.45; 25.91); <i>mannam</i> NNG, 'meeting' (6.01; 4.46); <i>nonuy</i> NNG, 'discussion' (4.59; 10.12); <i>senen</i> NNG, 'declaration' (6.53; 113.42)	<i>cincen</i> NNG, 'progress' (6.34; 33.51); <i>hapuy</i> NNG, 'agreement' (3.85; 13.83); <i>hapuywun</i> NNG, 'letter of agreement' (6.97; 2.06); <i>kcamcak</i> MAG, 'with surprise' (5.59; 2.20); <i>kheyin</i> NNG, 'chemistry' (13.77; 13.11); <i>hununphung</i> NNG, 'warm breeze' (9.35; 11.91); <i>mannu</i> VV*, 'to meet' (3.57; 25.74); <i>mannam</i> NNG, 'meeting' (5.25; 5.71); <i>milchak</i> NNG*, '(up) close' (7.10; 2.59); <i>phayek</i> NNG, 'unconventional, unprecedented' (8.97; 83.43); <i>senen</i> NNG, 'declaration' (5.53; 93.18); <i>tekhwu</i> NNG, 'maniac' (13.09; 11.28); <i>yekacek</i> NNG, 'historic' (5.08; 4.53)

Continued on next page

Table 4. *Continued*

Category	H2000 Headline Corpus	H2007 Headline Corpus	H2018 Headline Corpus
Media	<i>phulgyu</i> NNG, 'the press' (9.85; 25.68)	<i>enlon</i> NNG*, 'the press' (4.83; 36.23); <i>thacen</i> NNG, 'sending a telegram' (10.14; 3.15)	<i>phuleysu</i> NNG, 'the press' (7.29; 3.38); <i>sayngcuungkyey</i> NNG, 'live broadcast' (6.90; 16.95)
News value*			<i>tantok</i> NNG*, 'exclusive' (4.61; 5.89); <i>jengsang</i> NNG*, 'pictures, video clips' (4.49; 4.90)

The numbers within the brackets represent the Log Ratio value and BIC score of the keyword.

*A congruent keyword, *cincen*NNG, 'progress', appears in the context of [denuclearization] in *Chosun* 2018 but collocates with keywords grouped into [responses and evaluations] in *Hankyoreh* 2007 and 2018. The different distribution of *cincen*NNG, 'progress', may indicate the two newspapers' conflicting views of summit agenda. Refer to endnote 49 for details.

accompanied by keyness scores and grouped into thematic categories. Incongruent keywords and one thematic group, present in the keyword lists of the news headline corpora but absent in the full-text corpora, are marked with an asterisk.

The low number of asterisks, eight in *Chosun* and nine in *Hankyoreh*, indicates that the majority of keywords and thematic groups in headlines also appear in news stories. Tables 3 and 4 show that a cluster of discursive changes in news reports on IKSs identified in Park's work⁴⁷ appeared in the headline corpora. Park⁴⁸ uncovered that a shift in media attention from meeting agendas to ceremonial events, a decrease in source diversity and the foregrounding of political elites, changes in the key issues at the summits,⁴⁹ and emergent concepts of peaceful coexistence replacing unification of North and South occurred in the full-text news stories corpora. It argued these changes facilitate the recontextualization of the peace talks into multi-lateral international negotiations on the Korean peninsula. These similarities in keyness between the headlines and the news stories suggest that news headings on IKSs are congruent with the news stories they lead.

However, a closer examination of thematic groups reveals that headlines accentuate certain discursive changes among the aforementioned cluster. News headlines in the 2000 corpora did not pay any attention to ceremonial events but gave significantly more coverage of them in the 2018 corpora, as represented in the [ceremonies and protocol] row of both Tables 3 and 4. This is globally convergent with a keyness analysis of the full news stories,⁵⁰ but the shift of media attention in news headlines is demonstrated more radically as the full-text news stories in the 2000 corpora have some keywords reporting ceremonial events.⁵¹ In addition, while full-text news stories in the 2018 corpora do not show considerable differences between *Chosun ilbo* and *Hankyoreh shinmun* in terms of the thematic group of [ceremonies and protocol],⁵² Tables 3 and 4 show that news headlines in the *Hankyoreh* 2018 corpus overreported ceremonial events compared to the *Chosun* 2018 headline corpus. These differences in news salience between news headlines and articles may make readers who read only news headlines exposed to a radical shift in media attention from meeting agendas to ceremonial activities. Furthermore, the attention of readers who follow news headlines in *Hankyoreh shinmun* is more likely to be led toward celebratory events portrayed positively, as the keywords *tayhwa*NNG, 'conversation', *nongtam*NNG, 'joke', and *miltam*NNG, 'private talk' between two leaders of the rival Koreas assigned to [ceremonies and protocol] in the *Hankyoreh* 2018 corpus indicate the newspaper's positive stance toward the summits.

Another difference in discursive salience is uncovered when examining a thematic group, [responses and evaluations]. As shown in Tables 3 and 4, [responses and evaluations] is the most populated thematic group in the news headline corpora, while [ceremonies and protocol] has the most keywords from the full-text corpora.⁵³ Moreover, [responses and evaluations] is where the majority of incongruent keywords in headlines are grouped. In Tables 3 and 4, incongruent keywords appear only in [responses and evaluations] in the 2000 headline corpora of both newspapers, and then they spread into [ceremonies and protocol] in the *Chosun* 2018 corpus, [travel to North or South Korea] in the *Hankyoreh* 2018 corpus, and [news values] in the 2018 corpora of both newspapers. An examination of concordance lines of those incongruent keywords from the 2000 headline corpora reveals that they form two clusters. First, *pwukphwung*NNG*, ‘the North wind (the influence of the North on the South)’ and *yakpal*NNG*, ‘efficacious’ in *Chosun* 2000 collocates with *cwuka*NNG, ‘stock price’, and constitutes *Chosun ilbo*’s one-dimensional portrayal of inter-Korean cooperation simplified into South Korea’s economic gain as shown in excerpt (1). Another cluster of incongruent keywords, *phyoceng*NNG*, ‘expression’ in *Chosun* 2000, *imocemo*NNG*, ‘various aspects’, and *panung*NNG*, ‘response’ in the *Hankyoreh* 2000 corpus, illustrates expectations of the summit from various groups and individuals as demonstrated in excerpt (2). These textual prominences emphasizing the likely economic benefits in *Chosun* and rosy expectations in *Hankyoreh* are magnified in headlines and showcase both newspapers’ attempts to mold public opinion on the peace talks in 2000.⁵⁴

- (1) Nampwukcengsanghoytam **yakpal** 10ilsay **cwuka** 27% kuptung (남북정상 회담 **약발** 10일새 추가 27% 급등)
Stocks soared 27% in 10 days **thanks to** inter-Korean summit
(Chosun, June 13, 2000)
- (2) Nampwukcengsang cenkwuk **imocemo** marado, baengnyeongdoeto kamtonguy mwulkyel (남북정상 전국 **이모저모** 마라도, 백령도에도 감동의 물결)
Various responses to inter-Korean summit, South Koreans including residents of (remote) *Mara* island and *Baengnyeong* island, were moved
(Hankyoreh, June 14, 2000)

The incongruent textual salience of [responses and evaluations] identified across the 2000 corpora⁵⁵ disappears in news headlines about later meetings. Media attention moved toward celebratory events, as examined earlier, thus incongruent keywords aiming to grab readers’ attention now appear in [ceremonies and protocol] in the *Chosun* 2018 corpus and [travel

to North or South Korea] in the *Hankyoreh* 2018 corpus. On the other hand, the emergence of an incongruent theme [news value*] may be associated with the proliferation of online journalism. As indicated with an asterisk, [news value*] comprises keywords that emerged in the 2018 headline corpora but have low or insignificant keyness value across the IKS corpora. The keywords, *cenmwun*NNG*, ‘full-text’ and *sokpo*NNG, ‘breaking news’ in *Chosun* 2018 and *tantok*NNG*, ‘exclusive’ and *yengsang*NNG*, ‘pictures, video clips’ in *Hankyoreh* 2018, which refer to high news value but do not concern IKSs per se, may reflect increased competition for readers’ attention. In particular, *yengsang*NNG*, ‘pictures, video clips’ in *Hankyoreh* 2018 indicates a widespread consumption of online news. Concordance lines of *cenmwun*NNG*, ‘full-text’ and *yengsang*NNG*, ‘pictures, video clips’ are as follows:

- (3) [Cenmwun] Kim Jong Un “swusilo mannase kellin mwunce phwulenakaca” ([전문] 김정은 “수시로 만나서 걸린 문제 풀어나가자”)

[Full text] Kim Jong Un (said) “Let us meet frequently and solve current issues” (*Chosun*, April 27, 2018)
- (4) [Yengsang] Kim Jong Un ‘howimwusa’ tasi nathanassta ([영상] 김정은 ‘호위무사’ 다시 나타났다)

[Video] Kim Jong Un’s ‘royal bodyguards’ appeared again (*Hankyoreh*, April 27, 2018)

A keyness analysis of news headlines showed that news headlines on IKSs are generally congruent with the aboutness of news stories. However, a closer examination revealed that headlines foreground a one-dimensional view of the meetings and depict a diachronic shift to ceremonial events more radically in a bid to mold public opinion. In addition, the study uncovered that incongruent keywords have been primarily deployed to direct readers’ attention toward a certain aspect of the events which the media outlets selected and then later expanded to add newsworthiness to attract a broader online audience.

Stylistic Analysis

The stylistic properties of news headlines vary depending on their function. The elliptical and telegraphic style, characterized by the omission of functional words and excessive use of acronyms or abbreviations for brevity, serves the informative function by facilitating summarization of the main idea of news stories. On the other hand, quotations and symbols, which are expressive rather than informative, function to attract readers to access news. This section will investigate the stylistic and functional attributes of

news headlines prevalent in the news coverage of IKSs and examine how salient stylistic devices (and changes in them) facilitate an increase in incongruent headlines. To do so, it will specifically analyze symbols, including quotation marks, which have been identified in previous studies as salient attracting devices in South Korean newspaper headlines.

The present study computed the keyness of six punctuation marks listed in Table 2 in the news headline corpora and compared them to the full-text news story corpora. Table 5 displays three salient punctuation marks which the corpus tool returned. As indicated by an asterisk, all salient punctuation marks in headlines are overused in news headlines only.

Table 5 shows that stylistic devices which individual newspapers utilize differ, and salient stylistic features changed over time. *Chosun ilbo* frequently used quotation marks, albeit a change in its favorite type. On the other hand, *Hankyoreh shinmun* often employed a question mark when reporting the summit in 2018. An obvious trend is that the use of these incongruent stylistic devices became prominent in 2018. The following sections will discuss both newspapers’ distinctive stylistic features and the trend toward the proliferation of symbols in news headlines.⁵⁶

It should be noted that most instances of single quotation marks in the *Chosun* 2000 headline corpus are emphatic, although the canonical use of quotation markers is for citation. The only exception is to cite the title of a play to celebrate the summit. In Figure 1, single quotation marks enclosing a combination of keywords, *pwukphwung*NNG*, ‘the North wind’ and *cwuka*NNG, ‘stock price’, do not quote the enclosed expression, as *pwukphwung*NNG* does not appear in the news article, but emphasize it to draw attention to the likely economic gain.

Emphatic use of single quotation marks conforms to South Korean orthographic rules.⁵⁷ The Korean writing system, *Hangeul*, is a unicameral script which has only one letter case; thus, capitalization is not applicable to texts in Korean. In addition, typographic emphasis, for example, emphatic italics or bold type fonts, is seldomly practiced in the country. Therefore, it

Table 5. Keywords in the Headline Corpora

Category	C2000	C2007	C2018	H2000	H2007	H2018
Punctuation marks	<i>cakunttaomphyo</i> SS*, 'single quotation mark' (2.76; 42.68)		<i>khunttaomphyo</i> SS*, 'double quotation mark' (2.74; 680.09)			<i>mwulumphyo</i> SF*, 'question mark' (3.71; 71.49)

거꾸로간 ‘북풍주가’

Fig. 1. News headline in *Chosun ilbo* on June 14, 2000, *Kekkwurokan ‘pwukphwungcwuka’* [Stocks went backwards (fell) despite ‘the North wind’ (the influence of the North on the South)], https://archive.chosun.com/pdf/i_service/pdf_ReadBody_s.jsp?Y=2000&M=06&D=14&ID=0006144502.

is very likely that the limited resources of typographical cueing in Korean orthography facilitate the prevalent use of emphatic quotation markers in news headlines in *Chosun* 2000.

An interesting shift is that news headings in *Chosun* 2018 markedly use double instead of single quotation marks for both emphatic and quoting purposes. Snapshots of headlines below exemplify *Chosun ilbo*’s active use of double quotation marks. Figure 2 showcases *Chosun*’s emphatic use of double quotation marks, which deviates from the punctuation rules. According to these rules, double quotation marks should be used only for direct quotation. The ideophone is absent in the news report but is enclosed by double quotation marks in the headline. Figure 3 demonstrates another deviated use of double quotation marks as the quotes are modified. Extract (5) below shows that the original words of *Kim* that appeared in the news story were a statement, but they were modified and altered to a suggestion in the headline.

"쾅쾅쾅" 풍계리 폭파 후 54시간, 한반도 운명은 롤러코스터를 탔다

Fig. 2. News headline in *Chosun ilbo* on May 27, 2018, “*Khwangkhwangkhwang*” *Punggye-ri phokpha hwa 54 sigan, hanpando wunmyengun lollekhosuthelul thassta* [“Bang, bang, bang” 54 hours after an explosion at *Phunggye-ri*, the destiny of the Korean peninsula went on a roller coaster ride], https://www.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2018/05/27/2018052702257.html.

文 "통크게 대화" 金 "새역사 쓰자"... 오전회담 종료

Fig. 3. News headline in *Chosun ilbo* on April 24, 2018, Moon “*Thongkhuge tayhwa*” Kim “*sayyiksa ssuca*” . . . *ocenboytam conglyo* [Moon (said) “open-hearted dialogue” (.) Kim (said) “Let’s write a new history” . . . The morning session concluded], https://www.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2018/04/27/2018042701116.html.

- (5) Kim Jong Unun [. . .] “saerowun yeksaka ssuyecinun chulpalceme sese chulpal sinhothanul ssontanun maumkacimulo yekie wassta”ko haessta. (김정은은 [. . .] “새로운 역사가 쓰여지는 출발점에 서서 출발 신호탄을 쏜다는 마음가짐으로 여기에 왔다”고 했다.)

Kim [. . .] said “I came here determined to send a starting signal at the threshold of a new history.” (*Chosun*, April 27, 2018)

The noncanonical use of double quotation marks illustrated in Figure 3 can be seen as a mixture of emphasis and quotation. In this case, the original speech appears in the article, but only a part of the original speech deemed important was selected and altered without any indication of modification.⁵⁸ The newly developed polysemy of double quotation marks in news headlines emerged in the context of scarce resources of Korean orthography and typography and proliferated in the context of media sensationalism. Increased emphasis, together with lengthened headlines shown in Table 1, indicates that *Chosun ilbo* became sensationalized over time. The high headline-article word ratio of *Chosun ilbo* indicates that the readers are not expected to put in much interpretive work by themselves, drawing on Morini’s argument that a lengthened headline makes the reader’s processing work easier.⁵⁹ It is plausible to assume that the impact of extended headlines grows larger as articles led by them become shorter in proportion. Therefore, we can conclude that lengthened headlines, equipped with quotation marks as an attention-getter in *Chosun*, facilitate providing readers with its biased depiction of IKSs, which were uncovered in the previous section.

This study pointed out that limited stylistic devices in Korean writing and heightened competition for a broader audience facilitate the proliferation of quotation marks for the purpose of emphasis. However, it does not explain why *Chosun* underwent a stylistic change from single to double quotation marks over the last twenty years. To answer the question, the present study takes note of the ambiguity of double quotation marks between emphasis and modified direct quotation. A close examination of direct quotes appearing in *Chosun* news headlines reveals that a majority of double quotation marks are used for both citational and emphatic purposes at the same time, and quoted speeches enclosed by them are shortened and modified equivalently to indirect quotation. The newly developed polysemy of quotation marks makes them an optimal device for the multifunctionality of news headlines. In addition, direct quoting helps newspapers articulate objectivity,⁶⁰ as double quotation marks signal that the quote has been

originally produced in a different context by a different speaker as well as that it is a verbatim utterance. In the context of low levels of trust in the news media in South Korea,⁶¹ newspapers in South Korea naturally seek to raise their newsworthiness using seemingly objective news headlines. Finally, and limited to the IKS corpora, direct quoting is recruited to give more coverage to the voices of the global power elite and, in turn, to depict the IKS as a part of international nuclear negotiations with the North.⁶²

While *Chosun* exploits quotation marks significantly more often to enhance the newsworthiness of headlines, *Hankyoreh* utilizes question marks more frequently to attract readers' attention toward news headings, as shown in Table 5. Different types of questions are identified in *Hankyoreh* 2018's news headlines, but all of them are forward-referring in that the answers may be provided in forthcoming news stories. Previous studies found that question headlines may induce anticipation and curiosity by creating information gaps⁶³ and are effective in generating readership.⁶⁴ A sense of incomprehensibility that question headlines arouse is considered sensationalizing⁶⁵ and click-baiting.⁶⁶

The headline in Figure 4 poses the question of why the summit on May 26 did not produce an agreement. The single quotation marks indicate that the meeting did not yield an agreement, which is noteworthy, and the question mark signals that the following news story, which is a click away, will explain the reason. The example shows that question headlines attempt to increase click-throughs by withholding information.

The stylistic differences between *Chosun* and *Hankyoreh* can be seen as different enactments of product or editorial identity,⁶⁷ and differences in their house styles may inform how each newspaper communicates with their readerships. The prominence of quotation marks for emphasis and modified quotations in *Chosun ilbo* helps attract their readers' attention toward the newspaper's headlines, which provide biased summaries. As the unproportionally lengthened headlines make room for their rather simplified depiction of the summits, their readers are not expected to put much effort into reading news stories. On the other hand, overused question headlines appearing in *Hankyoreh shinmun* indicate the newspaper's attempts to lure

‘합의문 없는’ 5·26 정상회담, 왜?

Fig. 4. News headline in *Hankyoreh shinmun* on May 27, 2018, ‘*Hapuyumwun epsnun*’ 5·26 *cengsanghoytam, way?* [Summit on May 26 ended ‘without agreement’, why?], <https://www.hani.co.kr/arti/politics/defense/846458.html>.

readers to click the link and read on to search for further information postulated as missing in their knowledge. What the incongruent symbols frequently used in headlines have in common is that they are devices to attract their readers' attention. Quotation marks in *Chosun* headlines signal that their headlines are informationally noteworthy and credible. Question headlines in *Hankyoreh* present an apparent gap in readers' knowledge, which can be filled by reading the linked news article.

Conclusion

The present study compared the keywords of news headlines and full-text news stories about IKSs to measure the congruity between both in terms of aboutness and style. The contrastive analysis revealed that although most keywords from news headings appeared in articles, the thematic salience in the headlines was different from that in the news stories. The research findings indicate that the news coverage of the summits in news headlines highlighted individual newspapers' biased views in a polarized manner. The discursive changes from the likely economic gain in *Chosun* 2000 and a rosy view of inter-Korean relations in *Hankyoreh* 2000 toward ceremonial events were more radically represented in the headlines than the full news stories. In addition, an examination of incongruent keywords uncovered that newspapers exploited them to signal high news values in 2018 corpora.

The stylistic analysis comparing the prominence of punctuation marks between news headlines and news stories found that individual newspapers utilize distinctive symbols to attract readers. *Chosun* exploited the polysemy of quotation marks, and *Hankyoreh* overused question marks to add newsworthiness to headlines. The research findings are complementary to the abovementioned aboutness analysis, which showed an emergent cluster of incongruent keywords in the news headlines of the 2018 corpora that are employed to increase newsworthiness. Both aboutness and stylistic analyses indicate an obvious trend toward news headlines as an attention-grabber. However, there are differences in how an individual newspaper communicates with its readership, and different audiences, as imagined communities, are enacted not only by the aboutness and the house style of headlines but also by the length of them.

The present study showcased how a mixed approach of quantitative and qualitative methods measures the congruity between texts and that the keyness analyses of aboutness and style produce complementary research findings. In addition, the research findings demonstrated that the quantity

of words should be considered when investigating the sensationalized and attention-getting media. The limitations of this case study are that there is no evidence that the stylistic differences between *Chosun ilbo* and *Hankyoreh shinmun* are related to their opposite ideological inclination and that the textual structures which extended headlines are reported to exhibit were not examined.

Notes

1. In this article, keyness value is established based on word frequency differences between the target corpus, the IKS corpora, and a reference corpus, the *Trends 21* corpus, which is larger and more general. In corpus linguistics, keywords, which appear frequently with saliency and significance in the given texts, are considered to reflect the aboutness and style of the corpus. The calculation of the keyness value will be explained in the “Data and Methodology” section.

2. See Ullrich K. H. Ecker, Stephan Lewandowsky, Ee Pin Chang, and Rekha Pillai, “The Effects of Subtle Misinformation in News Headlines,” *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Applied* 20, no. 4 (2014): 332–33; Linda Lai and Audun Farbrøt, “What Makes You Click? The Effect of Question Headlines on Readership in Computer-Mediated Communication,” *Social Influence* 9, no. 4 (2014): 297–98; Jonas Nygaard Blom and Kenneth Reinecke Hansen, “Click Bait: Forward-Reference as Lure in Online News Headlines,” *Journal of Pragmatics* 76 (2015): 98–99; Luuk Lagerwerf, Carly Timmerman, and Anique Bosschaert, “Incongruity in News Headings,” *Journalism Practice* 10, no. 6 (2016): 798–99; Sophie Chesney, Maria Liakata, Massimo Poesio, and Matthew Purver, “Incongruent Headlines: Yet Another Way to Mislead Your Readers,” *Proceedings of the 2017 EMNLP Workshop on Natural Language Processing meets Journalism* (2017): 56–61; Kate Scott, “You Won’t Believe What’s in This Paper! Clickbait, Relevance and the Curiosity Gap,” *Journal of Pragmatics* 175 (2021): 64–65.

3. Katarzyna Molek-Kozakowska, “Towards a Pragma-Linguistic Framework for the Study of Sensationalism in News Headlines,” *Discourse & Communication* 7, no. 2 (2013): 180.

4. Monika Bednarek and Helen Caple, *News Discourse*, First Edition (London: Continuum, 2012), 100.

5. Daniel Dor, “On Newspaper Headlines as Relevance Optimizers,” *Journal of Pragmatics* 35 (2003): 697; Jan Chovanec, “Focus on Forms: Foregrounding Devices in Football Reporting,” *Discourse & Communication* 2, no. 3 (2008): 236; Molek-Kozakowska, “Pragma-Linguistic Framework,” 174; Julia Lefkowitz, “‘Tabloidization’ or Dual-Convergence,” *Journalism Studies* 19, no. 3 (2018): 368.

6. See Allen Bell, *The Language of News Media* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 189; Edith Iarovici and Rodica Amel, "The strategy of the headline," *Semiotica* 77, no. 4 (1989): 443.
7. Dor, "Relevance optimizers," 716–17; Chovanec, "Focus on Forms," 240.
8. Clickbait headlines try to induce anticipation and curiosity by withholding information and using leading languages. See Blom and Hansen, "Click Bait," 99; Chesney Sophie, Maria Liakata, Massimo Poesio, and Matthew Purver, "Incongruent Headlines: Yet Another Way to Mislead Your Readers," *Proceedings of the 2017 EMNLP Workshop on Natural Language Processing Meets Journalism* (2017): 58. Typical features of clickbait headlines are forward-referencing, demonstrative, personal pronouns, adverbs, imperatives, and interrogatives.
9. In Molek-Kozakowska's empirical study, illocutions, evaluation, and deixis are detected by informants as sensationalizing devices in news headlines.
10. A vernacular term, *chemokchangs*, 'clickbait headlines', which means literally 'title business', reflects the pervasive inconsistencies between news headings and articles in South Korea.
11. Ecker et al., "Subtle Misinformation."
12. Blake C Andrew, "Media-Generated Shortcuts: Do Newspaper Headlines Present Another Roadblock for Low-information Rationality?" *Press/Politics* 12, no. 2 (2007): 36.
13. Chesney et al., "Incongruent Headlines"; Yoon Seunghyun, Park Kunwoo, Shin Joongbo, Lim Hongjun, Won Seungpil, Cha Meeyoung, and Jung Kyomin, "Detecting Incongruity between News Headline and Body Text via a Deep Hierarchical Encoder," *The Thirty-Third AAAI Conference* (2019).
14. Ecker et al., "Subtle Misinformation"; Lagerwerf et al., "Incongruity."
15. Ahmad Haider and Riyad Hussein, "Analysing Headlines as a Way of Downsizing News Corpora: Evidence from an Arabic-English Comparable Corpus of Newspaper Articles," *Digital Scholarship in the Humanities* 35, no. 4 (2019): 840.
16. Andrew, "Roadblock," 36.
17. Because it is plausible to expect that readers who read the news story also read headlines, the current study compares the aboutness of newspaper headlines with the whole story.
18. Korea Press Foundation, *The 2018 Media Audience Survey* (Seoul: Korea Press Foundation, 2018), 110.
19. Yoon Jae-Hak (Yun Chaehak), "Ttaomp'yo kisachemokgwa inyonge taehan insik ch'ai" [Direct Quotations in Headline and Readers' Perception of Facticity], *Cross-Cultural Studies* 22 (2011): 391; Lee Na Yeon, "Headlines for Summarizing News or Attracting Readers' Attention? Comparing News Headlines in South Korean Newspapers with the *New York Times*," *Journalism* (June 2020): 12.
20. Cho Youngsoon (Cho Yöngsun), "Malmungchi'rül iyonghan sinmun p'yocheö yöngu" [A Corpus-Based Study on Korean Newspaper Headlines], *Korean Journal of*

Linguistics 36, no. 4 (2011): 1083; Park Naree (Pak Nari), “Sinmun hedürainüi önöchök t’üksöng” [An Analysis of the Language Characteristics of Newspaper Headlines], *The Journal of Language & Literature* 81 (2020): 29.

21. Song Kyung-hwa (Song Kyöngghwa) and Kang Beom-Mo (Kang Bömmo), “Sinmun Kisaüi önöhakchök sayong yangsang: K’op’ösü önöhakchök chöpkkün” [Aspects of Language Use in Newspaper Articles: A Corpus Linguistic Perspective], *Korean Journal of Cognitive Science* 17, no. 4 (2006): 260; Cho, “Corpus-Based Study,” 1083; Jo Hye-Min (Cho Hyemin) and Kang Beom-Mo (Kang Bömmo), “Sangchingöüi sayonggwa üimi: Sinmun kisa chemok k’op’ösüe kich’ohan yöngu” [The Use and Meaning of Symbolic Words: A Study Based on the Corpus of Newspaper Headlines], *Korean Semantics* 40 (2013); Park, “Language Characteristics,” 13.

22. The findings of previous studies are astonishing. Yoon (“Ttaomp’yo kisache-mokgwa inyonge taehan insik ch’ai,” 391) compared news headlines from *Chosun ilbo*, *Joongang ilbo*, and *Dong-a ilbo* with news headings from the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and the *Times* published in February 2009. The comparison reveals that more than 30% of South Korean newspapers feature direct quotations, whereas less than 5% of American media have direct quotes. In the same vein, Lee (“Headlines for Summarizing News or Attracting Readers’ Attention?”, 12) uncovered that about 50% of the headlines in ten South Korean newspapers, including *Chosun ilbo* and *Hankyoreh shinmun*, which were published in 2016, exhibit direct quotations compared to 2.8% of the headlines in the *New York Times* published in the same year.

23. Rhee Jun Woong (I Chunwung), Yang Seung-Mock (Yang Söngmok), Kim Kyu Chan (Kim Kyuch’an), and Song Hyun Joo (Song Hyönu), “Kisachemoke p’ohamdoen chikchöpinjongbuho sayongüi munchöchömgwa wönin” [Direct Quotations in Newspaper Headlines in the Coverage of the Local Election on May 31, 2006], *Korean Journal of Journalism & Communication Studies* 51, no. 3 (2007): 77.

24. Existing literature identified that South Korean news headlines actively utilize ideophones, which are often referred to as onomatopoeia and mimetic words. However, as the keyword list of the news headlines returned only one ideophone, *kkamccak*MAG, ‘with surprise’, which is also listed as a keyword of the news stories, ideophones were not further examined.

25. Jeong Yeohoon (Chöng Yöhun), “Sinmun chemoküi yuhyöng mit kü silhyön yangsang” [A Study on the Types of Newspaper Headlines and Their Realizations], *The Sociolinguistic Journal of Korea* 14, no. 1 (2006); Go Joo-hwan (Ko Chuhwan), Lee Choong-woo (I Ch’ungu), and Kim Ji-Eun (Kim Chiün), “Int’önet sinmun p’yocheö chesi yuhyöng yöngu kyöngsönggisawa yönsönggisauü kubunül chungsimüro” [A Study on the Types of Headline Presentation of Internet Newspapers Focusing on the Distinction Between Rigid Articles and Flexible Articles], *Korean Journal of Linguistics* 39, no. 1 (2014); and Lee, “Headlines.”

26. *Chosun ilbo* online, *Joongang ilbo* online, and *Hankyoreh shinmun* online are the top three newspapers which Koreans choose as news sources. See Nic Newman, Richard Fletcher, Antonis Kalogeropoulos, David A. L. Levy, and Rasmus Kleis Nielsen, *Digital News Report 2018* (Oxford: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, 2018), 136.

27. *Chosun ilbo* (with a circulation of 3.7355%), *Joongang ilbo* (2.4519%), *Maeil* business newspaper (0.9760%), *The Farmers* newspaper (0.7248%), and *Hankyoreh shinmun* (0.6262%) were the most widely read newspapers in 2021. See Korea Press Foundation, *Newspaper and Magazine Readership Survey* (Seoul: Korea Press Foundation, 2021), 29. As the circulation numbers indicate, print news consumption in South Korea has decreased significantly.

28. Choi Hyun-Ju (Coe hyönchu), “Hanguk sinmun podouï inyömchöck tayangsöngge taehan koch'al: 6gae chonghapilganchiüi 3gae chuyo isyue taehan podo sönghyang punsököül chungsimüro” [A Study on the Diversity of Korean Newspapers: Analysing the Tendencies of Covering Three Major Issues], *Korean Society for Journalism & Communication Studies* 54, no. 3 (2010): 422.

29. The second meeting on May 26, 2018, was announced ex post facto. Therefore, news articles published on the next day of the meeting are also included.

30. See Jin Hee Park, “Discourse Construction of Inter-Korean Summits in South Korean Newspapers: A Diachronic Study,” *Language & Communication* 78 (2021): 19–34. A simple header was added to each news article in the corpora, and errors in PoS tagging were corrected.

31. The corpora show that the frequency of sub-headlines increased over time. However, because 84% of newsreaders in South Korea consume news online (Newman et al., “Digital News,” 136) and online news aggregators only use headlines in a list of articles, a comparison between subheadings and news stories was not attempted.

32. Mike Scott and Christopher Tribble, *Textual Patterns: Key Words and Corpus Analysis in Language Education* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2006), 63; Marina Bondi, “Perspectives on Keywords and Keyness: An introduction,” in *Keyness in Texts*, eds. Marina Bondi and Mike Scott (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2010), 7.

33. Anna March and Charlotte Taylor, “Introduction: Partiality and Reflexivity,” in *Corpus Approaches to Discourse: A Critical Review*, eds. Charlotte Taylor and Anna March (London and New York: Routledge, 2018), 7.

34. Paul Baker, Costas Gabrielatos, Majid Khosravini, Michal Krzyzanowski, Tony McEnergy, and Ruth Wodak, “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, no. 3 (2008): 273–306.

35. Andrew Brindle, “A Corpus Analysis of Discursive Construction of the Sunflower Student Movement in the English-language Taiwanese Press,” *Discourse & Society* 27, no. 1 (2016): 3–19.

36. Amanda Potts, Monika Bednarek, and Helen Caple, “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, no. 2 (2015): 149–72.

37. Ming Liu and Chaoyuan Li, “Competing Discursive Constructions of China’s Smog in Chinese and Anglo-American English-Language Newspapers: A Corpus-Assisted Discourse Study,” *Discourse & Communication* 11, no. 4 (2017): 386–403.

38. Hangyan Yu, Huiling Lu, and Jie Hu, “A Corpus-Based Critical Discourse Analysis of News Reports on the COVID-19 Pandemic in China and the UK,” *International Journal of English Linguistics* 11, no. 2 (2021): 36–45.

39. Mike Scott, *WordSmith Tools Help* (Stroud: Lexical Analysis Software, 2020).

40. Kim Il-Hwan (Kim Ilhwan), Chung Eugene (Chōng Yuchin), Kang Beom-Mo (Kang Bōmmo), and Kim Heung-Gyu (Kim Hūngkyu), *Mulgyōl 21 k’op’ōsūi kuch’ukgwa hawhyōng* [The compilation and use of *Trends 21* Corpus] (Seoul: Somyung, 2013).

41. The formula is as follows (NFC1 corresponds to the normalized frequencies of an item in the IKS corpora, and NFC2 is the equivalent in the *Trends 21* corpus):
$$\text{Log Ratio} = \log \frac{\text{NFC1}}{\text{NFC2}}.$$

42. The BIC is used to gauge the statistical significance of frequency differences between the target and reference corpora. BIC employs the log-likelihood (LL), which measures keyness in terms of statistical significance, and the combined size of the two corpora (N). The formula for the BIC score is as follows (where “ $\approx$ ” indicates that the value is approximate): $\text{BIC} \approx \text{LL} - \text{Log}(N)$. In general, a BIC score of 2 or higher (with a corresponding p -value of 0.00018 or lower) is considered positive evidence against the null hypothesis. It’s important to note that the correspondence between p - and BIC values may vary depending on the size of the compared corpora. For further details, see Costas Gabrielatos, “Keyness Analysis: Nature, Metrics and Techniques,” in *Corpus Approaches to Discourse*, eds. Charlotte Taylor and Anna Marchi (Abingdon and Oxon: Routledge, 2018), 240.

43. The dispersion value shows how evenly an item is distributed across the corpus. It ranges from 0 to 1, with 0.1 or below indicating the item is concentrated in one corpus part, while 0.9 or higher suggests the item appears uniformly in all segments of the corpus.

44. Newspaper headlines in *Hankyoreh shinmun* appeared to often employ ellipses to delimit headlines. However, ellipses were not further examined because different formats of ellipses, such as an ellipsis marked by two to four full stops or middle dots, were inconsistently mixed, and the word frequency list of the *Trends 21* corpus does not distinguish what an ellipsis consists of. On the other hand, middle dots, which function similarly to a slash or hyphen, were not examined because the *Trends 21* corpus distinguishes a middle dot in plain from bold type, whereas the IKS corpora do not.

45. High keyness values were assigned to a few proper nouns in the lists due to their absence in the reference corpus, so proper nouns were not examined.

46. Park, “Discourse Construction of Inter-Korean Summits in South Korean Newspapers,” 26–28.

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid.

49. Both newspapers show changes in their interest in meeting agendas, but there are differences in the discursive changes. Keyness analyses of headline corpora and full-text news stories’ corpora reveal that a transition from inter-Korean exchange and cooperation to military tension and denuclearization occurred in a conservative newspaper, *Chosun*, whereas *Hankyoreh*, a liberal newspaper, expanded its comprehensive view toward ceremonial events, which are positively portrayed.

50. Park, “Discourse Construction of Inter-Korean Summits in South Korean Newspapers,” 33.

51. The keywords grouped into [ceremonies and protocol] from the full news stories of the 2000 corpora in Park’s work are as follows:

<i>Chosun</i> 2000	<i>hwanyeng</i> /NNG, ‘welcome’; <i>kongsik</i> /NNG, ‘official’; <i>manchan</i> /NNP, ‘banquet’; <i>swuhayngwen</i> /NNG, ‘attendant’; <i>yengcep</i> /NNG, ‘reception’; <i>yengpinkwan</i> /NNG, ‘State guest house’
<i>Hankyoreh</i> 2000	<i>akswu</i> /NNG, ‘handshake’; <i>chotayso</i> /NNG, ‘guest house’; <i>hwantayl</i> /NNG, ‘warm reception’; <i>hwanyeng</i> /NNG, ‘welcome’; <i>macwungl</i> /NNG, ‘coming to meet’; <i>paysekal</i> /NNG, ‘attendant’; <i>sayell</i> /NNG, ‘inspection’; <i>swuhayngwen</i> /NNG, ‘attendant’; <i>tayphyotan</i> /NNG, ‘delegation’; <i>uycantayl</i> /NNG, ‘honour guards’; <i>uycen</i> /NNG, ‘protocol’; <i>yengcep</i> /NNG, ‘reception’; <i>yengpinkwan</i> /NNG, ‘State guest house’; <i>yesengkyeyl</i> /NNG, ‘women’s circles’

52. Twenty-seven out of the top fifty keywords in the *Chosun* 2018 corpora and twenty-five in the *Hankyoreh* 2018 corpora are grouped into [ceremonies and protocol] in Park, “Discourse Construction of Inter-Korean Summits in South Korean Newspapers.”

53. Park, “Discourse Construction of Inter-Korean Summits in South Korean Newspapers,” 28.

54. As a reviewer pointed out, differences in textual saliency may not be detected by human readers. Similarly, textual discrepancies between headlines and news stories, as well as between two newspapers, may go unnoticed by human researchers. However, as demonstrated in the study, computer-based tools play a crucial role in uncovering nonobvious meanings inscribed in discourse—ones that human readers or researchers might not identify. This underscores the methodological synergy of the mixed approach.

55. The discourse on the likely economic benefits of inter-Korean cooperation has lost media attention since 2007 in *Chosun ilbo*, and source diversity has substantially decreased in both newspapers over time (Park, “Discourse Construction of Inter-Korean Summits in South Korean Newspapers,” 28).

56. There are no incongruent symbols detected in news headlines reporting the summit in 2007. It is interesting that even quotation and question marks were not recruited when a cluster of discursive changes, numerated in the previous section, occurred (Park, “Discourse Construction of Inter-Korean Summits in South Korean Newspapers,” 33). I believe this is related to the pervasive skepticism about the peace talks in 2007 after the South’s engagement policy toward the North had been immensely criticized.

57. Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, *The Revised Korean Orthography* Act no. 2017-12, March 28, 2017, accessed January 28, 2025, https://korean.go.kr/kornorms/m/m_regltn.do?regltn_code=0001#a.

58. Park (“Sinmun hedūrainūi ōnōchōk t’ūksōng,” 26–27) claimed that direct quotations in headlines emphasize parts of the original speech selected by news editors, and hence, the deviated use is somewhere between single and double quotation.

59. Massimiliano Morini, *A Day in the News* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2018), 59.

60. Rhee et al., “Local Election on May 31, 2006,” 84.

61. Newman et al., “Digital News,” 136.

62. Park, “Discourse Construction of Inter-Korean Summits in South Korean Newspapers,” 31–32.

63. Blom and Hansen, “Click Bait,” 92; Scott, “Curiosity Gap,” 57.

64. Lai and Farbroth, “The Effect of Question Headlines,” 293.

65. Molek-Kozakowska, “Pragma-Linguistic Framework,” 188.

66. Blom and Hansen, “Click Bait,” 98–99; Scott, “Curiosity Gap,” 65.

67. Chovanec, “Focus on Forms,” 238.

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