

# News Values - Revised

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**Introduction.** The notion of what makes events become news has been an object of considerable research among academics and practitioners of various backgrounds: sociologists, linguists, psychologists, practicing journalists and anthropologists. The theory of news values was initially pioneered by the Norwegian scholars Johan Galtung and Mari Hombøe Ruge. It comprises twelve criteria that the authors claim serve as definition of newsworthiness. Since its emergence, the news values set of criteria has given rise to many a hot discussions among academics and professionals.

The present article presents a succinct overview of the existing theory of news values. Apart from the seminal work of Galtung and Ruge, the conclusions of authors such as Hardcup and O'Neill, MacShane and Brighton and Foy are discussed.

**What is news?** In the times of globalization we are constantly exposed to messages that claim to present us with news of any kind, source and topic. Apart from the traditional news programmes streaming through diversified television channels and the countless number of newspapers on news stalls, our mail boxes are periodically, if not daily, filled with newsletters, updates, the latest news concerning a topic of our interest/subscription or simply a wayward message that promises to contain news, purely as spam. In other words, the lexical item “news” has numerous connotations depending on the context in which it appears. For instance, the utterance “Have you heard the latest news?” is open to multiple interpretations:

1. two people discussing the latest breaking news on TV, national or local newspapers, or;
2. the development of a news story that hit news reports some time ago;
3. the latest findings concerning some scientific research;
4. two colleagues talking about the latest changes in their working place or a corporate gossip;
5. spouses chatting about family issues;

6. teenagers gossiping about a friend's new relationship;
7. elderly ladies commenting the development of the main characters' life stories of their favourite soap opera;
8. the key question of a TV commercial where friends are sharing information about the irresistibly low interest rates of a bank.

These are just a few possible interpretations and they invariably depend on the writer's awareness and experience of various contexts as well as cultural identity.

In further words, the answer to the question "What is news?" may seem more that obvious. News is everything that is new that is happening. The dictionary of Merriam Webster offers the following definitions:

1. **a** : a report of recent events  
  
**b** : previously unknown information  
  
**c** : something having a specified influence or effect
2. **a** : material reported in a newspaper or news periodical or on a newscast  
**b** : matter that is newsworthy (see: <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/news>)

The British National Corpus (BNC) <http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/> enables a quick check of the different contexts in which the word item "news" appears. The contexts are a collection of over 100 million, wide-range written and spoken language sources, designed to represent the later part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, referring both to written and spoken British English, which is of paramount importance for the purposes of the present research as the examples are entirely excerpted from British online or printed newspapers. It is also worth noting that each individual search offers 50 random solutions, i.e the solutions quoted below may differ from any consecutive trial. Furthermore, the initials at the beginning of each item indicate the source reference, given here in parenthesis right after the excerpted item to ascertain the reader-friendly nature of the example (see Appendix).

The tables below are a summarized version of the number of general occurrences of the word "news" in different written and oral contexts. It is worth noting that these are not the total number of utterances, which by far outnumber the number of contextual occurrences. A more detailed study of the use of the item "news" would benefit tremendously of the overall figure of utterances to exapmlify its broad usage and various semantic fields.

source	Online newspaper	Printed newspaper	Fiction Book	Specialized literature	other
<b>occurrences</b>	6	6	8	7	8

Table 1.

*Table 1* illustrates the usage of the word “news” in written corpora. The ratio between newspapers and other written materials is in favour of newspapers – 12 occurrences in printed and online newspapers versus 8 in fiction literature, 7 in specialized literature, and 8 in other types of printed materials like newsletters or catalogues (see Table 1).

source	TV Programme	Radio Programme	Business Meeting
<b>occurrences</b>	1	2	2

Table 2.

*Table 2* shows the appearance of the lexical item “news” in corpora of oral performance. The ratio is almost equal - two times in radio programmes and business meetings each compared to just one occurrence in a television programme (see Table 2).

On balance, the lexical item news has broad applications in terms of language contexts both written and oral. Its polysemy requires plausible limitations for the purposes of the present work. What we assume as news here is closer to what Merriam Webster’s Dictionary suggests, i.e a report of recent events and material reported in a newspaper or news periodical or on a newscast (see: <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/news>).

As the influx of news in our lives is uncontrollable and, thus hard to observe, we will focus our attention on what is reported in media, that is to say what makes events or happenings become news items, bearing in mind that new things happen all the time everywhere in the world and they never find their way into newspapers or onto the air in a newscast. Furthermore, as the number of printed and electronic media is vast, the encuing examples have been excerpted from the printed or electronic versions of newspapers.

What makes a story newsworthy enough to be published or broadcast? It is news values that give journalists and editors a set of rules by which to work, plan and execute the content of a publication or a broadcast. The types of media are varied. A newspaper is a publication that is issued daily, weekly, bidaily, or bimonthly, and includes local and international news stories, advertisements, announcements, opinions, cartoons, sports news, television listings,

classifieds and other sections. It is an important method of letting the public know everything that is happening around the world and in their local area. Even with the advancements in computer technology, newspapers continue to be an important aspect of everyday life.

Not only are there a vast number of media types available but there are various types of printed newspaper on offer as well. Newspapers generally are divided into three categories: broadsheets, the Berliner format, and tabloids. Broadsheets are believed to present high-quality journalism; however, they are unsuited to reading in public transport that is why several years ago a more manageable format was adopted, as people have no other time to read newspapers but on their way to work. Thus, the newspaper format can hardly serve as a critical quality factor of the printed media of today. The Berliner format is a blending between broadsheets and tabloids. Some broadsheet newspapers in Britain have looked to the Berliner format as a portable-size format, without the typically applied negative connotations to tabloids. For example, the Guardian adopted the Berliner format in 2005 right after competing broadsheet newspapers had switched to the tabloid format. Tabloids are the smallest newspapers in terms of format as well as the least reputed ones due to their tendency to present rumors, gossips, and sensational news about celebrities. *The Times* was printed in broadsheet format for 219 years but since 2004 it has switched to a tabloid format, both to ease its readers with its user-friendly size and to appeal to a much younger audience. Almost all Bulgarian dailies share the tabloid format and have never had a broadsheet one but the daily Dnevnik which, when initially published, was the only broadsheet daily on the market. The other broadsheet in the country is the weekly – *Kapital* that caters for the public's need of political, economic and cultural analyses as well as the demand to offer and search for job vacancies in the high, more sophisticated job market niche. *Kapital* still shares the broadsheet format, which is inkeeping with its content and target audience. The weekly is dedicated primarily to business analyses and its audience comprises highly educated economists, CEOs and the business community in Bulgaria in general.

Technological advances have allowed printed newspapers to address audiences of different reading habits, those who traditionally prefer to buy and read the printed copy of their preferred paper, as well as those who are keener on making use of technologies and, respectively visit the online version of the paper(s), or users of e-book readers who can simply download their favoured newspaper, magazine or e-book.

**What is the role of the journalist?** For a layperson, the answer to this question may reach as far as to simply saying “to report or present news” or “to write articles.” However, the reality is much more complex and is worth reviewing. Strange as it may seem, the features of printed and electronic media are so strikingly diversified that they result in many “journalisms.” That diversity naturally differs from country to country; however, there are numerous similarities that unify journalism as a whole. With the rapid development and improvement of technologies, every personal computer owner is enabled to disseminate information, sometimes, even much wider than the official news organizations. However well organized a website may seem it may not necessarily offer reliable, trustworthy news. Additionally, news is not a scarce commodity any more and, thus the role of the journalist has become more important than it has ever been before. News items, whether breaking news, features or even analyses have to be accurate. For the purpose journalist, unlike gossipers and proponents, collect the information they need to present a story and verify its validity. Objectivity is another concern with the profession. Journalists are reasoning, thinking human beings and it would be naïve to think that what is published does not contain personal opinion. Potter states that “ By using an objective, scientific method for verifying information, journalists can report stories that do not reflect their own personal views. The story itself, in other words, should be impartial and fair.” (Potter 2006:11). While opinion reflects on personal thoughts, understanding and beliefs, fairness refers to the different angles a story is presented. At the time of which the present work is being written the British jazz and soul singer Amy Winehouse has been found dead in her apartment in Camden, North London. Let us take, for instance, the news presentation of this news account in the Telegraph online (<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/>). Five days after the news hit the headlines, the Telegraph contains an influx of items on the topic. The event is presented from several different angles. First, it is explicable that the newspaper does not contain breaking-news headlines. i.e large texts in huge fonts, as that is the fifth day after the death of the celebrity; the event is not treated as hard news any more, still it forms prolific follow-ups. However, the Telegraph acknowledges the event in the Obituary section with a detailed bibliographical article, presenting the chronological events and artistic achievements of the life of the renowned, and at the same time notorious, singer. Confirmed fans are offered to watch and listen to summarized famous videos of the most popular hit tracks together with the official announcement of the discovery of the deceased read in public by a superintendent. The tone of the announcement is neutral at the start; however, it finishes with the police, as institution, expressing deep regrets and sorrow following the tragic news. The section Culture presents a

full-length interview with Amy Winehouse that is claimed to be the last ever, conducted by Neil McCormick, who has been the most prominent music critic for the The Telegraph since 1996. Concomitant events are featured, albeit short in time and span, related to the funeral ceremony of the singer. Here are the headlines directly copied and pasted from the online Telegraph; the size of font and typeface are the original ones. If the selection of typeface and font size bring about the level of importance of news stories and events being projected on a newspapers page then the full story of the death of the British jazz and soul singer are given equal prominence (see Hodson 1984:100; Ivancheva 2005:261).

1. Amy Winehouse: police continue investigation into musician's death
2. Amy Winehouse: the final interview by Neil McCormick
3. Amy Winehouse's last public appearance
4. Amy Winehouse 'drunk' on stage in Belgrade
5. Amy Winehouse's parents visit singer's Camden home
6. Amy Winehouse 'looked fine' day before death
7. Former collaborator Mark Ronson arrives for Amy Winehouse memorial

The representation of the story of Winehouse is an illustrative example of what fair journalism should be, i.e. "...to report all significant viewpoints in a way that is fair to those involved and that also presents a complete and honest picture to the audience." (Potter 2006:16).

To sum up, contemporary journalists are to perform challenging, complicated multitasking. In their pursuit for independence from the people or organizations they write about, journalists struggle to strike a balance between an objective, fair representation deprived of explicit personal opinion. They search contrasting views and report them without taking one side or another. Journalists do original reporting being able to differentiate between fact, opinion, and rumour.

**What is News Values?** *Newsworthiness* or *news values* is a term discussed by many linguists, sociologists and, mainly, researchers dealing, directly or indirectly, with the field of media studies. Stuart Hall states that:

The media do not simply and transparently report events which are naturally newsworthy in themselves. News is the end product of a complex process, which begins with systematic sorting and selecting of events and topics according to a socially constructed set of categories.

Stuart Hall ( in Fowler1991:12)

Philo goes on even further to maintain that news is not found or even gathered. It is a creation of a journalistic process, an artefact, and a commodity ( in Fowler 1991). The last statement, as discussed above, is hardly applicable in the contemporary era of mass communication, where, with the existence of the internet, everybody can have access to practically any nugget of information. Brighton and Foy are of the opinion that:

It is news values that give journalists and editors a set of rules – often intangible, informal, almost unconscious elements – by which to work, from which to plan and execute the content of a publication or a broadcast. In its purest sense everything that happens in the world is a new event, and somebody, somewhere, will have some level of interest in that occurrence. But what takes it from being new to being news? The set of values applied by different media – local, regional, national and international, print, television, radio, internet, bulleting board – are as varied as the media themselves.

Brighton and Foy (2007:1)

A classical definition of what constitutes news values was developed by two Norwegian social scientists Johan Galtung and Mari Hombøe Ruge and officially published back in 1965.

The list of criteria is as follows (in Fowler 1991:13):

- **Frequency.** An event is more likely to be reported if its duration is close to the publication frequency of the news medium. Because newspapers are published once a

day, a single event is more likely to be reported rather than a long process one. For instance, the publication of unemployment figures on a certain day is more newsworthy than the long-term phenomenon of unemployment itself.

- **Threshold.** Refers to the ‘size’ needed for an event to become newsworthy. For example, an accident involving a hundred people is more likely to be published than one involving two or three people.
- **Unambiguity.** Mysterious events as well as clear ones are newsworthy if they can be related to cultural stereotypes, where a stereotype is a socially-constructed mental pigeon-hole into which events and individuals can be sorted, thereby making such events and individuals comprehensible.
- **Meaningfulness** (with its two subcategories Cultural proximity and Relevance). Refers to a preoccupation with countries, societies and individuals perceived to be like oneself.
  - **Cultural proximity.** Relates to geographical closeness of a country. Cultural proximity is founded on an ideology of ethnocentrism: a preoccupation with countries, societies and individuals perceived to be like oneself (Fowler 1991).
  - **Relevance.** If Culture1 and Culture2<sup>1</sup> are geographically far away but in Culture1 it is likely to happen the same type of event, so Culture1 is affected in the same way as Culture2.
- **Consonance** with its two sub criteria *predictability* and *demand* refer to categories of events which people either expect to happen or want to happen, e.g. Royal weddings and births.
- **Unexpectedness.** An event is even more newsworthy if it happens without warning or is unusual.
- **Continuity.** Once an event is defined as news, it will continue to be news even though its amplitude may be less. Moreover, even ‘non-events’ which are part of the story will be covered.
- **Composition.** Refers to the balance of a paper bulletin, that is, an item will be more or less newsworthy depending on what else is available for inclusion.
- **Reference to elite nations.** Encodes a ‘superpowers’ ideology of the dominating status of North America, Japan, Europe and Russia in world political and cultural affairs.

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<sup>1</sup> Where Culture1 is the culture of the recipient of the information and Culture2 is the culture of the target country.



- **Reference to elite people.** Refers to media's infatuation of celebrities, e.g. Bill Clinton, US President between 1993 – 2001 more popular among ordinary people with the Lewinski Scandal.
- **Reference to persons (Personalisation).** Whenever possible events are seen as the actions of people as individuals. Personalisation varies from paper to paper being most striking in the popular press.
- **Reference to something negative.** It suggests that news take the normal for granted, and so is driven to make stories out of deviant: crime, dissidence, disaster. As Fowler (1991) points out, negativity is a value rather than anything more natural: there is no natural reason why disasters should be more newsworthy than triumphs.

The set of criteria can also be summarized under the following unifying headings:

1. **Impact:** frequency, unambiguity, threshold, negativity, unexpectedness
2. **Audience identification:** personalization, meaningfulness, reference to elite nation, reference to elite persons.
3. **Pragmatics of media coverage:** consonance, continuity, composition

Johan Galtung and Mari Ruge's seminal work on the taxonomy of news values that make an event become news, or that serves as criteria for selection prior to publication, has been the core of a great amount of ensuing scientific research elaborating on the issue of newsworthiness. Several attempts to revise the list of criteria have been made since the original publication appeared in the 1965 edition of the *Journal of International Peace Studies*, entitled *Structuring and Selecting News*. For example, Denis MacShane<sup>2</sup> (quoted in Brighton and Foy 2007: 8) suggested later in 1979 a new subdivision of newsworthy events into several categories such as:

- **Conflict**
- **Hardship and danger to the community**
- **Unusualness (oddity, novelty)**
- **Scandal**
- **Individualism**

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<sup>2</sup> **Denis MacShane** is a British politician, who has been the Member of Parliament (MP) for Rotherham since the 1994 by-election and served as the Minister for Europe from 2002 until 2005. From 1969 to 1977 he worked as a newsreader and reported for BBC Radio Birmingham. ([http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Denis\\_MacShane](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Denis_MacShane))

Most of the above have more to do with impact like conflict, scandal unusualness, hardship and danger to community; individualism falls into the category of audience identification. What MacShane fails to isolate as a criterion is the pragmatic news value of stories in a news organization diary that bring about the balance of any media in question.

Hardcup and O'Neill argue that Galtung and Ruge's taxonomy possesses certain problematic areas and, thus the authors pose the following questions:

- **Frequency.** How does this relate to stories that are not about events at all, but about trends, speculation, or even the absence of events?
- **Threshold.** Isn't this still open to subjective interpretation? Which is bigger – 20 deaths in ten road accidents or five deaths in one rail crash?
- **Unambiguity.** Is the ambiguity in the subject or the journalist's interpretation?
- **Meaningfulness.** This is a slippery concept that changes over time and relies on subjective interpretation.
- **Unexpectedness.** How can we tell if the journalist is simply taking an unexpected angle on a predictable event?
- **Consonance.** How useful is this category if it is possible only to guess if and when it has applied?
- **Composition.** How is it possible to know what was in the selector's mind when making a particular decision?
- **Elite Nations.** The dearth of foreign news in UK tabloids newspapers renders this relatively infrequently identified factors; does that mean it does not apply?
- **Elite People.** How useful is a category that does not distinguish between the Spice Girls and the President of the USA?
- **Reference to persons.** Is this intrinsic to the subject or the journalist's technique?
- **Reference to something negative.** Negative for whom? Bad news for some might be good news for others.

Hardcup and O'Neill, 2001 (in Othman and Tiung 2009)

As a result of their study Hardcup and O'Neill (in Brighton and Foy 2007: 8) present their list of criteria.

- **Power elite** - powerful individuals, politicians, tycoons, organisations or institutions (e.g Boiko Borisov PM of Bulgaria, Donald Trump, Robert Kiyosaki, etc.);
- **Celebrity** - people who are already famous or notorious;
- **Entertainment** - sex, gay couples, music, theatre, stories of human interest, romantic drama, intriguing photographs, etc.;
- **Surprise** – surprising events, both positive or negative in content;
- **Bad news** – conflicts, tragedies – events with overall negative connotations;
- **Good news** – rescues, cures, survivals – events with overall positive connotations;
- **Magnitude** – events whose number of people involved is of paramount importance ,or whose impact concerns a great number of people;
- **Relevance** - events that concern specific groups of people and/or whole nations relevant to the readership;
- **Follow-ups** – news items that have already been in the news and continue to develop;
- **Media agenda** - stories that set or fit the news organisation’s own agenda.

Hardcup and O’Neill’s classification of news values fall in three major summarized areas. The first is related to the protagonists within a story, i.e power elite, celebrities; the second has a conceptual essence, for instance – relevance. The third comprises the notion of media practices – follow-ups, media agenda.

<b>Johan Galtung and Mari Hombøe Ruge</b>	<b>Hardcup and O’Neill</b>
Frequency	
Threshold	Magnitude
Unambiguity	
Meaningfulness	Relevance
Consonance <i>predictability demand</i>	Entertainment
Unexpectedness	Surprise
Continuity	Follow-ups
Composition	Media agenda
Reference to elite nations	
Reference to elite people	Celebrity
Personalisation	
	Power elite
Reference to something negative	Bad news, Good news

Table 3

Moreover, a brief comparison of the two pairs of scholars' research reveals a predominant overlap of the news values criteria (see Table 3). Hardcup and O'Neill's idea of "size" of an event, termed magnitude, is nothing different from Galtun and Ruge's threshold. Meaningfulness and relevance both refer to the notion of the acceptance and self-identification of a culture "preoccupied with countries, societies and individuals perceived to be like oneself," as Fowler words it (Fowler 1991). Some might argue that a culture can be a construct of many subcultures, which virtually is true, and one event may not be equally relevant to the whole multitude of cultures; however, that argument, to my mind, reflects on the type of media and its readership profile's interest. Consonance and entertainment also have similar connotations. If consonance refers to peoples' expectations or need something to happen, then all types of events like, gay weddings, personal drama, organized events (theatre, music concerts, etc) cater for peoples' demand to satisfy their curiosity, need for relaxation and quench their thirst for human-interest information. Continuity and follow-ups reflect the tendency for some event to fail to drop news bulletins, having already been in the news. These events are predominantly of negative nature, such as murders, natural disasters, epidemics; rarely are there follow-ups of good news unless the protagonists are of royal origin or non-royal one, which is the case of the marriage between the British Prince William and Catherine Middleton on 29<sup>th</sup> April, 2011 at Westminster Abbey. As Fowler rightly defines such negative occurrences in the media as "hysteria in the Press," especially in the printed (as well as online, it must be noted) press, giving an illustrative example of a roughly three-month continuity of salmonella panic among the British (between late November, 1988 and early March, 1989) (Fowler 1991: 148). Composition and media agenda imply technical media practices referring to the choice of media what else is available to include on a specific day. Such choices could be also dependent on hard news as prominence is heavily dependent on juxtaposed news items, especially in the printed press (see Ivancheva 2005). Reference to elite people compares to Hardcup and O'Neill's celebrity where both teams of researchers refer to the notoriety of already popular people whose public behavior frequently makes newspaper headlines. Last but not least, most of the concepts of both lists totally coincide or repeat each other; their difference is only a matter of synonymy.

Stuart Hall (ibid) distinguishes between formal and ideological news values. The former are:

- **Linkage** – Has the story got any connection with previous events and occurrences, or does it allow journalists to link it to any of the above?

- **Recency** – Has the event happened lately and how much worthy is it from the point of view of the present moment?
- **Newsworthiness of event/person**

In their book, *News Values* published in 2007 the two practitioner-academics Paul Brighton and Dennis Foy attempt to present a revisited and more contemporary version of the news values theory. The authors discuss newspaper, radio and television practices, as well as the internet news channels. They suggest seven criteria, which are:

- **Relevance** – the significance of an item to the viewer, listener, or reader.
- **Topicality** – Is it new, current, immediately relevant?
- **Composition** – How a news item fits with the other items that surround it.
- **Expectation** – Does the consumer expect to be told about this?
- **Unusualness** – What sets it apart from other events, which are not reported?
- **Worth** – Does it justify its appearance in the news?
- **External influences** – Is the content of a news item pure, or has it been corrupted by pressure from outside, such as a proprietor, an advertiser or politician?

(Brighton and Foy 2007:26)

The criterion relevance corresponds to Galtung and Ruge's term of consonance. Relevance is a broad notion and, as the writers claim "...it is this aspect of the news values system that is instinctively deployed by professional news-gatherers, who will often claim to 'know the audience'."(Brighton and Foy 2007). A car crash, let us say, in Durham, UK, with one casualty will be of direct interest only to those who reside in Durham. However, if the casualty happens to be a Bulgarian, then the car-crash accident will, most probably, become a leading news item for most dailies and electronic newscasts in Bulgaria.

Topicality has to do with events like anniversaries of historical events as 1<sup>9th</sup> February in Bulgaria, which commemorates either the birth or the death of the prominent Bulgarian hero – Vassil Levski, who ideologised a revolutionary movement to liberate Bulgaria from Ottoman rule. In such cases, there are planned media agendas at work.

Composition is as old criterion as that of Galtung and Ruge's publication in 1965, corresponding to the common market law of demand and supply. A news editor will provide their readership with what is felt to be the demand and, will respectively strive to achieve a

balanced presentation of various news items – the supply, also taking into consideration the market competition with other media available in the respective country.

Anything that is likely to have an impact on the public falls in the category of expectation. A drug dealer, caught red handed selling dope to the schoolchildren in the local school; a singer that is allegedly thought to have had a love affair with a country's president (e.g. the Bulgarian singer Mariana Popova and the President of the Republic of Bulgaria - Georgi Parvanov); a local hospital medicals that ridiculously confirm only two final diagnosis of their patients as the hospital management has just two clinical pathways contracted with the National Health Insurance Fund; pediatricians that charge underaged patients a consumer tax; a bomb scare in the subway of London. All of the above examples are of information that the public expects to be told about, locally, nationally, or internationally.

As far as unusualness is concerned, it is clearly exemplified by the popular journalistic quote - when a dog bites a man that is not news, because it happens so often. But if a man bites a dog, that is news.<sup>3</sup> The quote self-sufficiently identifies the nature of such unexpected, sensational, unplanned events and happenings that inevitably become hard news, forming large-point fonts and specially typefaced headlines in the printed media, as well as the breaking news items of newscasts. It would not be an exaggeration to state that unusual events turn into hard news – the staple diet of media.

The criterion worth, to my mind, is similar to Galtung and Ruge's ideas of threshold with the subtle difference that Brighton and Foy attribute not only to the "size" of the event, but to the type of protagonists involved as well; rather its assimilation with the formers' reference to elite nations or people. The authors discuss the newsworthy nature of the subjects whether they are popular at all to have any impact on the public's interest and lives of people. The scholars, rightly though, go on to discuss the contemporary implication of the lexical item "celebrity," which refers not only to politically involved persons but also musicians, actors, actresses, and even soap opera stars.

Last but not least, the writers discuss external influences as a criterion with regard to human-interest factors that might prevent an event from becoming a news item like, for example the

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<sup>3</sup> The origin of the popular quote is yet controversial. Several hypotheses exist: 1. It is said to have been coined by Alfred Harmsworth, a British newspaper magnate. 2. It is attributed to Charles Anderson Dana (1819 – 1897) an American journalist, author, and government official; or to 3. John B. Bogart (1848–1921), *New York Sun* editor. (see [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Man\\_bites\\_dog\\_\(journalism\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Man_bites_dog_(journalism)))

owner of a news corporation's control over what is published/ aired or not ( see Brighton and Foy 2007:164).

**Conclusion.** The theory of what makes events become potential news has been, as succinctly discussed, the focus of attention to scholars of different scientific background. Johan Galtung and Mari Hombøe Ruge unarguably set the beginning of a critical approach to media practices not only of high relevance to those professionally involved, but also to those who consume media products. The ensuing revisions of the original taxonomy have added new shades of what news values could be at the dawn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The widespread application of technology and all available means of mass communication give rise to the applicability of some of the original criteria. When the Norwegian scholars conducted their research in 1965 (or, logically prior to the date of the publication of their results), the internet was non-existent. Hence, a criterion as frequency, in their terminology, has taken new connotations, especially with new practices of printed media to sell yesterday today's news (most newspapers are on the stalls the night before the date of their publication in Bulgaria). What is more, the online versions of printed newspapers, being advantageous of the capabilities of technological advances, update hard news as frequently as it is felt to be necessary; and change the so called news in brief (NIB), which is said to be space fillers. Given that, composition as criterion calls for further research, albeit some authors (Hardcup and O'Neill; Brighton and Foy 2007) attribute it to media agenda. In contrast, MacShane's failure to discuss such pragmatic practicalities of media coverage and focus of attention to impact and audience identification (see above) could be ascribed to his having been a practitioner, rather than a scholar, thus considering such criterion as a taken-for-granted one among professionals. Moreover, it is worth noting that journalists are critical-thinking members of a sociocultural environment and, despite their professional ethics to objectively present news, they still have an opinion on events and happenings. Personal opinion can be encoded in any utterance by means of special usage of the verb system of the target language (e.g Active vs Passive Voice; positive vs negative connotation; modality); syntax (e.g elliptical sentences; metaphors); nominal syntagms (choice of adjectives); phonostylistical devices, etc. These phenomena possess their peculiarities as far as languages are concerned and they would be worth investigating from sociolinguistic/sociocultural point of view in further research paper work.

External influences in Brighton and Foy's terminology set another aspect of news gathering. Media ownership self-sufficiently establishes what and, more importantly, whose ideas a medium voices. Downie and Schudson, 2002 suggest a new perspective of what influences media choices of news presentation:

“...the economic foundation of the nation's newspapers, long supported by advertising, is collapsing, and newspapers themselves, which have been the country's (the USA here) chief source of independent reporting, are shrinking literally. Fewer journalists are reporting less news in fewer pages.”

Downie and Schudson 2002( Fenton 2011:3)

The picture is almost identical in Central and Eastern Europe and the Commonwealth of Independent States: Albania, Armenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Kyrgyzstan, Latvia, Lithuania, Macedonia, Moldova, Montenegro, Poland, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia, and Ukraine, according to an investigation conducted by the Open Society Institute Media Program (OSI 2010) (ibid).

On balance, the process of newsgathering is a complex phenomenon. The theoretical taxonomies in academic literature, on the one hand, present one possible aspect of what types of events are prone to turn into news items. The human interference as a journalistic choice, personal values, stereotypes, and cultural belonging add to the picture of news selection and presentation. Media ownership together with political and economic factors are other criteria that influence media contents. Audiences and readership profiles are to be taken into consideration as well. Finally yet importantly, news values are then to be viewed as qualities of potential reports and they are not simply features of selection but features of representation. News events, being systematically sorted and selected, are to be carefully worded, designed, projected and given prominence to on the newspaper's pages, computer and television screens.



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## APPENDIX

(Here is a random selection of 50 solutions from the 14684 found).

**A1R 3** THE STORY was that Breakfast News (BBC 1), the third relaunch of the cereal television which began in 1983 as Breakfast Time with Frank Bough and Selina Scott chummy in jumpers, was going serious. (**A1R** [*Independent, electronic edition of 19891003*]. London: Newspaper Publishing plc, 1989, Arts material, pp. ?? . 61 s-units, 1545 words. )

**A29 54** The People's Daily, the Communist party organ, published news of his death nearly two weeks late but avoided any harsh commentary. (**A29** [*Independent, electronic edition of 19891004*]. London: Newspaper Publishing plc, 1989, Gazette material, pp. ?? . 133 s-units, 3354 words. )

**A2F 17** News of the Prague embassy's open door seems likely to provoke a greatly increased flow of new emigrants from East Germany. (**A2F** [*Independent, electronic edition of 19891004*]. London: Newspaper Publishing plc, 1989, Title material, pp. ?? . 138 s-units, 3149 words. )

**A3D 13** Foreign News Page 10 (**A3D** [*Independent, electronic edition of 19891007*]. London: Newspaper Publishing plc, 1989, Foreign material, pp. ?? . 439 s-units, 9297 words. )

**A8F 406** No wonder he can't bring himself to show much emotion at the news of his family's demise. (**A8F** [*Guardian, electronic edition of 19891123*]. London: Guardian Newspapers Ltd, 1989, Arts material, pp. ?? . 888 s-units, 18531 words. )

**ABH 1649** The prime minister warned MPs that the Gulf war would not be 'an easy or painless business' and readied them for 'difficult news' to come. (**ABH** *The Economist*. London: The Economist Newspaper Ltd, 1991, pp. ?? . 3341 s-units, 60150 words. )

**AC2 1057** That afternoon the convener communicated his version of the story to the shop steward's committee and within an hour every department was buzzing with the news. (**AC2** *Man at the sharp end*. Kilby, M. Lewes, East Sussex: The Book Guild Ltd, 1991, pp. ?? . 2565 s-units, 36227 words. )

**ACG 1865** Though he sits by the gate of Shiloh, in his blindness watching the road, he is nearly the last in the town to hear the news. (**ACG** *Lo and behold!* Dennis, Trevor. London: SPCK, 1991, pp. ?? . 1987 s-units, 36214 words. )

**AKG none** Daily Telegraph, electronic edition of 1992-04-13: News and features. (**AKG** [*Daily Telegraph, electronic edition of 19920413*]. London: The Daily Telegraph plc, 1992, Social material, pp. ?? . 34 s-units, 677 words. )

**AKH 919** In 1970 Hall joined the News of the World, where she was woman's editor until 1988. (**AKH** [*Daily Telegraph, electronic edition of 19920413*]. London: The Daily Telegraph plc, 1992, World affairs material, pp. ?? . 963 s-units, 20012 words. (**AKH** [*Daily Telegraph, electronic edition of 19920413*]. London: The Daily Telegraph plc, 1992, World affairs material, pp. ?? . 963 s-units, 20012 words. )

**APW 879** I did not hear the sailor's words, but Lachlan forbade me to waken Hector, he said the morning would do for the news. (**APW** *Quest for a babe*. Hendry, Frances Mary. Edinburgh: Canongate Publishing Ltd, 1990, pp. 43-141. 3543 s-units, 37837 words. )

**B1R 1566** This remedy may be needed after a fright, rage, vexation, jealousy or hearing bad news. (**B1R** *How to use homeopathy*. Hammond, Christopher. Shaftesbury, Dorset: Element Books Ltd, 1991, pp. 1-134. 2739 s-units, 35304 words. )

**B2E 1373** We began to get worse and worse news from the Continent about Concentration Camps, for Jews and others, that were almost unbelievably brutal. (**B2E** *Oh! sister I saw the bells go down*. Saunders-Veness, Frances. Lewes, East Sussex: The Book Guild Ltd, 1989, pp. 7-73. 1596 s-units, 25384 words. )

**C86 1607** When Creed called, Jed was watching a news report about a vulture who'd just been arrested on a murder charge. (**C86** *The five gates of hell*. Thomson, Rupert. London: Bloomsbury Publishing Ltd, 1991, pp. 123-226. 4332 s-units, 41866 words. )

**CBU 603** The news of the near fatal stabbing of WPC Harrison in Liverpool has focused attention again on the vulnerability of women to physical violence, particularly during their working lives. (**CBU** *Accountancy*. London: Institute of Chartered Accountants, 1993, pp. ?? 5049 s-units, 102586 words. )

**CGD 997** Resistance to uncomfortable news, for example a recommendation to give up one's own home, is as strongly present as in earlier life. (**CGD** *Family work with elderly people*. Froggatt, Alison. Basingstoke: Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 1990, pp. 1-107. 1936 s-units, 37812 words. )

**CGL 288** This quarterly publication, available to members of CWH is full of news updates on the aircraft of the CWH Museum along with articles of an historical nature. (**CGL** *FlyPast*. Stamford, Lincs: Key Publishing, 1992, pp. ?? 1934 s-units, 39395 words. )

**CH6 9210** 'I've got some great news,' she told her mother Barbara Cooper. (**CH6** *The Daily Mirror*. London: Mirror Group Newspapers, 1992, pp. ?? 9610 s-units, 127906 words.)

**CH7 2499** The former Kent all-rounder was 'disgusted' that news of his sacking — along with batsman Andrew Brown — was announced before the club had told them. (**CH7** *The Daily Mirror*. London: Mirror Group Newspapers, 1992, pp. ?? 5437 s-units, 84868 words. )

**CKB 3038** 'Have you heard the news?' (**CKB** *The raven on the water*. Taylor, Andrew. London: Fontana Press, 1992, pp. 7-136. 3819 s-units, 39288 words.)

**CR8 776** They were more reassured by the news that the prince was about to give a lunch, which would be attended by his son, Prince Ranariddh, who leads FUNCINPEC, and by Chea Sim, the general secretary of the CPP. (**CR8** *The Economist*. London: The Economist Newspaper Ltd, 1993, pp. ?? 3139 s-units, 57460 words. )

**CRA 469** FOR a writer who was put in the 'Garbage School of Literature' along with Tennessee Williams and William Faulkner by the editor of the Jackson Daily News, Eudora Welty has done well for herself. (**CRA** *The Economist*. London: The Economist Newspaper Ltd, 1993, pp. ?? 3317 s-units, 58734 words. )

**CRC 2650** It owns 40% of Nikkei Quick, a Japanese-language on-line financial news service whose cubby-hole is the first in which company announcements are placed. (**CRC** *The Economist*. London: The Economist Newspaper Ltd, 1993, pp. ?? . 4039 s-units, 71921 words.)

**CRU 540** The Gay News Defence Committee organised many forms of protest, including a march and meeting in Trafalgar Square which attracted 5,000 people. (**CRU** *Permission and Regulation*. Newburn, T. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul plc, 1992, pp. 1-70. 1152 s-units, 31189 words. )

**CTD 49** Not such good news from one of the original players in this arena though, Mac-on-RISC house Quorum Software Systems Inc, Menlo Park, California, has filed suit against Apple seeking to counter allegations of patent and copyright infringement made by Apple. (**CTD** *Unigram x. APT Data Services Ltd.*, 1993, pp. ?? . 418 s-units, 10171 words. )

**CTE 264** Another piece of what sounds like good news is that the entire Coherent 4.0 consists of six floppy disks and 'installs in less than an hour'. (**CTE** *Unigram x. APT Data Services Ltd.*, 1993, pp. ?? . 331 s-units, 8060 words. )

**EC2 100** '(News at Ten, 4.6.91). (**EC2** *ASH Supporters' News Issue No. 29*. London: Action on Smoking & Health, 1991, pp. ?? . 375 s-units, 7001 words. )

**FM2 855** So that's good news. (**FM2** Missprint planning meeting (Business). Recorded on 28 March 1993 with 5 participants, totalling 15029 words, 1941 utterances (duration not recorded).

PS000 17 words, 48 utterances.

PS1S1 ('Wendy', female, 25, lexicographer): 8022 words, 782 utterances.

PS1S2 ('Clare', female, 21, transcriber): 1937 words, 353 utterances.

PS1S3 ('Derek', male, 24, transcriber): 3430 words, 480 utterances.

PS1S4 ('David', male, 24, transcriber): 1623 words, 278 utterances. )

**FS0 710** Auque's news appeared to point to the fact that John was being held by an Iranian-backed group, and in March Hashemi Rafsanjani called a news conference in Tehran during which he repeated his request that Britain should help locate the missing Iranians in Beirut if it wanted Iran to help with the British hostages. (**FS0** *Some other rainbow*. Morrell, J and McCarthy, J. London: Transworld Publishers Ltd, 1993, pp. ?? . 1974 s-units, 35288 words. )

**GUK 955** The news of Soeur Dosithée's holy and resigned death came on a black-edged card in a black-edged envelope. (**GUK** *Daughters of the house*. Roberts, Michele. London: Virago Press Ltd, 1993, pp. 30-153. 3950 s-units, 41259 words. )

**GUU 1404** 'Any news of Ivor?' she asked gently. (**GUU** *Freelance death*. Taylor, Andrew. London: Victor Gollancz Ltd, 1993, pp. 52-175. 4337 s-units, 40867 words. )

**H0M 543** the fucking news... (**H0M** *Money*. Amis, Martin. London: Penguin Group, 1985, pp. ?? . 4072 s-units, 41518 words. )

**H46 277** NEWS (**H46** *Bookseller*. London: J Whitaker & sons, 1993, pp. ?? . 1326 s-units, 25503 words. )

**HAF 419** NEWS DIGEST (**HAF** *The Sunday People*. pp. ??, 1337 s-units, 19285 words. )

**HAK 41** After joining Courage, he used his editing experience on in-house newspapers and magazines and branched out into video news and promotional programmes. (**HAK** *BAIE News for communicators in business*. Dorking: Hardman Press, 1993, pp. ??, 399 s-units, 8457 words. )

**HP4 616** Wimpey News has teamed up with Kuoni, one of the world's leading travel companies, to offer readers the chance of visiting one of three exotic holiday destinations for little more than the cost of a European holiday. (**HP4** [*Misc unpublished -- Wimpey newsletter*]. u.p., n.d., pp. ??, 1680 s-units, 33791 words. )

**HS2 616** GOLF NEWS (**HS2** *Glenpatrick News*. u.p., n.d., pp. ??, 627 s-units, 11375 words. )

**HSY 10** More news? (**HSY** *CompuAdd. The catalogue*. u.p., n.d., pp. ??, 172 s-units, 2733 words. )

**HU1 797** We await further news of quantitative surveys with interest. (**HU1** *The Embalmer*. Knebworth: British Institute of Embalmers, 1993, pp. 3-35, 960 s-units, 18716 words. )

**HY5 259** When Charles Emmanuel II died, in 1675, special envoys bringing news of his death were treated in both Paris and London as the representatives of a king: both Charles II and Louis XIV wore violet mourning, the colour appropriate for a royal death. (**HY5** *The rise of modern diplomacy 1450–1919*. Anderson, M S. Harlow: Longman Group UK Ltd, 1993, pp. 41-148, 1543 s-units, 44759 words. )

**JIC 2344** Subject: Youth Team News (**JIC** [*Leeds United e-mail list*]. u.p., n.d., pp. ??, 3437 s-units, 40333 words. )

**JIH 2665** Team news for Saturday eagerly awaited. (**JIH** [*Leeds United e-mail list*]. u.p., n.d., pp. ??, 4079 s-units, 46681 words. )

**J27 25** During his lifetime Jesus challenged the people of his time to accept the message of the 'Good News', or Gospel (Mark 1:15). (**J27** *Short courses in religious and moral education*. u.p., n.d., pp. ??, 881 s-units, 14566 words. )

**J54 21** I shall definitely be at the airport to meet you and I hope to have some startling and important news to give you in person. (**J54** *The divided house*. Raymond, Mary. UK: F A Thorpe (Publishing) Ltd, 1985, pp. 1-236, 2757 s-units, 35534 words. )

**K5M 10539** Meanwhile, Colin and Wendy Parry, of Great Sankey, Warrington, saw hopes for their son Tim snatched away with the news that his condition has deteriorated in the intensive care unit of Liverpool's Walton neurosurgical centre. (**K5M** [*Scotsman*]. u.p., n.d., World affairs material, pp. ??, 12622 s-units, 261981 words. )

**KAC 8** We, the Editors of the Medau News, would like to know your views and suggestions on this subject and look forward to printing them in the January issue. (**KAC** *Medau News*. UK: The Medau Society, 1979, pp. ??, 207 s-units, 3505 words. )

**KCJ 1256** well it's, it's it's on at one o'clock, one o'clock and er it's on erm half past six tonight, well I've taped it at half past six tonight and after everybody's watched the news I've, I watched it after, er, you know, so, I watch it then an hour (**KCJ 2** conversations recorded by 'James' (PS1C7) between 3 and 6 April 1992 with 2 interlocutors, totalling 13482 words, 1486 utterances, and 1 hour 23 minutes 47 seconds of recordings.

PS1C7 ('James', male, 63, retired, DE, north-east England): 7486 words, 735 utterances.

PS1C8 ('Patricia', female, 72, housewife, DE, north-east England): 2953 words, 429 utterances.

PS1C9 ('Margaret', female, 30, housewife, north-east England): 3043 words, 322 utterances.

)

**KGH 1434** To the news we go with with Wipe Out by the Safaris. (**KGH BBC Radio Nottingham**: radio broadcast (Leisure). Recorded on 10 November 1993 with 9 participants, totalling 16523 words, 1149 utterances, and lasting 1 hour 30 minutes.

PS388 ('Geoff', male, radio presenter): 1667 words, 146 utterances.

PS389 ('Sue', female): 605 words, 31 utterances.

PS38A ('Teresa', female, radio weather forecaster): 530 words, 35 utterances.

PS38B (male, 10+, schoolchild): 280 words, 24 utterances.

PS38C (male, 10+, schoolchild): 1021 words, 88 utterances.

PS38D (male, 10+, schoolchild): 99 words, 15 utterances.

PS38E (male, 10+, schoolchild): 208 words, 25 utterances.

PS38F (male, 10+, schoolchild): 6740 words, 508 utterances.

PS38G ('Trudy', female): 1094 words, 176 utterances. )

**KLV 534** So there's some good news there. (**KLV General Portfolio management meeting (Business)**). Recorded on 7 April 1993 with 9 participants, totalling 16821 words, 834 utterances (duration not recorded).

PS000 4813 words, 478 utterances.

PS3SF ('Mike', male, 40+, group manager, London): 9438 words, 189 utterances.

PS3SG ('Robert', male, 45+, team manager, Home Counties): 609 words, 31 utterances.

PS3SH ('Jackie', female, 35+, team manager, Home Counties): 622 words, 35 utterances.

PS3SJ ('Steve', male, 50+, team manager, Home Counties): 93 words, 9 utterances.

PS3SK ('Sheila', female, 45+, team manager, Home Counties): 293 words, 46 utterances.

PS3SL ('Phil', male, 45+, team manager, Home Counties): 846 words, 33 utterances.

PS3SM ('Ian', male, 45+, team manager, Home Counties): 36 words, 4 utterances.

PS3SN (female, 45+, personal assistant, Home Counties): 71 words, 9 utterances. )

**KRT 1876** Well, we, we as you correctly say er with the whole industry had a, had a difficult August, I think the good news for Rover is that we fell less in volume terms than most of the competition, and indeed we marginally increased our market share (**KRT Fox FM News**: radio programme. Recorded on [date unknown] with 292 participants, totalling 158242 words, 2687 utterances (duration not recorded).

PS63J ('A', male): 609 words, 18 utterances.

PS63K ('JM', female): 38152 words, 799 utterances.

PS63L ('AW', female): 2227 words, 30 utterances.

PS63M ('PC', male): 543 words, 9 utterances.

PS63N ('BC', male): 497 words, 8 utterances.

PS63P ('MT', female): 179 words, 6 utterances.

PS63R (^NW', male): 372 words, 4 utterances.  
PS63S (^VH', female): 97 words, 1 utterance.  
PS63T (^JG', male): 415 words, 4 utterances.  
PS63U (^DB', male): 615 words, 10 utterances.  
PS63V (^B', male): 777 words, 27 utterances.  
PS63W (^TB', male): 1029 words, 10 utterances.  
PS63X (^NT', male): 576 words, 6 utterances.  
PS63Y (^MN', male): 723 words, 6 utterances.  
PS640 (^LB', female): 3539 words, 64 utterances.  
PS641 (^TR', male): 199 words, 2 utterances.  
PS642 (^MM', female): 57 words, 1 utterance.  
PS643 (^PM', male): 2713 words, 48 utterances.  
PS644 (^SI', male): 679 words, 13 utterances.  
PS645 (^MP', male): 404 words, 9 utterances.  
PS646 (^TS', male): 77 words, 2 utterances.  
PS647 (^C', male): 440 words, 22 utterances.  
PS648 (^JP', male): 1705 words, 14 utterances.  
PS649 (^CS', male): 267 words, 3 utterances.  
PS64A (^D', male): 348 words, 21 utterances.  
PS64B (^CM', male): 310 words, 6 utterances.  
PS64C (^MG', female): 92 words, 1 utterance.  
PS64D (^E', female): 241 words, 9 utterances.  
PS64E (^F', female): 208 words, 9 utterances.  
PS64F (^G', female): 42 words, 2 utterances.  
PS64G (^H', female): 129 words, 8 utterances.  
PS64H (^AS', male): 1243 words, 10 utterances.  
PS64J (^TD', male): 66 words, 1 utterance.  
PS64K (^I', female): 338 words, 5 utterances.  
PS64L (^J', male): 645 words, 33 utterances.  
PS64M (^MB', male): 505 words, 8 utterances.  
PS64N (^BW', male): 83 words, 4 utterances.  
PS64P (^CR', female): 508 words, 4 utterances.  
PS64R (^BF', male): 374 words, 3 utterances.  
PS64S (^K', male): 629 words, 10 utterances.  
PS64T (^TM', male): 327 words, 8 utterances.  
PS64U (^AR', male): 538 words, 10 utterances.  
PS64V (^PR', male): 534 words, 10 utterances.  
PS64W (^L', male): 665 words, 11 utterances.  
PS64X (^CP', male): 593 words, 7 utterances.  
PS64Y (^HH', male): 1528 words, 22 utterances.  
PS650 (^IP', male): 48 words, 1 utterance.  
PS651 (^PP', male): 350 words, 8 utterances.  
PS652 (^AD', female): 368 words, 17 utterances.  
PS653 (^TC', male): 193 words, 3 utterances.  
PS654 (^TA', male): 117 words, 1 utterance.  
PS655 (^IW', male): 505 words, 9 utterances.  
PS656 (^DO', male): 784 words, 5 utterances.



PS657 (^RP', male): 2475 words, 43 utterances.  
PS658 (^DG', male): 438 words, 8 utterances.  
PS659 (^CF', female): 74 words, 1 utterance.  
PS65A (^CJ', female): 310 words, 2 utterances.  
PS65B (^GM', male): 913 words, 15 utterances.  
PS65C (^NS', male): 54 words, 1 utterance.  
PS65D (^DM', male): 585 words, 4 utterances.  
PS65E (^RG', female): 826 words, 6 utterances.  
PS65F (^GO', male): 232 words, 2 utterances.  
PS65G (^F', male): 372 words, 17 utterances.  
PS65H (^RJ', male): 526 words, 7 utterances.  
PS65J (^JB', female): 423 words, 9 utterances.  
PS65K (^G', male): 907 words, 26 utterances.  
PS65L (^JM', male): 1503 words, 18 utterances.  
PS65M (^H', male): 583 words, 21 utterances.  
PS65N (^LR', male): 130 words, 3 utterances.  
PS65P (^MU', male): 14 words, 1 utterance.  
PS65R (^HN', male): 368 words, 4 utterances.  
PS65S (^I', male): 344 words, 19 utterances.  
PS65T (^DW', female): 452 words, 3 utterances.  
PS65U (^RH', male): 653 words, 6 utterances.  
PS65V (^EA', male): 348 words, 9 utterances.  
PS65W (^JH', male): 561 words, 4 utterances.  
PS65X (^MM', male): 218 words, 3 utterances.  
PS65Y (^DF', male): 349 words, 6 utterances.  
PS660 (^NH', male): 237 words, 3 utterances.  
PS661 (^IG', male): 216 words, 4 utterances.  
PS662 (^NC', male): 686 words, 9 utterances.  
PS663 (^MH', male): 342 words, 4 utterances.  
PS664 (^TN', male): 457 words, 8 utterances.  
PS665 (^CG', male): 1006 words, 16 utterances.  
PS666 (^LS', male): 487 words, 8 utterances.  
PS667 (^DH', male): 816 words, 11 utterances.  
PS668 (^Zippy', male): 17 words, 1 utterance.  
PS669 (^SJ', female): 699 words, 5 utterances.  
PS66A (^A', female): 631 words, 16 utterances.  
PS66B (^RR', male): 66 words, 2 utterances.  
PS66C (^ML', male): 3676 words, 30 utterances.  
PS66D (^AC', male): 575 words, 7 utterances.  
PS66E (^JZ', female): 641 words, 3 utterances.  
PS66F (^D', female): 256 words, 9 utterances.  
PS66G (^RB', male): 386 words, 6 utterances.  
PS66H (^DS', male): 1486 words, 15 utterances.  
PS66J (^KG', male): 52 words, 1 utterance.  
PS66K (^AH', female): 61 words, 1 utterance.  
PS66L (^SW', male): 256 words, 5 utterances.  
PS66M (^LM', male): 37 words, 1 utterance.

PS66N (^RM', male): 1230 words, 11 utterances.  
PS66P (^BG', female): 24 words, 1 utterance.  
PS66R (^E', male): 591 words, 23 utterances.  
PS66S (^CB', female): 576 words, 5 utterances.  
PS66T (^AH', male): 259 words, 1 utterance.  
PS66U (^BH', male): 1512 words, 10 utterances.  
PS66V (^P', male): 74 words, 2 utterances.  
PS66W (^AK', female): 174 words, 7 utterances.  
PS66X (^Q', male): 317 words, 8 utterances.  
PS66Y (^Bungle', male): 158 words, 14 utterances.  
PS670 (^Jeffrey', male): 5 words, 1 utterance.  
PS671 (^JB', male): 1436 words, 22 utterances.  
PS672 (^SH', male): 666 words, 6 utterances.  
PS673 (^SK', male): 266 words, 6 utterances.  
PS674 (^MS', male): 104 words, 2 utterances.  
PS675 (^PS', male): 925 words, 16 utterances.  
PS676 (^RV', female): 67 words, 3 utterances.  
PS677 (^AA', male): 474 words, 4 utterances.  
PS678 (^MH', male): 42 words, 1 utterance.  
PS679 (^JE', male): 307 words, 3 utterances.  
PS67A (^EL', female): 469 words, 4 utterances.  
PS67B (^NY', female): 256 words, 3 utterances.  
PS67C (^LJ', male): 393 words, 6 utterances.  
PS67D (^IC', male): 472 words, 10 utterances.  
PS67E (^JW', male): 845 words, 14 utterances.  
PS67F (^NA', male): 223 words, 1 utterance.  
PS67G (^PT', male): 601 words, 7 utterances.  
PS67H (^MI', male): 4138 words, 53 utterances.  
PS67J (^PG', male): 91 words, 1 utterance.  
PS67K (^FD', male): 47 words, 1 utterance.  
PS67L (^TK', male): 595 words, 8 utterances.  
PS67M (^TP', male): 87 words, 1 utterance.  
PS67N (^NM', male): 43 words, 1 utterance.  
PS67P (^JS', male): 2060 words, 17 utterances.  
PS67R (^GD', male): 418 words, 7 utterances.  
PS67S (^MR', male): 1035 words, 5 utterances.  
PS67T (^PJ', male): 557 words, 5 utterances.  
PS67U (^AT', male): 194 words, 2 utterances.  
PS67V (^GW', male): 518 words, 4 utterances.  
PS67W (^RG', male): 199 words, 4 utterances.  
PS67X (^MJ', male): 393 words, 5 utterances.  
PS67Y (^AP', male): 151 words, 3 utterances.  
PS680 (^PA', male): 186 words, 4 utterances.  
PS681 (^FJ', male): 407 words, 2 utterances.  
PS682 (^VB', female): 419 words, 4 utterances.  
PS683 (^RK', male): 366 words, 10 utterances.  
PS684 (^B', female): 127 words, 6 utterances.

PS685 (^GB', male): 181 words, 3 utterances.  
PS686 (^JT', female): 35 words, 1 utterance.  
PS687 (^JK', female): 11 words, 1 utterance.  
PS688 (^HC', female): 82 words, 2 utterances.  
PS689 (^RA', male): 213 words, 4 utterances.  
PS68A (^AB', female): 89 words, 1 utterance.  
PS68B (^PK', male): 3131 words, 43 utterances.  
PS68C (^AG', female): 325 words, 5 utterances.  
PS68D (^MW', male): 686 words, 7 utterances.  
PS68E (^MH', female): 971 words, 11 utterances.  
PS68F (^SP', female): 22 words, 1 utterance.  
PS68G (^BJ', male): 61 words, 1 utterance.  
PS68H (^BW', female): 51 words, 1 utterance.  
PS68J (^PH', male): 488 words, 4 utterances.  
PS68K (^WT', male): 299 words, 6 utterances.  
PS68L (^KP', male): 33 words, 1 utterance.  
PS68M (^PL', male): 53 words, 1 utterance.  
PS68N (^CW', male): 91 words, 1 utterance.  
PS68P (^MB', female): 279 words, 4 utterances.  
PS68R (^KM', male): 236 words, 5 utterances.  
PS68S (^K', female): 116 words, 4 utterances.  
PS68T (^SS', female): 241 words, 4 utterances.  
PS68U (^AJ', male): 149 words, 8 utterances.  
PS68V (^BG', male): 89 words, 2 utterances.  
PS68W (^GF', male): 106 words, 4 utterances.  
PS68X (^RS', male): 1256 words, 13 utterances.  
PS68Y (^NH', female): 69 words, 1 utterance.  
PS690 (^CL', female): 455 words, 7 utterances.  
PS691 (^DP', male): 719 words, 7 utterances.  
PS692 (^JN', female): 987 words, 13 utterances.  
PS693 (^PB', male): 215 words, 4 utterances.  
PS694 (^MF', male): 74 words, 2 utterances.  
PS695 (^IJ', male): 142 words, 1 utterance.  
PS696 (^WH', male): 55 words, 1 utterance.  
PS697 (^AK', male): 536 words, 12 utterances.  
PS698 (^C', female): 134 words, 7 utterances.  
PS699 (^JC', male): 110 words, 2 utterances.  
PS69A (^HK', male): 74 words, 1 utterance.  
PS69B (^HM', male): 65 words, 1 utterance.  
PS69C (^EP', female): 649 words, 4 utterances.  
PS69D (^SP', male): 217 words, 2 utterances.  
PS69E (^RL', male): 272 words, 3 utterances.  
PS69F (^TI', male): 47 words, 1 utterance.  
PS69G (^LH', female): 522 words, 12 utterances.  
PS69H (^FW', male): 365 words, 5 utterances.  
PS69J (^LM', female): 132 words, 7 utterances.  
PS69K (^NR', female): 360 words, 5 utterances.

PS69L (^TF', female): 26 words, 2 utterances.  
 PS69M (^GP', female): 356 words, 3 utterances.  
 PS69N (^SM', female): 637 words, 10 utterances.  
 PS69P (^NK', male): 285 words, 6 utterances.  
 PS69R (^WE', male): 97 words, 1 utterance.  
 PS69S (^NP', female): 382 words, 3 utterances.  
 PS69T (^DC', male): 104 words, 1 utterance.  
 PS69U (^CH', female): 77 words, 1 utterance.  
 PS69V (^EF', male): 405 words, 4 utterances.  
 PS69W (^BS', male): 218 words, 3 utterances.  
 PS69X (^MC', female): 45 words, 1 utterance.  
 PS69Y (^BH', female): 807 words, 19 utterances.  
 PS6A0 (^BY', female): 24 words, 1 utterance.  
 PS6A1 (^CH', male): 362 words, 3 utterances.  
 PS6A2 (^KS', male): 219 words, 2 utterances.  
 PS6A3 (^RM', female): 51 words, 1 utterance.  
 PS6A4 (^JJ', male): 169 words, 1 utterance.  
 PS6A5 (^CA', female): 107 words, 4 utterances.  
 PS6A6 (^CC', male): 207 words, 4 utterances.  
 PS6A7 (^KC', male): 123 words, 2 utterances.  
 PS6A8 (^JW', female): 231 words, 5 utterances.  
 PS6A9 (^JMC', female): 500 words, 12 utterances.  
 PS6AA (^FJM', female): 117 words, 3 utterances.  
 PS6AB (^KK', female): 397 words, 5 utterances.  
 PS6AC (^BO', male): 63 words, 2 utterances.  
 PS6AD (^NP', male): 447 words, 5 utterances.  
 PS6AE (^HA', male): 40 words, 1 utterance.  
 PS6AF (^DW', male): 910 words, 11 utterances.  
 PS6AG (^JV', male): 720 words, 4 utterances.  
 PS6AH (^RD', female): 30 words, 1 utterance.  
 PS6AJ (^EC', male): 69 words, 1 utterance.  
 PS6AK (^WR', male): 526 words, 3 utterances.  
 PS6AL (^PD', male): 176 words, 2 utterances.  
 PS6AM (^HE', female): 129 words, 5 utterances.  
 PS6AN (^DV', male): 725 words, 5 utterances.  
 PS6AP (^PE', male): 180 words, 3 utterances.  
 PS6AR (^AF', male): 555 words, 4 utterances.  
 PS6AS (^LH', male): 19 words, 1 utterance.  
 PS6AT (^LC', male): 22 words, 1 utterance.  
 PS6AU (^BN', male): 447 words, 4 utterances.  
 PS6AV (^TJ', male): 217 words, 1 utterance.  
 PS6AW (^WW', female): 218 words, 2 utterances.  
 PS6AX (^SR', male): 531 words, 11 utterances.  
 PS6AY (^PW', male): 271 words, 6 utterances.  
 PS6B0 (^YO', female): 17 words, 1 utterance.  
 PS6B1 (^FM', male): 212 words, 4 utterances.  
 PS6B2 (^SA', female): 380 words, 11 utterances.

PS6B3 (^KB', male): 47 words, 1 utterance.  
PS6B4 (^WA', male): 32 words, 1 utterance.  
PS6B5 (^VB', male): 86 words, 1 utterance.  
PS6B6 (^AM', male): 56 words, 1 utterance.  
PS6B7 (^HA', female): 92 words, 1 utterance.  
PS6B8 (^RJ', female): 364 words, 3 utterances.  
PS6B9 (^TF', male): 80 words, 1 utterance.  
PS6BA (^FH', female): 512 words, 4 utterances.  
PS6BB (^AL', male): 171 words, 2 utterances.  
PS6BC (^JL', male): 416 words, 5 utterances.  
PS6BD (^BV', male): 367 words, 3 utterances.  
PS6BE (^CK', female): 402 words, 5 utterances.  
PS6BF (^ZW', female): 136 words, 2 utterances.  
PS6BG (^AC', female): 35 words, 3 utterances.  
PS6BH (^EH', female): 106 words, 1 utterance.  
PS6BJ (^HT', female): 105 words, 2 utterances.  
PS6BK (^JR', male): 293 words, 5 utterances.  
PS6BL (^PK', female): 92 words, 2 utterances.  
PS6BM (^MA', female): 320 words, 10 utterances.  
PS6BN (^JG', female): 147 words, 3 utterances.  
PS6BP (^M', male): 24 words, 1 utterance.  
PS6BS (^JO', male): 58 words, 2 utterances.  
PS6BT (^LB', male): 282 words, 6 utterances.  
PS6BU (^DD', female): 65 words, 1 utterance.  
PS6BV (^AM', female): 123 words, 3 utterances.  
PS6BW (^NO', male): 239 words, 3 utterances.  
PS6BX (^DJ', male): 440 words, 6 utterances.  
PS6BY (^N', male): 136 words, 5 utterances.  
PS6C0 (^EH', male): 252 words, 3 utterances.  
PS6C1 (^BM', male): 221 words, 5 utterances.  
PS6C2 (^O', male): 51 words, 5 utterances.  
PS6C3 (^JH', female): 194 words, 3 utterances.  
PS6C4 (^R', male): 176 words, 9 utterances.  
PS6C5 (^JS', female): 118 words, 3 utterances.  
PS6C6 (^AT', female): 294 words, 3 utterances.  
PS6C7 (^DL', male): 56 words, 1 utterance.  
PS6C8 (^KH', male): 67 words, 1 utterance.  
PS6C9 (^BS', female): 63 words, 1 utterance.  
PS6CA (^SC', female): 275 words, 3 utterances.  
PS6CB (^LT', male): 236 words, 5 utterances.  
PS6CC (^DM', female): 253 words, 10 utterances.  
PS6CD (^NA', female): 232 words, 3 utterances.  
PS6CE (^J', female): 60 words, 4 utterances.  
PS6CF (^ID', female): 355 words, 3 utterances.  
PS6CG (^CB', male): 255 words, 4 utterances.  
PS6CH (^RD', male): 72 words, 1 utterance.  
PS6CJ (^RO', male): 109 words, 1 utterance.

PS6CK (^GH', male): 30 words, 1 utterance.  
PS6CL (^CM', female): 305 words, 6 utterances.  
PS6CM (^LT'): 332 words, 7 utterances.  
KRTPS000 95 words, 1 utterance. )”

(see it also online for resource details: <http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/using/index.xml?ID=simple>)

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