INTERTEXTUALITY IN NEWSPAPER HEADLINES. CASE OF HEADLINES ON THE NAKATE PHOTO CROPPING INCIDENT

Juvénal Ntakarutimana (juventakarutimana@gmail.com)
Fatemeh Mahdavirad (fmahdavirad@yahoo.com)
Yazd University, Iran

Abstract

The present study set out to investigate how discourse features contribute to building intextual relations of news headlines reporting on the same news story. Using the theoretical model of Generic Structure Potential (Hasan, 1996), thirty-nine headlines of online news reporting on the story related to the cropped photo of the Ugandan climate activist Vanessa Nakate, were analysed. The results showed that intertextuality in the headlines is achieved through features that include reference to individuals, reference to country, reference to ethnicity, use of role label, reference to emotion, attention to language, use of evaluative language, reference to agency, reference to event, immediacy, quoting, and alluding. It was also revealed that, while some discourse features co-occurred, others were in a complementary distribution.

Key words: discourse features, headlines, intertextuality, media discourse

Résumé

La présente étude s'est attachée à examiner comment les marqueurs du discours contribuent à la construction de relations intertextuelles entre les gros titres journalistiques portant sur le même sujet d'actualité. En utilisant le modèle théorique du Potentiel de Structure Générique (Hasan, 1996), trente-neuf titres de reportage en ligne sur l'incident du recadrage de la photo de l'activiste climatique ougandaise Vanessa Nakate, ont été analysés. Les résultats révèlent que l'intertextualité dans les gros titres est obtenue grâce à des caractéristiques qui incluent la référence aux individus, la référence au pays, la référence à l'ethnicité, l'utilisation de l'étiquette de rôle, la référence à l'émotion, l'attention au langage, l'utilisation d'un langage évaluatif, la référence à l'agence, la référence à événement, l'immédiateté, la citation et l'allusion. Les résultats montrent également que, bien que certaines fonctionnalités du discours coexistent, d'autres sont distribuées de manière complémentaire.

Mots clés : marqueurs du discours, gros titres, intertextualité, discours médiatique

1. Introduction

Part of the contribution of discourse studies is that they help us gain insights on how texts in all their manifestations are used to make meanings. In other words, discourse analysis helps us not only to make sense of texts, but also to understand how they are produced. In media discourse, texts are obtained as a result of a "weaving" process through which the text maker brings together different textual elements which make up a coherent unit (Kress, 2012). Clearly enough, coherence, the fundamental characteristic of any text, is achieved through, among other things, intertextuality (Warren, 2009; O'Keeffe, 2012). Intertextuality has to do

with the productivity of texts and how the texts can transform those that came before, thus changing existing text production conventions (Fairclough, 1992) which is an inherent feature of texts of different genres (Buitkienė, 2014). As far as media discourse is concerned, the concept of intertextuality has been investigated in quite an extended number of studies (Iqani, 2009; Buitkienė, 2014; Khalil, 2015; Qayyum, 2019, among others). Despite the extended interest in studying media discourse in general, little interest has been attached to how intertextuality relates to news headlines, especially headlines treating of the same news story. The present study comes in to bridge the gap. Employing the Halliday's (1978, 1994) Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), in its derived theoretical model of Generic Structure Potential (Hasan, 1996), it intends to investigate the intertextuality relations in the online newspaper headlines treating of the news story related to the cropping of the Ugandan climate activist Vanessa Nakate out of a photo taken while she was with her peers during their participation in a youth climate science conference at Davos, Switzerland. The conference took place on January 25, 2020 and the cropped photo was originally published by the United States-based broadcasting agency *Associated Press (AP)*. The incident, henceforth referred to as the Nakate Photo Cropping, drew the attention of the world online news portals which massively rushed to report on it. In the present study, Thirty-nine newspaper headlines randomly selected from thirty-seven news portals and which report on the same above-stated news topic will be analysed to shade light on how discursive features of the selected headlines contribute to their intertextual relations.

2. Research questions

The following research questions will guide the investigation:

-What are the discursive features that help achieve intertextuality in the headlines of news stories reporting on the Nakate Photo Cropping incident?

-What combinations of features contribute to those intertextual relations?

3. Theoretical framework

The data that will serve in the present article will be approached from the theoretical view point of the construct derived from Halliday's (1978, 1994) Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), namely the Generic Structure Potential (Hasan, 1996), henceforth referred to as GSP. The GSP will be used in accounting for the features that signal intertextual relations of headlines in news stories reporting on the Nakate Photo Cropping incident.

GSP is based on the model called Contextual Configuration (CC) (Halliday & Hasan, 1985:56) which helps to make assumptions about the structure of texts. CC suggests that there is a set of values through which the three elements of the context of situation (field, tenor, and mode) are realized in a text. The CC predicts the following elements about the text structure:

-Obligatory elements-What elements must occur?

-Optional elements-What elements may occur?

-Sequencing of elements-What arrangements of elements are obligatory and optional?

-Iteration-How often may what elements occur?

The GSP, based on the CC model will be applied to the present study and will help determine what and how discursive features are distributed among the headlines of newspaper reporting on the Nakate Photo Cropping, as well as how they help realize intertextual relations across those headlines.

4. Literature review

4.1. What is intertextuality?

Intertextuality is a feature that permeates all texts (Warren, 2009; Buitkienė, 2014; Qayyum, 2019). In his paper treating of multimodal discourse analysis, Kress (2012) refers to the concept of intertextuality implicitly when he alludes to its role in ensuring coherence in text production. Comparing the process of text production to "weaving", he argues that a text maker must be able to bring together in a coherent manner different "threads" which, in their turn, make up a coherent whole (p.36). Thus, intertextuality can be defined as the relationship of a text to other texts (previous or subsequent). Bakhtin (1986), cited in Fairclough (1992:270), provides a comprehensive definition of intertextuality in the following words:

Our speech…is filled with others' words, varying degrees of otherness and varying degrees of 'our-own-ness', varying degrees of awareness and detachment. These words of others carry with them their own expression, their own evaluative tone, which we assimilate, rework, and reaccentuate. (Bakhtin, 1986: 89)

The above words suggest that it is impossible to have absolute originality in discourse. Qayyum (2019:249) goes in the same direction when he asserts that "no text is truly original" and that any discourse derives from the mixing of different ideas from other texts. He goes on to define intertextuality as "the presence of other texts in our discourse".

Other scholars have defined intertextuality in terms of the typologies of intertextual relations. This is the case of Authier-Revuz (1982) and Maingeneau (1987) where a distinction is made between manifest intertextuality, and constitutive intertextuality. The former is involved when the author of a text marks the intertextual relations explicitly, for example by putting between quotation marks words taken from another text. The latter indicates the intertextual relation which is implicitly signalled in a text by the author using another author's ideas but in his/her own creative way. The manifest and constitutive contextual relations match respectively the conventional intertextuality and the indirect intertextuality in the categorization proposed by Shaw and Pecorari (2013). Porter (1986) distinguished between iterability intertextuality and presupposition intertextuality. Iterability intertextuality denotes the repetition of textual elements originating from other texts in a

discourse. Those elements are physically reproduced to help derive the discourse meaning. As for presupposition intertextuality, it denotes the inferences which can be made about the meaning of the linguistic expressions contained in the text. An example of preposition intertextuality is the expression *once upon a time* which is a presupposition indicating to every reader or hearer of a text that a fictional narrative is involved (Adetuyi & Fidelis, 2016). Ahmadian and Yazdani (2013), in their typology from the analysis perspective, propose two types of intertextuality, namely intertextuality of author and intertextuality of reader. The former relies on the text itself and seeks to discover what textual factors influenced the author during text production. The latter focuses on the reader taking into account his/her knowledge and reading experiences as well as other factors which are likely to influence his/her understanding and/or interpretation of the text at hand.

In his study of the role of intertextuality in ideology formation in media discourse, Qayyum (2019:249) wrote that "whatever exists in newspapers is a hybrid discourse as it is the result of mixing different ideas and texts". Needless to state, Qayyum, in the above words, suggests that intertextuality is an inherent feature of newspapers' contents. The *whatever exists in the newspapers* includes newspaper headlines, and their intertextual relations is the focus of the present study. In the next section, we shall first say a few words on the discursive features of newspaper headlines.

4.2. Features of newspaper headlines

Newspaper headlines are the most important part of a newspaper given that they provide readers with an overall view of the article which can help them to decide whether to continue reading the article or not (Montejo & Adriano, 2018). According to Buitkienė (2014), headlines are texts which create both intertextual relations (when they interact with other texts) and intratextual relations (when they interact with people, phenomena and objects in the environment). That interaction of headlines with texts and people make them a place where the "linguistically underdetermined meaning" (Ifantidou, 2009:704) has to be decoded by the reader. For the reader to achieve that end, s/he needs to be familiar with features of headlines. Ifantidou (2009:700), citing Saxena (2006:17), provides a number of frequently observed features in headlines that include "use simple, short, concrete, and appropriate words", "avoid auxiliary verbs", "do not use articles", "use verbs", and "use verbs correctly". Other discursive features used in headlines writing include "evaluative language, vocabulary, intensification and quantification, reference to emotion, reference to elite people, role labels, agency, country, and events" (Montejo & Adriano, 2018:82). Furthermore, the purpose of a headline is achieved through means such as evoking past events, interconnecting intra and extratextual events, alluding, and quoting (Buitkienė, 2014:29). It is worth mentioning that those features are not always observed in headline writing since news writers or editors often purposefully violate them (Ifantidou, 2009) depending on the purpose they want to achieve mainly to convey some additional meaning. This leads us to talking about the functions of newspaper headlines.

The function that a headline is intended to achieve is of considerable importance in determining its features since it will also determine its shape, structure, and content

(Montejo & Adriano, 2018). According to Conboy (2013), headlines fulfil three main functions: summarizing the main idea of the news to the reader, capturing the reader's attention, and defining the identity of the newspaper. Saxena (2006:24-32), cited in Buitkienė (2014:29), proposes the following list of functions served by headlines: index the news (they save readers' time by guiding them to stories of their interest); establish news value (they help readers to give their own judgement of the importance of the story); depict the mood of the story (they reflect various emotions by employing emotion-loaded language); set the tone of the newspaper (they indicate the newspaper's policy); and give identity (they help readers to get accustomed to the headline writing style of newspapers).

Given that a newspaper headline is a subgenre in a journalistic genre (Kronrod & Engel, 2001), practitioners operating within the guidelines of that subculture are expected to behave in a more or less similar manner. In other words, they are expected to show a certain level of coherence in headline production. It has been demonstrated (see Warren, 2009; Kress, 2012, for example) that coherence of a text is realized through intertextuality, while the latter is an inherent property of all the contents of a newspaper (Qayyum, 2019), including headlines. Newspaper headlines constitute a subgenre of journalistic genre whose discursive devices and their link to intertextuality have been largely investigated (see Iqami, 2009; Buitkienė, 2014; Khalil, 2015; Qayyum, 2019, among others). While, according to Montejo and Adriano (2018:82), "headlines are loaded with discursive devices…which can be a good focus for any form of textual analysis", it can be said that the question of how intertextuality is achieved in news headlines, especially those dealing with the same news story, is under-researched, thus the significance of the present study. The present study investigates how intertextual relations across headlines are built up through discursive devices.

5. Methodology

The data used in the present study are headlines of online news all reporting on the Nakate Photo Cropping incident. Thirty-nine (39) headlines randomly selected from thirty-seven (37) online newspapers were considered. The headlines were arrived at using google search engine. The search key expression "Vanessa Nakate photo cropping" was typed in the search engine and each headline provided in the search results had the chance to be selected. The thirty-nine headlines studied in this article were reached after surfing five pages of the google search engine. No permission from the news portals was needed since their news are published for public consumption including for research purposes.

In the first place, the headlines were presented along with their discursive features (see *Table 1*). The following features have been considered: reference to individuals (*RInd*), evaluative language (*EvL*), immediacy (*Im*), attention to language (*ALg*), reference to emotion (*REm*), role label (*RL*), reference to agency (*RAg*), reference to country (*RC*), reference to ethnicity (*REt*), reference to events (*REv*), quoting (*Quo*), and alluding (*Al*). Later, using the Hassan's (1996) Generic Structure Potential, an attempt was made to determine how each of the features is distributed across the headlines as well as how its values help build intertextuality across the headlines.

6. Results and discussion

As an attempt to provide an answer to the first research question which deals with the discursive features that help achieve intertextuality in the headlines of news stories reporting on the Nakate Photo Cropping incident, a number of features which are considered characteristic of the headlines are analysed considering their relevance in determining intertextuality across those headlines.

The discursive features used to realize the three elements of situational context (field, tenor, and mood) in the headlines, and which are relevant to their intertextual relations include: reference to individuals *RInd*, evaluative language *EvL*, immediacy *Im*, attention to language *ALg*, reference to emotion *REm*, role label *RL*, reference to agency *RAg*, reference to country *RC*, reference to ethnicity *REt*, reference to event *Rev*, quoting *Quo*, and alluding *Al* (see *Table 1*).

Following the Hasan's (1996a) GSP model which is based on the theoretical model of Contextual Configuration (Halliday & Hasan, 1985), each of the discursive features indicated above will be explored. For more clarity on the frequency of the discursive features in the headlines, consult *Figure 1*. Each of the features and its realization values in the headlines are explored in the lines below. For purposes of ease of analysis and economy of space, two or three features are combined in the same section for analysis considering their similarities or co-occurrence across headlines.

Table 1. Discourse features in the headlines on the Nakate Photo Cropping incident

Headlines	Newspapers & publication dates	Discourse features
H1: Ugandan climate activist cropped out of photo taken with her white peers	CNN, Jan. 25, 2020	RC, RL, ALg, REt, Al
H2: Outrage at whites-only image as Ugandan climate activist cropped from photo	The Guardian, Jan. 25, 2020	REm, REt, RC, RL, ALg, Al
H3: Anger as Ugandan activist cropped out of photo with white peers	Aljazeera, Jan. 25, 2020	REm, RC, RL, ALg, REt, Al
H4: AP: 'Terrible mistake' to crop Ugandan activist out of Thunberg photo	The Hill, Jan. 28, 2020	RAg, Quo, RC, RL, RInd, ALg, EvL, Al
H5: Ugandan Climate Activist Vanessa Nakate Addresses Being Cropped Out Of Davos Photo	Huff Post, Jan. 25, 2020	RC, RL, RInd, ALg, Al, Im, REv
H6: Associated Press to expand diversity training after cropping Ugandan climate activist from photo	NBC News, Jan. 28, 2020	RAg, EvL, ALg, RC, RL, Al
H7: AP press agency apologizes after cropping Ugandan climate activist from a photo where she posed with white peers including Greta Thunberg in Davos	Daily Mail, Jan. 27, 2020	RAg, Im, RC, RL, Ret, RInd, RPl, Al

H8: Vanessa Nakate: climate activist hits out at 'racist' photo crop	BBC News, Jan. 24, 2020	RInd, RL, Quo, ALg, Im
H9: African climate activist calls out AP's 'racist' cropped out photo	New York Post, Jan. 25, 2020	REt, RL, RAg, Quo, ALg, Im, Al
H10: Ugandan climate activist hits out at 'racist' media after being cropped out of picture with white peers	Independent, Jan. 25, 2020	RC, RL, Quo, Al, REt, Im, ALg
H11: Solidarity for Ugandan climate activist over racist AP photo crop	Africa news, Jan. 25, 2020	REm, RC, RL, Al, RAg, ALg
H12: Ugandan climate activist Vanessa Nakate cropped out of photo	Defender Network, Jan. 28, 2020	RC, RL, RInd, ALg
H13: A Ugandan Climate Activist Was Cropped Out Of A News Agency Photo Of Greta Thunberg At Davos	Buzz feed News, Jan. 24, 2020	RC, RL, ALg, Al, RInd
H14: Greta Thunberg slams AP photo that cropped out Ugandan activist Vanessa Nakate	The Hill, Jan. 26, 2020	RInd, Im, RAg, RC, RL, ALg
H15: Ugandan activist accuses media of racism after being cropped out of photo	Daily Monitor, Jan. 25, 2020	RC, RL, Im, Al, ALg
H16: The AP Apologizes After Cropping Ugandan Activist Out of Photo With Fellow Climate Activists	Blavity, Jan. 28, 2020	RAg, Im, RC, RL,ALg, Al
H17: Ugandan climate activist cropped out of photo	The Grio, Jan. 25, 2020	RC, RL, Al, ALg
H18: Outrage after black Ugandan climate activist is cropped out of AP photo	Nairobi News, Jan. 25, 2020	REm, REt, RC, Al RL, RAg, ALg
H19: Climate Racism? Black Climate Activist Cropped from Greta Photo	Watts Up With That?, Jan. 25, 2020	REt, RL, RInd, ALg, Al
H20: Anger as Ugandan Activist Cropped Out Of Photo With Peers	IZZSO, Jan. 27, 2020	REm, RC, RL, Al, ALg
H21: 'Dangerous' to crop out African voices on climate, Ugandan activist Vanessa Nakate says	The Japan Times, Jan. 29, 2020	Quo, EvL, REt, RC, RL, RInd, ALg
H22: Photo cropping mistake leads to AP soul-searching on race	AP News, Jan. 28, 2020	Im, RAg, ALg, EvL,
H23: Ugandan climate activist Vanessa Nakate calls out 'racist' media after being cropped out of photo	iNews, Jan. 25, 2020	RC, RL, RInd, Quo, Al, ALg, Im
H24: Ugandan Activist Vanessa Nakate Slams Racist Media After Being Cropped from Photo with White Activists	Democracy Now, Jan. 27, 2020	RC, RL, RInd, Im, EvL, Al, REt, ALg
H25: Ugandan Activist Sparks Racism Claims	The African	RC, RL, Im, ALg,

over Cropped Photo	Exponent, Jan. 25,2020	Al
H26: Ugandan Climate Activist Defends Herself Against 'Racist' Photo Crop	News One, Jan. 25,2020	RC, RL, Im, Quo, ALg, EvL, Al
H27: Cropping out a Black climate activist from a press photo was no accident	The Canary, Jan. 25, 2020	REt, RL, Al, EvL, ALg
H28: Ugandan climate activist cropped out of photo with white peers	African Stand, Jan. 25, 2020	RC, RL, REt, ALg, Al
H29: 'You Erased A Continent'-Anger As Ugandan Climate Activist Cropped From Agency Picture	HuffPost, Jan. 25, 2020	Quo, REm, RC, RL, ALg, Al
H30: Ugandan climate activist vows to fight on after 'white-only' photo	New Vision, Jan. 28, 2020	RC, RL, Im, Quo,REt, ALg, Al
H31: Ugandan climate activist cropped out of photo with her white peers	Zimbabwe Voice, Jan. 25, 2020	RC, RL, REt, ALg, Al
H32: Ugandan Climate Activist Cropped Out of Photo Taken with her White Peers	Kampala Post, Jan. 26, 2020	RC, RL, REt, ALg, Al
H33: AP sorry for cropping Ugandan climate advocate out of photo	iMedia Ethics, Jan. 28, 2020	RAg, RC, RL, ALg, Al
H34: Outrage as Ugandan climate activist is cropped out from photo with Greta Thunberg	Nile Post, Jan. 25, 2020	REm, RC, RL, RInd, ALg, Al
H35: Ugandan climate activist cropped out of a photo taken with her white peers	Daily Exclusives, Jan. 27, 2020	RC, RL, REt, ALg, Al
H36: Racism Allegations After Ugandan Climate Activist Cropped From Pic	The Quint, Jan. 25, 2020	Im, RC, RL, ALg, Al, EvL
H37: Climate activist Vanessa Nakate speaks out about being cut from photo with white co-panellists	Upworthy, Jan. 28, 2020	RL, RInd, Im, REt, ALg
H38: Greta Thunberg slams the Associated Press for cropping a black activist out of a photo of her at Davos	Insider, Jan. 27, 2020	RInd, Im, RAg, REt, RL, Rev, ALg, Al
H39: Outrage after Ugandan climate activist is cropped out of photo with white peers	News 24, Jan. 26, 2020	REm, RC, RL, REt, ALg, Al

6.1. Reference to individuals (RInd) and role label (RL)

The feature *RInd* is realized through two values, or two people names, namely "Vanessa Nakate" and "Greta Thunberg" (or simply "Greta" as is the case in *H19*). The former comes in eight headlines while the latter occurs in six headlines (see *Table 1*) with the overall frequency of the feature *RInd* being 35.9% (see *Fig 1*). The occurrence of the only two names in all the headlines is not fortuitous: Vanessa Nakate, a youth climate activist from Uganda, is the one who drew most the attention of the world online media when she reacted after seeing herself cropped out of a photo with her fellow climate activists including Greta

Thunberg. The latter drew the attention of the headlines because not only was she considered the world number one figure in youth climate activism, but also she came in defence of and showed support to Nakate as is highlighted in *H14* "Greta Thunberg slams AP photo that cropped out Ugandan activist Vanessa Nakate" and in *H38* " Greta Thunberg slams the Associated Press for cropping a black activist out of a photo of her at Davos" (see *Table 1*). Clearly enough, the fact that the only two names are used to instantiate the feature *RInd* in a number of headlines (35.9%) is indicative of the intertextual relations that link the headlines concerned. That intertextuality is even more enhanced by the fact that the feature *RInd* (whenever it denotes Vanessa Nakate) is either preceded with the feature *RL* as in "Climate activist Vanessa Nakate speaks out about being cut from photo with white co-panellists" (*H37*), or with both the features *RC* and *RL* as in "Ugandan climate activist Vanessa Nakate calls out 'racist' media after being cropped out of photo"(*H23*).

As of the discursive feature of role label *RL*, it is used in almost all the headlines (only *H22* does not instantiate it) with a frequency of 97.44% (see *Fig 1*). That feature is realized through the values "activist" used in ten headlines, "climate activist" used in twenty-six headlines, "climate activists" (in *H16*), "climate advocate" (in *H33*), and "co-panellists" (in *H37*). Out of the thirty-eight headlines that instantiate the feature *RL*, thirty-seven signal it with the values (climate, climate activist, climate advocate) which highlight the quality of Vanessa Nakate in her participating in the youth climate conference at Davos. Only two headlines, *H16* and *H37*, instantiate the feature *RL* with the values ("climate activists" and "co-panellists", respectively) which refer to the role of the other climate activists who were taken in photo together withVanessa Nakate. The reason why the role of the other climate activists is not pervasive in the headlines is because, unlike Vanessa Nakate, they were not cropped out of the press photo while it is that Nakate photo cropping incident which attracted the attention of the world online media. It is worth noting that, out of the thirty-nine headlines studied in the present article, the only one headline (*H22*) where the feature *RL* is not signalled was authored by the *Associated Press*, the same press agency that first published the cropped photo and was, therefore, blamed for the photo cropping. The pervasive nature of highlighting the role of Vanessa Nakate across the studied headlines informs of their intertextual relations. It represents the manifest intertextuality proposed by Maingeneau (1987) and Authier-Revuz (1982), since her role as a climate activist is explicitly reproduced across all headlines. Is also characteristic of manifest intertextuality the fact that there appears to be an obligatory combination of the feature *RL* with either of the features *RC* and *REt*.

6.2. Reference to country (RC) and reference to ethnicity (REt)

The feature *RC* is represented in the headlines by the unique value "Ugandan" and occurs thirty-two times, i.e., 85.05% (see *Figure 1*). In all instances where the feature *RC* occurs, it is
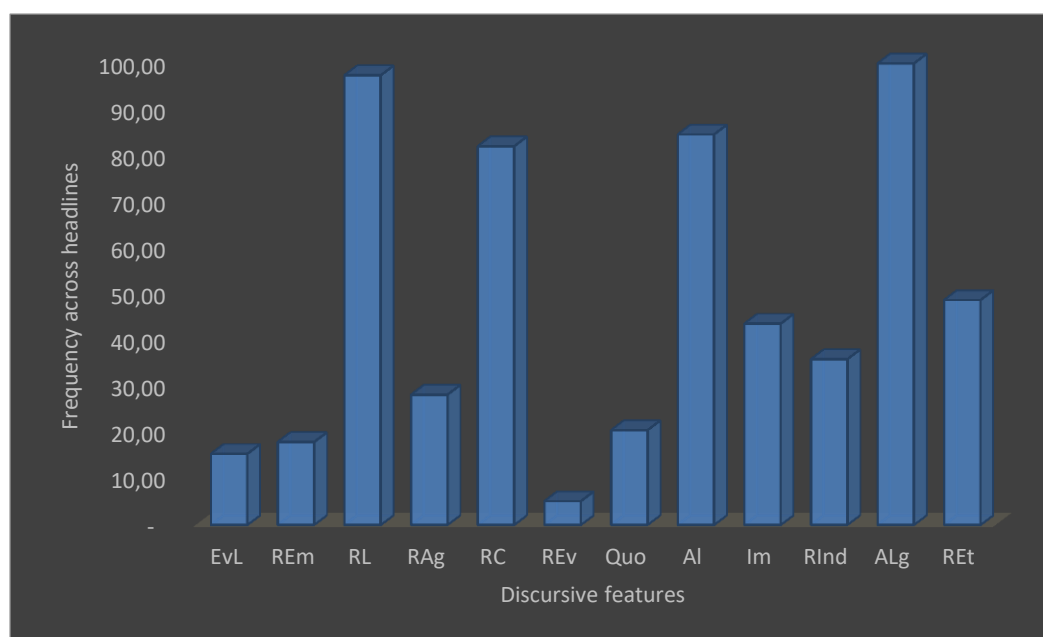
Fig 1. Frequency of discursive features across headlines

EvL=evaluative language   *Quo=quoting*
REm=reference to emotion   *Al= alluding*
RL=role label   *Im=immediacy*
RAg=reference to agency   *RInd=reference to individuals*
RC=reference to country   *ALg=attention to language*
REv=reference to events   *REt=reference to ethnicity*

Obligatorily followed with the feature *RL* in its values "climate activist" as in "Ugandan climate activist cropped out of photo taken with her white peers (*H1*), "activist" as in "Anger as Ugandan activist cropped out of photo with white peers (*H3*), and "climate advocate" as in "AP sorry for cropping Ugandan climate advocate out of photo" (*H33*).

The considerable frequency of the feature *RC* (85.05%) as well as its combination with the feature *RL* across headlines is a clear indication of the intertextual relations characterizing the headlines of the online news reporting on the Nakate Photo cropping incident. Specifically, it is another instance of the manifest intertextuality proposed by Authier-Revuz (1982) and Maingeneau (1987) given its recursion across headlines.

As far as the feature reference to ethnicity *REt* is concerned, it appears nineteen times across headlines, i.e. 48.72% and is instantiated through the values "African" (see *H9*, for example), "black" (see *H19*, for instance), "white" (see *H7*, for example), "whites-only" (see *H2*), and "white-only" (see *H30*).

It is important to note that the feature *REt*, when denoting Vanessa Nakate (i.e., when signalled through either of the values "African"and "Black") as in "Cropping out a Black climate activist from a press photo was no accident" (*H27*), is in complementary distribution

with the feature *RC*; that is, where one occurs the other cannot. This suggests nationality or country of origin (Uganda) in this specific reporting and ethnicity (African, Black) and country of origin (Uganda) are seen as non-exclusive notions. Furthermore, the feature REt, when denoting Vanessa Nakate, obligatorily comes before the feature *RL* wherever it occurs in the headlines.

The attested complementary distribution between the features *REt* and *RC* as well as the pervasive co-occurrence of the features *RC* and *RL* are another confirmatory case of the relation of intertextuality governing the headlines. They evidence the intertextuality of author proposed by Ahmadian and Yazdani's (2013) since they denotes the shared factors influencing authors when they are authoring headlines.

6.3. Attention to language (ALg), evaluative language (EvL), and immediacy (Im)

By attention to language, we mean the care which the headline writers seem to put on language use. The feature *ALg* appears to have been used in all the headlines studied. The values through which it manifests derive from both lexical choice and syntactic organisation. As far as lexical choice is concerned, the pervasive use use of the lexeme *crop* is remarkable as it is used in thirty-seven of the headlines (94.87%). The only two headlines which lack the said lexeme are *H30* "Ugandan climate activist vows to fight on after 'white-only' photo" and *H37* "Climate activist Vanessa Nakate speaks out about being cut from photo with white co-panellists", with H37 using the lexeme *cut* which is rather close to *crop* in meaning. Upon reading the headlines, one is tempted to ask the question as to why almost all the headlines would use *crop*. Is it a lack of creativity? The answer to the question, and which is evidenced by the data, is provided by Qayyum (2019:249) who argues that "no text is truly original". In other words, authors of the headlines, being aware that headlines are the subgenre of the larger journalistic genre (Kronrod & Engel, 2001), are adhering to the same vocabulary choice guidelines in order to be coherent given that, as is put by Warren (2009) and Kress (2012), coherence is partially achieved through intertextuality. As of the role of syntactic organisation in achieving intertextuality of the headlines, some of the observable features include omission of the article before a noun (for example, the nouns "photo", "picture", and "pic" are not preceded by an article in the headlines except in *H7*, *H27*, *H35* and *H38*); lack of auxiliary (see *H12* and *H33*, for example), omission of the agent where the verb "crop" is used in the passive form. The majority of headlines seem to avoid putting the agent of the cropping action, while a few of them mention explicitly the *Associated Press (AP)* as the agent responsible for the photo cropping as in "The AP apologizes after cropping Ugandan activist out of photo with fellow climate activists" (*H16*). Observable also as features of intertextuality across headlines is the combination of "cropped" with the preposition/prepositional expressions "from", "out of" (in most instances), and "out from". The presence of these language-related features in all the headlines investigated instantiate some of the guidelines for writing headlines provided by Saxena (2006:17), cited in Ifantidou (2009:700): "…avoid auxiliary verbs", "do not use articles" "use verbs correctly". The pervasive nature of the instantiation of these guidelines in the headlines informs of their intertextual relations.

The feature of evaluative language *EvL* is also characteristic of the headlines intertextual relations with 15.38% of frequency (see *Fig 1*). Through the feature *EvL*, an assessment or/and judgment of the situation is made through the headlines. This is the case of *H22* "Photo cropping mistake leads to AP soul-searching on race" which derives a cause-and-effect relationship between the Nakate Photo cropping incident and the behaviour that is thought to be adopted by the alleged author of a made mistake.

As for the feature immediacy *Im*, it is one of the major signals of intertextuality in that it is as frequent as 43.59 % across headlines. Immediacy describes the immediate nature of the action or situation described in the headline as is the case in *H24* "Ugandan activist Vanessa Nakate *slams* racist media after being cropped from photo with white activists" and in *H26* "Ugandan climate activist defends herself against 'racist' photo crop".

6.4. Reference to events (REv) and reference to agency (RAg)

The feature reference to events *REv* is the least instantiated and, therefore, the least representative of intertextuality in the headlines. It occurs in just two headlines, namely *H5* and *H38* (see *Table 1*), where it denotes the youth science conference which was taking place at Davos. As for the feature reference to agency *RAg*, it has the frequency of 28.21% (see *Figure 1*) and is signalled through the values "AP" in most headlines where it occurs, "agency" (in *H29*), and "AP press agency" (in *H7*). The fact that the feature occurs in eleven headlines with the same value "AP" in nine headlines constitutes another evidence of intertextuality among the headlines. The type of intertextuality involved here is iterability intertextuality since the same feature *RAg* is repeatedly attested through the textual elements denoting the same referent (the Associated Press agency).

6.5. Reference to emotion (REm), quoting (Quo), and alluding (Al)

The feature *REm* is marked in 17.95% of headlines (see *Fig 1*). Evoking emotional states involved in a situation seems to be a technique that is shared among a number of headlines on the Nakate Photo Cropping incident. The emotional states showcased in the present study headlines are expressed through the notions of outrage signalled in four headlines as in "Outrage at whites-only image as Ugandan climate activist cropped from photo" (*H2*), anger marked in three headlines as in "Anger as Ugandan activist cropped out of photo with white peers" (*H3*), and solidarity or compassion instantiated in one headline, namely "Solidarity for Ugandan climate activist over racist AP photo crop" (*H11*). This pervasive recourse to use of emotional states in the headlines is a further evidence of intertextuality that is characteristic of headline writing.

Quoting (*Quo*) is used in 20.51% of headlines (see *Fig 1*). The quoted items are "terrible mistake" (*H4*), "racist" (*H8*, *H9*, *H10*, *H23*, and *H26*), and "dangerous" (*H21*) used to describe comments on the cropping of the Nakate photo, "You erased a continent" (*H29*), and "whites-only" (*H30*). It is interesting to note that the word "racist" is quoted in five out of the eight headlines that contain quoted items (i.e., 62.5%) while there is one headline where the word is used without quotation marks. Using the feature *Quo* in general and using

it with the word "racist" (used in most headlines) in particular suggest a shared practice among news writers which consists of detaching themselves from the responsibility of using what might be seen to be sensitive expressions. The motive for that practice can also be located in one of the functions of headlines, namely to attract the attention of readers so that they can consume the article (Buitkienė, 2014). That visibly shared practice in the studied headlines comes to add to the intertextual relations that link those headlines. Two types of intertextuality are involved here: first, intertextuality of reader (Ahmadian & Yazdani, 2013) in that the writer assumes the reader's knowledge of the role of quoting which will prompt him/her to go and read the article to discover more on the quoted items; second, presupposition intertextuality (Porter, 1986) in that the headline's author makes inferences on what will be the reader's understanding and interpretation of the items quoted. The role played by quoting in the present study appears to involve two things: the emphasis on the words spoken by Nakate as well as the comments made by the general public on the Nakate Photo Cropping incident. This corroborates the finding from Buitkienė (2014:33) that there are two reasons to use quotation, namely "to stress important points made by a speaker and to retain the flavour of the comment".

Finally, the feature alluding *Al* with 84.62% of frequency is the fourth most frequent marker of intertextuality in the headlines after the features *ALg* with 100%, *RL* with 97.44%, and *RC* with 89.74% (see *Fig 1*). Headlines use this feature to refer to entities indirectly. This indirect reference is widely used in the studied headlines to refer mostly to Vanessa Nakate as is the case in "Outrage after black Ugandan climate activist is cropped out of AP photo" (*H18*), where the expression "black Ugandan climate activist" alludes to Nakate. The headlines also seem to have recourse to that feature in order not to state directly the identity of the news portal *Associated Press* slammed for its responsibility in cropping Nakate from the picture. This is noticeable through the use of various expressions which indirectly refer to *Associated Press*, namely "media" (*H10, H15, H23,* and *H24*), "news agency" (*H13*), "press" (*H27*), and "agency". In short, the recursion of the feature *Al*, which is characteristic of the Porter's (1986) iterability intertextuality (see *Section 5.1*), is one more marker of the intertextual relations in the investigated headlines.

7. Conclusion

The aim of this study was to explore how discursive features as well as their combinations contribute to building intertextual relations of headlines, particularly headlines treating of the same news story. The headlines used in the online news reporting on the Nakate Photo Cropping incident were used as empirical data. A number of discursive features were found to drive intertextual relations among the investigated headlines. They include reference to individual, role label, reference to country, reference to ethnicity, attention to language, use of evaluative language, immediacy, reference to events, reference to agency, reference to emotion, quoting, and alluding. Furthermore, while some features were found to freely co-occur with each other, others were attested to be in obligatory combination across headlines. While the present study was concerned with how discursive features help achieve intertextuality among headlines treating of the same news story, it did not delve into how the

same features drive the functions served by those headlines. Future research could contribute in that direction.

The present study is hoped to be of help for an increased understanding of media discourse, especially the subgenre of headline, as well as for developing more effective teaching materials needed in media discourse pedagogy.

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