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WHAT IS STILL *FAKE* IN THE MEDIA: A CHANGE OVER 20-YEARS' TIME

Olena Gryshchenko
Borys Grinchenko Kyiv University
ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0001-7678-9851
o.hryshchenko@kubg.edu.ua

Galyna Tsapro
Borys Grinchenko Kyiv University
ORCID ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-0748-7531
g.tsapro@kubg.edu.ua

In the modern world of high technologies, real opportunities and open information, fake becomes an integral part of life and one of the consequences of human activity. The age of excessive information and quick accessibility to any facts and news is concurrently the time of deficiencies. A lot of information which is obtained is insufficient, misleading, ambiguous, deceptive and absolutely fake. 'Fake' tends to substitute more and more real thing, notions and events and to modify real-life communication. It misleads, manipulates, misinforms, makes you believe in the possibility of "multiplicity of truths" and suggests the existence of multiple realities.

The research offers a corpus-based analysis of collocations with FAKE in 'The Economist' issues published in 2001 and 2021. The two corpora have been processed with the help of Sketch Engine. The results obtained demonstrate a great shift in the media discourse within the 20-year period picturing what is fake. Only two things prove to be fake in both years: fake ID and fake card. In the year 2001 the main focus is on fake

photography, image, watch, product. However, in the year 2021 the predominant topic is fake news, then there go the following collocations: fake information, link, account, order, divorce, personality, degree, certificate, medicine and vaccine. It seems that the frequency use has changed, 37 and 57 cases of FAKE as an adjective in the year 2001 and 2021 respectively. Collocations having a positive meaning in newspaper articles published in 2001 are the following fake pancreas, fake target, fake (threat) image, neutral collocations are fake parapets, fake pigeons, fake houses, fake waterway, and negative – fake Ids, fake documentation, fake profits, fake jobs, fake cuppa, fake watches, fake products; while in 2021 all collocations with FAKE are marked as negative (fake medicine, fake vaccine, fake ids, fake certificates, fake data, fake account, etc.). FAKE news proves to be the most frequently collocation in the media discourse of 2021.

Keywords: *fake, corpus analysis, collocations, media discourse, The Economist*

Грищенко О.В., Цапро Г.Ю., Що залишається фейком у медіа: зміни за двадцять років

У сучасному світі високих технологій, реальних можливостей та відкритої інформації фейк стає невід'ємною частиною життя та одним із наслідків людської діяльності. Епоха надлишку інформації та швидкої доступності будь-яких фактів і новин є водночас часом недоліків. Багато інформації, яка отримується, є недостатньою, дезінформативною, неоднозначною, оманливою та абсолютно фейковою. «Фейк» має тенденцію замінювати все більше реальних речей, понять і подій і змінювати комунікацію в реальному житті. Він вводить в оману, маніпулює, дезінформує, змушує вас повірити в можливість «множинності істин» і припускає існування кількох реальностей.

Дослідження пропонує аналіз на основі корпусу сполучень із FAKE у випусках The Economist, опублікованих у 2001 та 2021 роках. Два корпуси оброблено за допомогою SketchEngine. Отримані результати демонструють значну зміну медійного дискурсу протягом 20-річного періоду щодо того, що є фейком. Лише дві речі виявилися фальшивими за обидва роки: фальшиве посвідчення особи та фальшива картка. У 2001 році основна увага зосереджена на підроблених фотографіях, зображеннях, годинниках, продуктах. Однак у 2021 році переважаючою темою є фейкові новини, потім йдуть наступні словосполучення: фейкова інформація, посилання, обліковий запис, замовлення, розлучення, особистість, диплом, сертифікат, ліки та вакцина. Схоже, що частота вживання змінилася, 37 і 57 випадки FAKE як прикметника у 2001 і 2021 роках відповідно. Словосполучення, що мають позитивне значення в газетних статтях, опублікованих у 2001 році: fake pancreas, fake target, fake (threat) image, neutral collocations are fake parapets, fake pigeons, fake houses, fake waterway, негативне – fake Ids, fake documentation, fake profits, fake jobs, fake cuppa, fake watches, fake products; в той час як всі словосполучення з FAKE у медійних текстах мають негативну конотацію (fakemedicine, fakevaccine, fakeids, fakecertificates, fake data, fake account, etc.). FAKE new sвиявилось найвживанішим словосполученням у статтях, опублікованих у 2021.

Ключові слова: *фейк, корпусний аналіз, колокації, медіадискурс, The Economist*

Introduction.

The origin of the word 'fake' is traced back to the XVIII century however its present meaning made it one of the most common and popular words of our century. Fake is generally perceived as lies, untruth, deception, forgery and

counterfeit. Earlier research (Bolinger, 1973; Weinrich, 1965) on lying emphasized the necessity of its study within the framework of linguistics. Language itself does not lie and cannot lie but is only used to convey false and deceptive information. Accordingly, lying is "of concern to linguistics" (Weinrich, 2006, p. 9).

Fake has become an essential part of our modern world and continues to retain its position and to keep its relevance. It is mainly associated with 'fake news' and is widely spread with the help of mass media (mass media discourse) which actively participate in the construction of modern reality. This reality is often referred to as virtual, augmented, untruthful, fake, 'comfortable, etc. Fake has influenced different spheres of life, i.e. social, personal, interpersonal, political, cultural, educational, economic, including the spheres of communication, employment, religion and fashion. It has affected people's behavior and language. It has changed the way we communicate, the way various types of discourse are produced, processed and comprehended.

Theoretical background.

Media play a major role in the modern society. Apart from providing people with information, they shape ideas, influence beliefs and behaviours, transform attitudes, shape identity and create a new reality with multiple characteristics, a "collective socio-historic and socio-cultural reality" (O'Keeffe, 2006, p. 31). Broadcast and printed media represent specific reality. New media objects, including several areas of new media which have emerged, "create the illusions of reality" (Manovich, 2001, p. 34). This reality of mass media is known as the reality of "second-order observations" which "replaces knowledge prescriptions" and shapes the reality itself (Luhmann, 2000, p. 85).

The importance of the media in the modern world is "incontrovertible". "The media have largely replaced older institutions (such as the Church, or trade unions) as the primary source of understanding of the world". In modern democracies they have a vital function as "a public forum" (Talbot, 2007, p. 3).

Mass media is "the intersection of mass communication, culture, and technology". The term 'new media' is usually applied to various new technologies which provide "human-computer interaction" (Giles, 2003, pp. 7-8). Mass media influence culture and present its ideas in definite ways (Turow, 2020, p.18).

Mass media discourse (or media discourse) is a broad term. It is a "generic structure, a socially binding forum". It is a form of mass communication and interaction.It is intertwined with different types of discourse — online, news

discourse, newspaper, political, public, advertising, economic, argumentative, official, cultural, psychological, national, virtual, persuasive, military, conflict, educational, manipulative, power discourse and discourse of fake — which is known as "interdiscursivity" (O'Keeffe, 2006, p. 26, p. 28).

Media discourse is a multidisciplinary field. It "circulates in and across institutions and it is deeply embedded in the daily life and daily interactions of almost everyone" (Talbot, 2007, p. 5). If "discourses are bodies of knowledge and practice that shape people" (Talbot, 2007, p. 13), media discourse has even a more crucial role in this process, as nowadays everyone is engaged in media discourse significantly. Major categories of media content are often referred to as genres (primary genres), which include entertainment, news (soft news, hard news), information, education, and advertising (Turow, 2020, p. 68) are genres of media discourse.

Results and discussion.

The aim of the research is to unveil how the topic of FAKE covered in the "The Economist" articles has changed in 20 years' time as well as to interpret the meaning of collocations with FAKE as positive, neutral or negative and respectively news passages containing such collocations. The object of the study is the newspaper discourse containing the lemma *FAKE*. The subject of the study is collocations with *FAKE as* an adjective in "The Economist" articles. "The Economist" weekly magazine (The Economist) published in the years of 2001 and 2021 has been chosen as the material for the research.

Two corpora were created to carry out the research. The first corpus of 2001-year complies 51 files, 3674799 tokens (lemma FAKE occurs 37 times in 20 files out of 51); the second one of 2021 consists of 51 files, 2275989 tokens (lemma FAKE occurs 57 times in 24 files out of 51).

Both the corpus analysis and discourse analysis have been applied. To process and investigate the corpora Sketch Engine (Sketch Engine) has been used.

Collocations with FAKE usually have negative connotation as FAKE is interpreted as not true, original or genuine and thus produces negativity on the whole word combinations containing FAKE as an adjective. Nonetheless, the discourse analysis of the news passages containing collocations with FAKE clearly demonstrates that collocations with FAKE may have positive, neutral or negative colouring, which completely depends on the context in which such collocations are used.

FAKE in 2001. The corpus analysis of 2001 year "The Economist" articles hasenabled to produce the following n-gram presenting nouns modified by FAKE
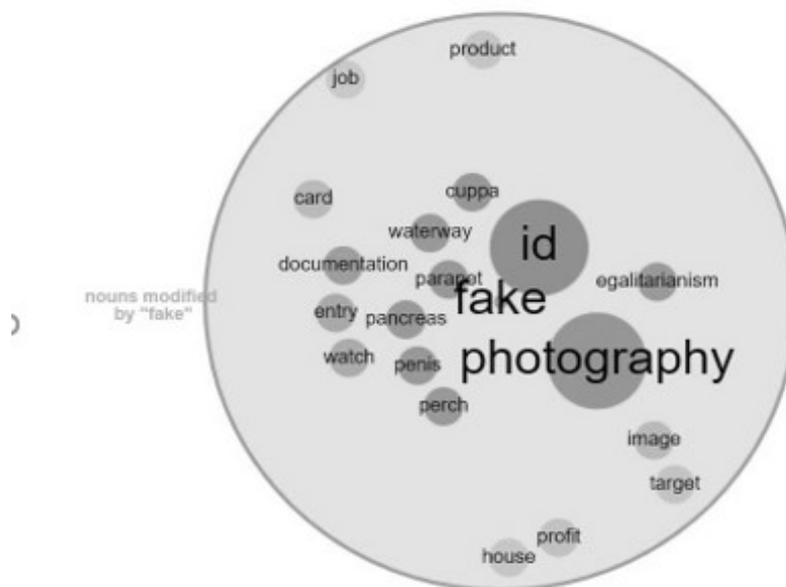
(see Figure 1).

Figure 1. N-gram of FAKE in 2001

The collocation *fake pancreas* is marked positively, where FAKE means *artificial*, which indicates the technological and medical progress to help people suffering from diabetes: *In the next 25 years, as the number of diabetics worldwide doubles to 300m, the demand for **fake** pancreases will soar. Add to that an ageing population that is going to need better hearing, eyesight and livers.No surprise that the bionics industry is enjoying such robust growth.* FAKE pancreas is a man-made device that is designed to release insulin in response to changing blood glucose levels in a similar way to a human pancreas. The topics of revolutionary steps in health care are urgent as they give patients hope to live a normal life and do not feel like being at risk all the time. Though the collocation *fake pancreas* was only used in "The Economist" issues published in 2001, the topic is still discussed, but *artificial* is a more common adjective than *fake* in such word combinations.

Another collocation with FAKE which gives a positive meaning to the news passage is *FAKE target*: "*Then, about 20 minutes later and 5,000 miles away, an interceptor rocket carrying a small "kill vehicle" was unleashed from the Kwajalein atoll in the Marshall Islands; within eight minutes, the killer had detached itself, figured out which was the **fake** target and collided with the real one at more than 16,000 miles per hour*". The collocation *FAKE target* in the

given news passage presents the successful launch of the missile able to detect false and real targets proves the Pentagon's fruitful work.

The collocation *fake threat image* displays advantages of new technologies used in airports, thus prescribing the whole news passages positive meaning: *"Another technology that has been the focus of renewed interest is advanced forms of luggage scanner … "threat image projection" (TIP). The idea behind TIP is to keep luggage screeners on their toes by randomly projecting a* **fake** *"threat image" — in other words, a picture of a knife, gun or explosive device — into occasional items of luggage. When the screener presses the "threat" button, the* **fake** *image is removed, and the luggage can be checked again for real threats. In this way, it is possible to monitor the performance of individual screener".*

The description of a new casino building depicting a FAKE assemble and FAKE decorations can be considered to be neutral as it imitates a medieval Italian village without pretending to be original or unique: *"NESTLING between concrete highways, with shopping malls to the south and a squatter camp to the north, a medieval Tuscan village has popped up in Johannesburg. If the mark of an authentic casino is fakery, then Monte casino is authentic.* **Fake** *pigeons perch on* **fake** *parapets on* **fake** *old Italian houses. Phoney ducks frolic in pseudo-streams that babble beside imitation cobbled streets".* To continue the topic of casinos and their design, in the following news passage the collocation with FAKE can be seen neutral as a *FAKE waterway* actually presents an artful conception of designers: *"One argument was about New Orleans. … Hoteliers battled against a development in the style of Las Vegas, afraid it would take away their regular tourist business, and an extravagant plan to build a* **fake** *waterway lined with palm trees beside the Mississippi was scrapped".*

The discourse analysis of news passages having collocations with FAKE with negative meaning indicates that they deal mostly with law breaching and illegal goods production: *1) She compounded her crime by using a* **fake** *ID to try to buy her margarita – and by encouraging her goody-two-shoes twin sister, Barbara, to join her in flouting the law; 2) Worse still, state auditors have found that two-thirds of the state-run firms they checked last year had padded their books with billions of dollars of* **fake** *profits; 3) Mr. Wang bought a number of* **fake** *products – which abound in China – then demanded compensation from the shops that sold them; 4) Many Brazilian animals are smuggled across the country's long northern borders to Venezuela, Colombia or the Guyanas, whence they are exported with* **fake** *documentation; 5) Mr. Jospin was again in the judicial news,*

*this time refusing to answer allegations of **fake** jobs for party members in the south-west before he was prime minister; 6) The "triple border" has long been a centre of smuggling and money-laundering. Small-time sacoleiros (bag carriers) carry contraband cigarettes and **fake** watches across the bridge from Ciudad del Este, in Paraguay, to Brazil.*

Summarizing topics revealed in the 2001 year "The Economist" articles, we can say that most media attention was paid to legal issues and technologies (See Table 1), with the first having a negative connotation and the latter – a positive one.

Table 1. Collocations with FAKE in "The Economist" published in 2001

topics in the newspaper articles	meanings of collocations with FAKE		
	positive	neutral	negative
technologies	*fake pancreas* *fake target* *fake (threat) image*		
design		*fake parapets* *fake pigeons* *fake houses* *fake waterway*	
law breaching • legal papers • economics • counterfeit products			*fake IDs* *fake documentation* *fake profits* *fake jobs* *fake cuppa* *fake watches* *fake products*

FAKE in 2021. The n-gram of collocations with FAKE in the 2021 "The Economist" articles present different collocates and consequently different topics covered in the media compared to the year of 2001(see Pictures 1 and 2).
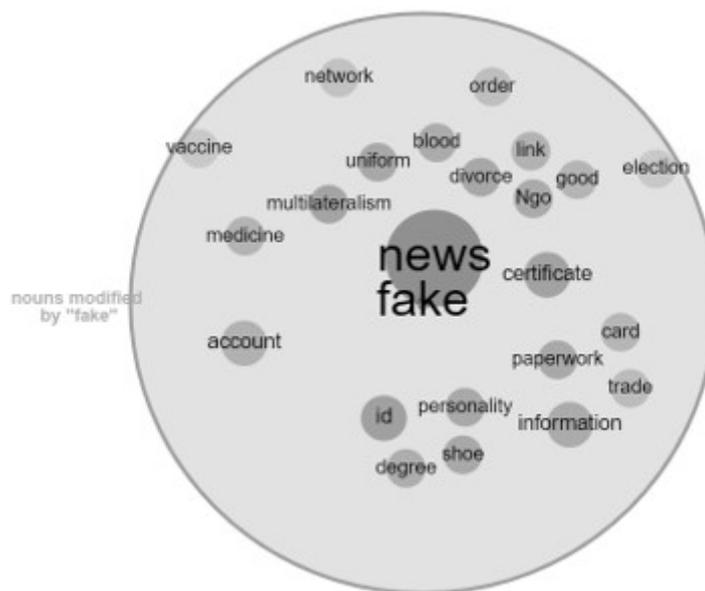
Figure 2. N-gram of FAKE in 2021

The characteristic feature of "The Economist" discourse of 2021 year is that all collocations with FAKE have a negative connotation.

The only topic which is common for the years of 2001 and 2021 is legal documentation and it is presented by collocations *FAKE IDs*: 1) *Purchases are paid in crypto currencies that can be cashed out in bank accounts opened with* **fake** *ids (a driving license from Tennessee costs $150, for instance; 2) a Pakistan based firm that allegedly creates* **fake** *ids used by trolls.*

The most frequently used collocation in the newspaper articles is *FAKE news* and newspaper passages containing it cover a number of various topics, most of which are connected with politics and law: 1) *Thus, his claim that Barak Obama was born in Africa; his attacks on "***fake*** news" and whatever "Deep State" agency or dutiful public servant impeded him; and his electoral-fraud delusion. The QAnon conspiracy, which Mr. Trump directly promoted, was essentially an effort by his supporters to write these fabrications into a single narrative; 2) Indeed, RTV SLO has proved too independent for Slovenia's current Prime Minister, Janez Jansa. For more than a year he has been browbeating the network's journalists on social media, calling their reports "***fake*** news"; 3) In Turkey Mr. Erdogan was accusing journalists of spreading "***fake*** news" long before Donald Trump made it fashionable;4) Hong Kong's chief executive, Carrie Lam, appears unsympathetic to reporters' complaints. She says officials are mulling a law against "***fake*** news", a term they use to describe coverage they*

*dislike; 5)Freedom of speech Inconvenient truths Governments keen to muzzle journalists are abusing laws against "**fake** news" during his final days Mohamed Monir, an Egyptian journalist, was so short of breath he could barely speak.* It is necessary to point out that in some cases *FAKE news* is not meant actually fake, it is not approved by authorities or a government member and is marked as misinformation though in reality it can bear true facts.

The topic of pandemic is an urgent one raised in the newspaper articles issued in 2021 and it is represented by a number of collocations with FAKE (see Table 2):

Table 2. Collocations with FAKE covering the topic of pandemic

collocations	Example sentences
fake covid test certificates	*Europol, the EU'S police agency, says **fake** covid test certificates have already started to turn up at borders*
fake vaccination certificates	*Failing to win trust, Russian authorities are resorting to sticks and carrots. In Moscow, restaurants and cafés are allowed to serve people indoors only if they have a qr code proving they have been vaccinated. Hospitals refuse routine treatment to anyone without a jab. Public sector and service workers have been ordered to get vaccinated. But although more people are now signing up for jabs, there is a side effect: a thriving black market for **fake** vaccination certificates, qr codes and medical exemptions.*
fake vaccines	*Meanwhile, China will continue to be plagued by **fake** vaccines.*
fake news	*Neither Boyko Borisov, who served as prime minister for most of the past 12 years, nor the caretaker cabinet that replaced him after his government fell in April have mounted a serious public - information campaign to combat **fake** news about the vaccines.*
fake vaccination documents	*People tend to join dating apps to find love. But social media users in Kazakhstan swipe right for less romantic services. On an array of platforms hustlers now do a roaring trade in **fake** vaccination documents.*
fake exemptions certificates	*Kazakhstan's healthcare system is one of the country's most corrupt sectors. A black market in **fake** exemption certificates and in forged covid19 tests showing a negative result is thriving.*
fake vaccination passport	*One young man complained to local media that he had been given an unwelcome gift—a **fake** vaccination passport that his parents had bought with a bribe without his knowledge.*
fake	*A pile of **fake** corpses littered the heart of Bangkok. The bodies —*

corpses	*white sacks stuffed with hay and spattered with red paint — symbolised Thai victims of covid19. "They're dead because of the failure of this government," a protester bellowed into a megaphone.*
fake medicines	*The variety of traps they have fallen into seems endless: medical staff demanding bribes to secure hospital admission, suppliers of **fake** medicines, and even, in several states, conmen who have painted over fire extinguishers to sell as oxygen cylinders.*
fake or low-quality medicines	*But a missing piece needed to make this market work is the establishment of a continent wide African Medicines Agency (ama), a proposed regulator that would be able to certify vaccines and root out **fake** or low-quality medicines.*

Fake accounts seem to be widespread nowadays as the information about them appears in the newspaper articles: *1) Wells Fargo clawed back $28m from John Stumpf on top of the $41m he forfeited when he resigned as CEO of the lender in 2016, after a probe concluded he had engendered a culture that encouraged employees to open **fake** accounts to lift sales; 2) In December 2020 Facebook and Instagram re moved a network of 100 **fake** accounts link ed to the French armed forces after they sparred with Russian backed ones over the Central African Republic and Mali, among other African battlegrounds where the two countries vie for influence.*

Figure 3. The fake data stages in "The Economist" issue

FAKE data is also in the center of media attention: *If you write a book called "The Honest Truth About Dishonesty", the last thing you want to be linked to is **fake** data. Yet a paper by Dan Ariely, a professor at Duke University, seems to be based on just that.* The thorough investigation and analysis are given in the newspaper article (see Figure 3).

Conclusion. Analyzing 20 years' changes of topics connected with FAKE in the media discourse it can be assumed that more fake issues have appeared recently and the media outline urgent problems connected with them. The further research prospective will be focused on the investigation of collocations with FAKE in the social networks.

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