Place-names in the News

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Abstract

This paper reports on two surveys of the treatment of place-names in the Japan Times. The main findings are that deviations from prescribed style manual formats occur in the form of deletion and addition of information. Deletion occurs in reports of events in Tokyo. Addition of information occurs for various reasons. Of these, the two most important ones are pragmatic addition, which is the addition of background information to help readers understand the report in question, and news-making addition, which aims to make a report appear to be more interesting and unique. It is suggested that both deletion and the mixed motivations for adding information may reduce the comprehensibility of news reports.

I. Introduction

Location, or where, is one of the basic facts that journalists are expected to include in any hard-news report. It is not, perhaps, the most highly regarded of the five Ws and an H of news writing. It certainly lacks the status of its big brothers who and what (Newsom and Wollert 97). Nevertheless, it is supposed to be included in any report, either in the dateline or in the lead.

In theory, any amount of information could be given when a place is mentioned. The city of Shizuoka could, for example, appear in a news report as Shizuoka; Shizuoka, Shizuoka Prefecture; or Shizuoka, the capital of Shizuoka Prefecture, which is located south-west of Tokyo and famous for its tea.

In practice, of course, journalists and copy-editors have guidelines for this sort of thing in the form of style manuals like the Associated Press Stylebook and Libel Manual. This manual states, for example, that there
are two basic formats for American cities: New York, Chicago, Las Vegas, and other places with large populations that appear in the news frequently and that have unique names can be mentioned independently (Goldstein 42; 57). Other cities have to be mentioned together with the state they are located in. The Japan Times Stylebook and Guide for Writers and Editors contains a similar list of Japanese cities that can stand alone (Brown 6). Others need to be located by means of prefectural specification.

The present study shows that these simple rules fail to account for what happens in hard news reports. For a variety of reasons, reports may include either less or more information about places than the style manual requires. Sometimes information is left out, sometimes information is added because of the need to provide background information or the desire to raise the newsworthiness of a report. In this paper, it will be argued that the deviations and the mixed motivations for making them are likely to reduce the comprehensibility of news reports.

II. Method

The data were collected in the course of two studies of the Japan Times. In the first study, 120 hard national news stories from a constructed week of the Japan Times (1, 9, 17, 25 February; 5, 13, 21 March 1993) were examined. The decision to focus on national news and exclude international items from the study was motivated by the assumption that place-names would be treated in a different way in national news stories than in stories involving foreign countries and places that are, predictably, less familiar to local readers.

Hard national news was defined as follows: (1) all stories appearing on the pages marked “National News,” and (2) all stories on the front page that dealt exclusively with Japan or that dealt with news involving Japan and another country or other countries.

Some exceptions were made: (1) picture captions, (2) stories bylined with the writer’s name, and (3) some items on the National News pages, which had to be excluded because they took place in a foreign country. A report, filed in Cairo, about a Japanese aid worker who was released from his kidnappers by Yemeni farmers (Japan Times, 9 Feb. 1993) is an ex-
ample of such a story. The only national element of items like this was the presence of a Japanese national as story protagonist or victim. Bylined stories were not included because a writer’s byline often indicates that a story is a feature, or soft news rather than hard news.

The second study was motivated by the first one. In the first it was found that deviance does occur, but that the number of tokens in certain categories was rather small. To get a larger sample an additional 28 newspapers from February and March 1993 were examined. Unless otherwise indicated, the examples and statistics given below refer to the first study.

The decision to focus on the reporting in one newspaper only was motivated by the fact that style manual rules on how to treat place-names vary quite considerably, and this makes it difficult to compare items. The Asahi Evening News, for example, uses a different list of stand-alone Japanese towns and cities, different rules for datelines, and encourages the use of descriptive phrases to identify less well-known places (Asahi Shimbun 56). This being said, the fact that all the data are from one newspaper clearly limits the scope of the conclusions.

III. Results
A. Less information about place than standard

Thirty-five stories, or 29% of the stories in the sample, contained less information about place than standard. In practice these cases involved the complete omission of a place-name.

This phenomenon has been documented by other researchers. Allan Bell, for example, in a study of what information is edited from news stories, found that place and time adverbials are often left out (70).

Even though these stories did not include a place-name, in the majority of cases the stories could be located by means of inference. Perhaps not surprisingly, the location to be inferred was Tokyo. The stories included, for example, references to the Diet, to a ministry, or to other known Tokyo locations, such as the Imperial Palace. Bell describes this process as “inferring a location for events from the description of a main actor” (180).

Figure 1 shows that it is not only the main actor who serves to locate reports. I found six categories of information that readers can use to do
this. Examples of such reports are given in table 1. Buildings located four reports, sources — like the Foreign Ministry — located fourteen, references to meetings, such as Cabinet meetings, accounted for another four. Stories about political parties, often with party spokespeople as sources, and stories about important business and other non-political organizations both accounted for four stories each. In two cases individual newsmakers provided hints as to the location of stories. Three of the stories, finally, contained no hard clues whatsoever.  

In order to be able to use the information provided to locate a report, one clearly needs background knowledge about which buildings and organizations can be found in Tokyo. In the case of items like example 6 there is still a degree of uncertainty. Takeshita may spend much of his time in the capital and would probably prefer to meet visiting politicians from abroad there, but this only makes a Tokyo venue likely. It is far from certain.

B. More information about place than standard

Most stories, of course, did include place-names, many of them more than one, and the format for these names was highly predictable. The
Table 1  Examples of Reports without Place-names

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Report</th>
<th>Relevant paragraph</th>
<th>Category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Owada has first imperial training (13 March 1993)</td>
<td>The 29-year-old former diplomat was instructed at one of the agency's offices inside the <em>Imperial Palace</em> by Torahiko Nagazumi, a 91-year-old former agency official responsible for Imperial religious rites.</td>
<td>Building</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Cabinet OKs ecology pacts (13 March 1993)</td>
<td>The government approved two United Nations ecology pacts at a <em>Cabinet meeting</em> Friday, and will now seek Diet approval for their ratification.</td>
<td>Meeting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. LDP finishes drafting bills for reform (5 March 1993)</td>
<td>The ruling Liberal-Democratic Party drew up outlines of two bills on political funds Thursday, thus completing the drafting of a four-bill political reform package, <em>LDP officials</em> said.</td>
<td>Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Four-day hotline to provide counsel on defective items (17 Feb. 1993)</td>
<td>The Defective Product Dial 110 hotline, organized by the <em>Japan Federation of Bar Associations</em> and <em>Japan Housewives Association</em>, will be operated at 36 locations nationwide.</td>
<td>Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Seoul will get technology transfer (5 March 1993)</td>
<td><em>Former Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita</em> has renewed Japan's promise to transfer industrial technology to South Korea in a meeting with Kim Jaison, the new chairman of the South Korea-Japan Parliamentarians Union.</td>
<td>Newsmaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Scholars agree texts on Korea need change (1 Feb. 1993)</td>
<td>History textbooks in Japanese high schools should fully describe the military's wartime use of Korean women to provide sexual services and how Koreans were forced to behave as Japanese while the Korean Peninsula was under colonial rule, <em>a panel of scholars</em> said Sunday. (italics mine in this column)</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

standard formats were to use a place-name independently (39.77%), to use a place-name to locate another place (25.41%) or, vice versa, to combine a place-name with a second one which locates it (25.41%).
The reports mentioned 99 different place-names. Many of the place-names were found more than once and this resulted in a total of 181 occurrences of names. Table 2 shows the number of occurrences in five format groups: independent (occurring alone); locator (occurring with another name to locate it); name + loc. (occurring with another place-name which locates it); name + loc. + X (occurring with another name and other information); other (any formats other than the previous four).

The first three standard formats account for a majority of the place-name occurrences. The interesting thing is that sometimes the format deviates from the statistical and style manual standard. These deviations can be sub-divided into two — partially overlapping — groups: deviant and rankshifted (see table 3). The rankshifted group consists of names that occur a number of times in the data and one — or more — of these occurrences deviates from what is normal for these names. Thus, if the normally independent Sapporo had also appeared as “Sapporo, Hokkaido,” the latter form would have been counted as rankshifted. The deviant group consists of those names that appear in the exceptional formats name + loc. + X, and other. The two groups overlap to a certain extent: all six prefectures are both deviant and rankshifted, and this is also true for two of the cities. As a result the data contained 18 names that were rankshifted or deviant or both.

On close examination, there appeared to be three categories of reasons for such shifts to occur: pragmatic, news-making, and stylistic. To find additional examples of these categories of deviations another 28 issues of the Japan Times were surveyed. No further tokens of stylistic addition were

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Prefecture</th>
<th>City</th>
<th>Island</th>
<th>Ward</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locator</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name + loc.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name + loc. + X</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
found. However, after the second study it was found to be necessary to add the categories of mistaken and anomalous addition to the original three addition categories. Figure 2 displays the total number of occurrences of deviations in the five categories.

1. Pragmatic addition of information.

One good example of this occurs in a report headlined “Kanemaru’s money traced by wrapping” (*Japan Times*, 13 March 1993). The report begins as follows:

Table 3  Place-names in Deviant or Rankshifted Forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Deviant</th>
<th>Rankshifted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Regions</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prefectures</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cities</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Islands</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

![Fig. 2 Categories of information addition](image)
(8) Tokyo tax auditors have investigated financial institutions in Yamanashi Prefecture, the constituency of fallen political kingmaker Shin Kanemaru, ... (italics mine).

Here the information about Yamanashi Prefecture provides the background that is necessary to help readers understand why the auditors went to Yamanashi rather than, say, Okayama Prefecture to investigate Kanemaru’s financial affairs. Indeed, as Daniel C. Hallin has pointed out, this kind of addition “really tells us why more than where” (109).4)

A somewhat different kind of pragmatic addition is found in paragraphs 6 and 7 “Private survey selects fairest cities in the land” (Japan Times, 21 March 1993).

(9) The higher-ranked cities were mostly in Hokuriku-Shinetsu in western Honshu, Tohoku in northern Honshu, and Hokkaido, it said.

The cities that ranked D or lower totaled 173 and were primarily in the nation’s most populated prefectures, such as Tokyo and its neighbors, Kanagawa and Saitama, and Osaka (italics mine).

This article attempts to interpret the findings of a report on the most and least pleasant places to live in Japan. In paragraph 7 the interpretation given is that densely populated prefectures tend to be among the least pleasant places to live. This attempt to explain the survey’s data accounts for the rankshifting of the normally independent Tokyo and Kanagawa, Saitama, and Osaka prefectures.

The situation in paragraph 6 seems to be similar in one sense, but different in another. The attempt to interpret the data is there, but, unfortunately, there is no obvious trend. Of all the prefectures in the country with a low population density only those in three regions contain significant numbers of higher-ranked cities. In order to provide some form of comment on the data, the normally independent regions are rankshifted and located “in western Honshu” and “in northern Honshu.”

Here, then, information which is normally considered redundant is provided because the circumstances seem to require some further comment.

2. News-making addition of information

This phenomenon occurs seven times in the data. Example 10 comes
from the report “Fukushima Prefecture gets airport” (*Japan Times*, 21 March 1993). The story begins as follows:

(10) A local airport opened Saturday in Sukagawa, *Fukushima Prefecture*, *the only prefecture in the Tohoku region that did not have an airport* (italics mine).

In this case, the news item would be perfectly clear without the extra information about Fukushima, which is no more relevant than, say, “one of the twenty [or whatever] prefectures in Japan without an airport” would have been. There seems to be an attempt here to raise the news value of the piece by means of *threshold* (Galtung and Ruge 66) or *superlativeness* (Bell 157). The addition of “the only prefecture in the Tohoku region” makes the event sound much more unique than the spare lead, “A local airport opened Saturday in Sukagawa, Fukushima Prefecture,” would have done.

Another example comes from the report “Treasure proves elusive for Okinawa isle,” (*Japan Times*, 21 March 1993), which has the following lead:

(11) *Japan’s westernmost island* is making little headway in its attempts to have one of its ports designated as suitable for international trade.

The municipal government of *Yonaguni in Okinawa Prefecture* has established a third-sector company, . . . (italics mine).

This report introduces the location in a blind lead in order to be able to use the superlative “Japan’s westernmost island” rather than the pedestrian, but standard “Yonaguni in Okinawa Prefecture.” The latter form is not given until the second paragraph. This again seems to be a case of the news value of superlativeness taking precedence over the use of a standard format.

A related, but somewhat different phenomenon occurs in the report “Co-op sees profit in timber wastage” (*Japan Times*, 9 Feb. 1993), which explains how a forestry co-operative in the village of Kutsuki in Shiga Prefecture is exploiting timber resources in a novel way. The interesting thing about this report is that it has whole paragraphs about the village.

(12) About 4,000 cubic meters of timber is produced annually in thinning operations in the village, which is surrounded by mountains
and located west of Lake Biwa.

Thinning is indispensable in its forestation district, which accounts for 40 percent of the village's total wooded area.

The other noteworthy thing about this report is that it does not contain hard news. Kutsuki's novel way of exploiting timber turns out not to be new and "time-bound to immediacy" (Bell 14) as one expects hard news to be. The village is using its excess wood to make charcoal, but the report adds that this is something the village did in the past, too. In addition, the kilns used to produce charcoal were bought in July of the preceding year, 8 months prior to this news report. In short, the hard news virtue of immediacy is lacking.

The deviation from the standard means of referring to place here appears to be accounted for by the fact that the reports are actually examples of journalistic attempts to present "soft news in hard news terms" (Bell 14).

3. Stylistic

"Japan Sea region hit by quake, 23 injured" (Japan Times, 9 Feb. 1993), a report about an earthquake, contains two rankshifted cities, Toyama and Kanazawa. In their first appearance in the article, they both appear independently, but in a later paragraph they are accompanied by their prefectures:

(13) The main tremor registered 4 on the Japanese scale in Takada, Niigata Prefecture, Toyama and Fushiki, both in Toyama Prefecture, and Kanazawa in Ishikawa Prefecture (italics mine).

Toyama is easily accounted for; "in Toyama Prefecture" is added because it occurs with the little-known Fushiki, which does not belong to the independent group of cities, and thus needs to be localized.

Kanazawa's case is different. There is no sentence-structural reason for treating it as a member of the name + loc. group; it could have stood alone here. The apparent motivation is that it occurs in this form for reasons of parallelism (Cook 130-34), following the name + loc. pattern that was used for Takada, and for Toyama and Fushiki.

A second case of parallelism can be found in the item "Private survey
selects fairest cities in the land” (Japan Times, 21 March 1993). The report begins like this:

(14) Komagane in Nagano Prefecture Izumo in Shimane Prefecture and Toyama in Toyama Prefecture are the most pleasant Japanese cities to live in, according to a private survey released Saturday (italics mine).

As with the previous example, parallelism is the apparent motivation for using the name + loc. pattern for Toyama here. Even in referential texts, such as news reports, one does appear to find that poetic considerations — or, to be more precise, the desire for the harmony of parallel structures (Cook 130) — can overcome the style manual’s rules. Please note, however, that pragmatic addition might also account for the extra information about Toyama, as suggested above.5)

4. Mistaken addition

Examples of mistaken addition of information occur twice in the data, both in reports that originated with the Kyodo news agency. The mistake appears to be one of misediting in the sense that the reports give a depth of information that may be standard for Kyodo reports but not for the Japan Times. Thus, in the report “Former foes hold joint memorial” (Japan Times, 29 March 1993) the following paragraph can be found:

(15) The memorial is the brainchild of American war veteran William West, 67, who teaches at Meikai University in Urayasu, Chiba Prefecture, east of Tokyo. He came to Japan six years ago. (italics mine)

The Japan Times expects its readers to know where Chiba Prefecture is, and does not add “east of Tokyo” to help them.

5. Anomalous addition

No motivation could be found for the three items in this category. Thus in the report “Fire linked to Narita” (Japan Times, 6 March 1993) the reporter writes:

(16) Police sources said investigators found cables, batteries and
traces of gasoline at the home of Naoshi Machida, chairman of Japan Freight Railway Co., in the exclusive Denenchofu district of Tokyo’s Ota Ward. (italics mine)

The information that Denenchofu is exclusive does not help readers to understand the item, nor does it raise the newsworthiness of the report — if that had been the intention, the uniqueness of the suburb should have been stressed in the lead. The addition has nothing to do with parallelism, and it does not appear to be a mistake either.

IV. Discussion
A. Recall and the omission of location

The presence or absence of a basic fact, such as location, appears to be related to the recall of news stories in two ways. In the first place, the inclusion of basic facts seems to have a positive effect on how well people remember news stories. Bell, in a survey of the relevant research, claims that “classic hard-news techniques of telling stories — who, what, when, where in the first paragraphs — result in better recall” (232). Swedish research cited by Teun van Dijk suggests that “adding information about location, participants, causes, or effects” (156) can boost recall of radio news stories from 25% to between 30% and 40%.

Somewhat more indirect evidence comes from studies of what details of news stories are actually remembered. As van Dijk points out, if we know what information is noticed, represented, and retrieved best, “we also know what information is used in the formation of more general knowledge and attitude patterns” (181). In contrast to previous studies, van Dijk’s own research indicated that “place and time are much less recalled” than institutions or persons (165). Bell’s research on the public understanding of climate change, however, confirmed that “where may be better recalled than when” (240).

Clearly, the evidence is ambiguous. At best one can say that place seems to play some role in the recall of news. Consequently, the high percentage of place-name omission in reports on news originating in Tokyo may result in a lower recall of this news. Considering the overwhelming political and economic importance of Tokyo, such a result would be regrettable.
B. Comprehension and the addition of information

Various reasons for providing extra information about places mentioned in news reports were enumerated in the results section of this paper. Pragmatic addition, the provision of information designed to help readers understand the news, and news-making addition, which is designed to raise the newsworthiness of a report, were numerically dominant among the five categories listed.

From the point of view of comprehensibility, the question is, How are readers to decide whether information has been added to help them understand the news, or whether it is there to raise their interest in a report? Consider, for example, the item about the airport in Fukushima Prefecture (example 10). There is no problem if a reader realizes that the journalist is just trying to make the event sound unique by adding that Fukushima is “the only prefecture in the Tohoku region without an airport.” If, however, the reader decides that the information has been provided as useful background, the addition may well be confusing. If perceived in this way, the addition might be taken to mean that there has been a policy to provide an airport for each prefecture in the Tohoku region. Now, finally, the last one has been completed.

Every time when additional information is provided, readers are likely to assume that it is relevant, that it is there for a reason. As Dan Sperber and Deirdre Wilson put it, “every act of ostensive communication communicates the assumption of its own optimal relevance” (158). This principle of relevance means that “a hearer is entitled to go ahead and interpret every utterance in the expectation that it is optimally relevant” (Blakemore 37).

The phenomenon of adding information to increase newsworthiness does not only occur with place-names. Ronald Carter and Walter Nash, in a discussion of newspaper style, refer to a report from the Daily Mail on a conflict within the British Labour Party concerning party policy with regard to nuclear disarmament (61–68). At the time, the party was divided between supporters and opponents of the party’s unilateral nuclear disarmament platform, and Neil Kinnock was among the opponents. The lead identifies Kinnock as “Labour’s youngest leader at 41” and puts him in
opposition to “an old party tide.” In the body of the report, however, the conflict is described as a “row between Labour’s Left and Right.” Of these two frameworks for the conflict, age and political orientation, the latter is the most accurate—it turns out that the “old party tide” includes Ken Livingstone, a prominent young Labour politician but with a left-wing orientation. Nevertheless, the Daily Mail opts for the age framework in its lead. This was inspired by Kinnock’s uniqueness as Labour’s youngest leader and the result is a report made confusing by the presence of two partially conflicting frameworks.6)

In news reporting the expectation of relevance appears to be systematically violated due to the effect of the news value of superlativeness or threshold. Further evidence for the systematic influence of this news value on reports is provided by Bell who, in a study of news editing, found that virtually every editing inaccuracy he encountered “served to enhance the news value of the story” (229).

V. Summary and conclusion

The formulaic formats for place-names in news reports provide a solid basis for exploring what lies behind deviations from the news-writing norms. The two deviations found in the present study of hard national news reports in the Japan Times were deletion of place-names, and addition of information to place-names.

Deletion tended to occur in reports of events in Tokyo. There appeared to be five reasons for addition of information to occur: pragmatic, news-making, stylistic, mistaken, and anomalous. Pragmatic and news-making addition of information were the most common.

Both the deletion of place-names and the mixed motivation for giving additional information about places potentially reduce the comprehensibility of news reports. There is evidence to suggest that it is easier to recall news reports that mention location than reports that do not. The addition of information can be confusing because it is hard to know whether the information is there to enhance understanding or to raise newsworthiness.

The findings reported in this paper have to be treated with some caution, because only one newspaper, the Japan Times, was used as a source of
data. At the same time, many of the observed phenomena are supported by other research. However, further efforts will have to be made to establish (1) to what extent the findings can be generalized, and (2) how readers are affected in reality by the confusing information found in newspaper texts.

Notes

1) The only evidence that events mentioned in example 7 and similar reports actually took place in Tokyo is indirect. The reports do not have a dateline, and the Japan Times Stylebook states that "no article . . . should go without a dateline unless it originates in Tokyo" (Brown 7).

2) This may appear to be a small number, but it is not if one considers that a name that appeared a multiple of times in one report was only counted once unless it appeared in different formats in the same report. If "Yokohama" appeared five times in one report, it was counted once. If "Yokohama" and "Yokohama, Kanagawa Prefecture" both appeared in the same report, "Yokohama" was counted once as independent and once as name + loc.

Place-names that were used as a part of a larger unit, such as a proper name, were not included either. "Osaka" in "Osaka High Court" or "Tokyo" in "Tokyo Sagawa Kyubin," were not counted, for example.

3) In table 2 there are 17 listings of deviant names and in table 3 only 14. This discrepancy is due to the multiple occurrence of two deviations. Table 2 lists total occurrences of all forms; table 3 lists total number of places that occur once or more than once in a deviant or rankshifted form.

4) In addition to glosses of place-names that helped to explain the why of a story, examples of explanations that clarified the what were also found. These occurred in the report "300 thatched houses get protection" (Japan Times, 16 March 1993). The information given explains exactly what has been designated for preservation as a traditional architecture preservation zone in Miyama, Kyoto Prefecture.

5) It should be pointed out that Toyama occurs alone twice and also twice in combination with Toyama Prefecture. Kanazawa occurs alone once and with Ishikawa Prefecture once. The Japan Times Stylebook lists Toyama as one of the cities that should stand alone, but Kanazawa is not on the list (Brown 6–7).

6) Nash and Carter suggest that age is stressed in the article as a linguistic device to present Kinnock as unfit for his leadership role due to, among others, "youthful inexperience" (67). In general their argument is sound, but it seems to me that the rhetoric of the report would have been better served by identifying Kinnock as a young or youthful leader than by using the superlative "youngest" in the lead. The latter choice undermines the rhetorical strategy by making Kinnock seem exceptional.

Works Cited


