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# Quoting Practices in Written Journalism

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ACADEMIC DISSERTATION

## Abstract

This research investigated the process of quoting in written journalism by asking 1) how journalistic interviews are recontextualised into quotations and 2) what factors influence the outcome of this process. Mainly three types of data were exploited: the recordings of authentic interviews conducted by journalists, the published articles based on these interviews, and retrospective interviews with the involved journalists. As for its methods, this research used version analysis to compare the journalistic interview and the published article and its quotations. Then, stimulated recall was used to reconstruct the decision-making of the informant-journalists during their quoting. Finally, the findings were further analysed from the point of view of media concept, in order to reveal the interdependencies of the everyday process of quoting and the fundamental aspects of production, such as publishers' purposes, the needs and interests of the audience, and the current journalistic culture.

This research revealed that modifications within quoting range from minor revisions to substantial alterations, both in terms of their linguistic form and situational meaning. On a large scale, the interactive turn exchange between the journalist and the interviewee(s) is often simplified in several respects in the published article. A common means for doing so is obscuring the original involvement of the journalist. This phenomenon was labelled monologisation. Furthermore, the original journalistic interviews that are conducted particularly to gather raw material for written media items comprise much more than a plain series of questions and answers. Instead, the interaction in these interviews is often mutual in terms of turn exchange and equal in terms of participatory roles.

The research identified nine practices that characterise the linking of interviews and quotations as intertextual chains. The primary factor governing the quoting was revealed to be the objective(s) of the emerging article rather than the demand for "directness". Furthermore, quoting was proven to be influenced by established institutional settings, which can also contradict each other. Therefore, quoting turned out to be an internal negotiation process between aspects which originate from various fundamental conditions of media publishing and journalistic work.

The findings imply that future research and the training of journalists should treat quoting in a more holistic way. On the other hand, this research also equips readers with tools to improve their critical media literacy. Furthermore, the results bear relevance to literacy education in school, where newspapers are commonly exploited as complementary teaching materials.

**Keywords**: Applied linguistics, media linguistics, the linguistics of newswriting, print media; version analysis, stimulated recall, media concept; quoting, quotations, direct speech, journalistic interviews; recontextualisation, intertextual chain, monologisation.

## Tiivistelmä

Tutkimuksessa tarkasteltiin sitä, miten toimittajat rekontekstualisoivat toimituksellisessa haastattelussa esitettyä puhetta sitaateiksi lehtijuttuihin, sekä edelleen sitä, mitkä tekijät tätä prosessia ohjaavat ja siihen vaikuttavat. Aineisto, jota tutkimuksessa pääasiallisesti käytettiin, koostui toimituksellisten haastatteluiden nauhoituksista ja niiden pohjalta tehdyistä lehtijutuista. Tätä aineistoparia tutkittiin versioanalyysin keinoin. Kolmannen aineistokokonaisuuden muodostivat retrospektiiviset haastattelut, joissa stimuloidun mieleenpalauttamisen avulla rekonstruoitiin informantti-toimittajien siteerausprosessin kulkua. Lisäksi mediakonseptin avulla osoitettiin, että journalistinen siteeraus heijastelee lehdenteon perustavanlaatuisia ehtoja kuten julkaisijan tavoitteita, yleisön tarpeita ja kiinnostuksen kohteita sekä vallitsevaa journalistista kulttuuria.

Tutkimus mukaan se, miten vähän tai paljon tekstiä – sekä alkuperäisen puheen kieliasua että tilanteista merkitystä – siteerattaessa muokataan, vaihtelee sekä saman jutun sitaattien kesken että niiden sisällä. Haastattelun ja lehtijutun tarkastelu laajempana kokonaisuutena puolestaan osoitti, että siinä missä haastattelu rakentuu toimittajan ja haastateltavan yhteistyönä, lehtisitaateissa tämä vuorovaikutus pelkistyy. Usein tämä tapahtuu sitten, että toimittajan rooli ja osuus häivytetään jutusta pois. Tämä pelkistysprosessi nimettiin tutkimuksessa monologisoinniksi. Lisäksi havaittiin, että sellaisissa toimituksellisissa haastatteluissa, joilla tuotetaan raakamateriaalia nimenomaan lehtijuttuja varten (vrt. televisiouutishaastattelut), osallistujaroolit ovat yksioikoisen kysymys-vastaus-rakenteen sijaan varsin vaihtelevat ja tasavertaiset: keskustelu etenee molemminpuolisen aloitteellisuuden, aktiivisuuden ja osallistumisen kautta.

Tutkimuksessa käsitteellistettiin yhdeksän siteerauskäytäntöä, jotka selittävät haastattelun ja sitaattien muodostamaa intertekstuaalista ketjua. ”Suoruuden” sijaan nämä siteerauskäytännöt pyrkivät ensisijaisesti palvelemaan tekeillä olevan jutun tavoitteita. Koska nämä tavoitteet voivat olla keskenään ristiriitaisia, on siteeraus eräänlaista sisäistä neuvottelua näiden julkaisutoiminnan ja toimitustyön lähtökohtien välillä.

Tutkimuksen lopputulemana ehdotan, että siteerausta tulisi tarkastella holistisena prosessina niin tutkimuksessa kuin toimittajakoulutuksessakin. Tutkimuksen tuloksia voi soveltaa medialukutaitojen kehittämisessä ja koulumaailmassa, jossa sanomalehtiä käytetään usein oppimateriaalina.

**Avainsanat**: Soveltava kielentutkimus, medialingvistiikka, printtimedia; versioanalyysi, stimuloitu mieleenpalauttaminen, mediakonsepti; siteeraus, sitaatit, suora lainaus, suora esitys, toimituksellinen haastattelu; rekontekstualisointi, intertekstuaalinen ketju, monologisointi.

**Esipuhe**

# Articles of the research project

## Article I

Directly from interview to quotations? Quoting practices in written journalism. In *Combining clauses and actions in social interaction*, edited by Ritva Laury, Marja Etelämäki, and Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen, Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

## Article II

Rethinking quoting in written journalism. From a verbatim reproduction to an intertextual chain, *Cahier de l'Institut de Linguistique et des Sciences du Langage*. Lausanne : Université de Lausanne.

## Article III

Haastattelupuheen rekontekstualisointi sitaateiksi lehtijuttuun [Recontextualising interview discourse into quotations for written media], *Virittäjä* 2016, volume 120, issue 2: 218–254.

## Article IV

Monologisation as a practice of quoting. Obscuring the involvement of the journalist in written journalism, *Journalism Practice* 2016 [published online 27 July 2016].

# Overview of the research

# Overview of the research

The research at hand scrutinises the process of quoting in written journalism. It is published in four original research articles referred to as Articles 1–4 (see page 5). In this overview, I will first introduce the basis of the research (Chapter 1). I will then explain the research conducted to answer the research questions (Chapter 2). Finally, I will conclude by considering the implications of the findings and outlining some prospective future lines of research (Chapter 3).

# 1    From a real-life problem to research questions

This opening chapter begins by introducing the topic and providing the reader with a detailed breakdown for the course of the entire overview (1.1). This chapter then presents the real-life problem (1.2) on which the research questions are based (1.3). Subsequently, the research is positioned in the field of applied linguistics (1.4).

## 1.1   Topic of the research

The term "media" is widely seen as a generic term used to identify the technical means (e.g. print, television, radio) through which semiotic entities are communicated (for discussion, see Luginbühl 2015: 12–16; Perrin and Cotter, forthcoming, Introduction). In light of this characterisation, the concept of intertextuality becomes fundamental. Journalistic media, especially today, tell us as much about what someone has said has happened as about what has actually happened (e.g., Bell 1991: 52–53; Fishman 1980: 92; Nylund 2009: 7; Pietilä 1991: 5; Sigal 1986: 15), and thus the role of intertextuality is even more emphasised in such media.

This research focuses on written journalism and on one distinctive type of intertextuality within it, namely *direct quotations* (hereafter referred to simply as *quotation*s) (Bell 1991: 61). Quotations are easily identifiable because of their formal marking: in the written media, quotations are distinguished from the surrounding text with clear visual cues, such as:

"Like this", « Like this », or „Like this",

but the exact marking has a variety of forms in different media and in different languages (Makkonen-Craig 1999: 132–134; see also Wikipedia: Quotation mark[1]). The data

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[1] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Quotation_mark (accessed 1/2/2017).

of this research were collected from the Finnish media, in which the two chiefly used systems are, currently,[2] the following:

> "Näin ['like this']."
>
> – Näin.

In written journalistic articles, quotations are general and common elements, and not without reason. Quotations perform many important and essential functions in journalistic narration: they enhance the reliability, credibility and objectivity of an article and characterise the person quoted, to mention but a few (Haapanen and Perrin, forthcoming 2017: 4.2). Often these functions rest upon an idea that the readers are directly in touch with the quoted person's original discourse. In other words, the use of this marking creates the assumption that the marked section of a text is a fairly exact reproduction of what someone else has said – if not word-for-word, then at least in a meaning-for-meaning way. However, the existing research on quoting in written media, along with my own decade-long experience as a journalist, hints that the relationship between the original and the quoted discourse is by no means this simple to describe or conceptualise. This research aims to unpack, that is, reveal and analyse, these hidden complexities.

This overview is structured as follows. First, I review the main guidelines of quoting presented in journalistic guidebooks and manuals as well as in journalistic ethical codes (1.2.1). I then introduce previous research on journalistic quoting as well as studies examining journalists' own perceptions of quoting (1.2.2). A contradiction between the guidelines and the reality of quoting will lead to the identification of a relevant real-life problem, upon which the two overarching research questions are then formulated (1.3). At the end of this first chapter, I position my research in the tradition of research on media linguistics (1.4).

> **Research question 1**: How are journalistic interviews recontextualised into written quotations in journalistic articles?
>
> **Research question 2**: How can we explain those quoting practices that link the original interview discourse into the final quotation discourse?

Chapter 2 explains my three-part research design in three consecutive sections 2.1–3. Each part has particular goals and methodology but they build on each other. In Part I, I address the first research question by tracking linguistic

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[2] There has still been variation in marking systems in the Finnish media for some periods of the early twentieth century (Ritva Pallaskallio, personal communication; see also Pallaskallio 2013) as one can observe from the digitised archive of the National Library of Finland (http://digi.kansalliskirjasto.fi, accessed 1/2/2017).

modifications in quoting using a methodology called version analysis (2.1). Part II builds on the three findings of Part I (2.1.2–4) and addresses the second research question by tracing those quoting strategies and actual processes that journalists are conscious and aware of (2.2). In this part, I use a stimulated recall method. Finally, Part III addresses the kind of augmentation which the second research question initially set up: Building on the findings of previous parts and relating them to the notion of *media concepts*, I aimed at revealing the factors that influence the complex activity of quoting (2.3). Within each of these three sections, I also summarise the key findings of each particular part (2.1.2–4, 2.2.2, and 2.3.2) and name a particular research article, or articles, that elaborate each finding.

Chapter 3 discusses how the findings of this research contribute substantially to academia (3.1) on the one hand, and have high social relevance (3.2) on the other. Finally, looking beyond the research at hand, I point out some lines for further research (3.3).

## 1.2 A relevant real-life problem

Research is always triggered by something. In my case, the trigger was a real-life problem that appeared as an evident contradiction between institutional guidelines on journalistic quoting (1.2.1) and actual quoting practices described in existing research (1.2.2). In this section, I introduce a real-life problem, which will then be explored further in this research.

### 1.2.1 The prescriptive view on quoting: practical guidance

Given the central role quotations have in written journalism, it is surprising that most guidebooks take no stand at all as to how to transfer spoken interview discourse into written form as quotations (e.g. Lundberg 1992 and 2001; Flaherty 2009; Miettinen 1984; Clark 2006; Wray 1997; Jacobi 1991). Furthermore, when quoting practices are addressed, the usual message follows this somewhat bombastic wording of Anderson and Itule in their textbook *Contemporary news reporting*:

> Misquoting is a cardinal sin. That does not mean that quotes cannot be altered slightly to clean up grammar or to take out profanities; it means that quote marks around a sentence are somewhat sacred. They mean the words are exactly – or nearly exactly – what the person said. (Anderson and Itule 1984: 65.)

Many textbooks, manuals and stylebooks state their viewpoint in an even more puristic way, as in this excerpt from the authoritative *The Associated Press Stylebook*:

> Never alter quotations even to correct minor grammatical errors or word usage. Casual minor tongue slips may be removed by using ellipses but even that should be done with extreme caution. (Goldstein 2009: 232.)

Similar kinds of rigorous instruction can also be found, for example, in Brooks *et al.* (2002: 85–86), Adams (2001: 80–83), and *The New York Times Manual of Style and Usage* (2002: 280–281). However, some sources are more flexible in their approach. To paraphrase their views, the *form* of utterances could and should be edited and cleaned up as long as the *meaning* is held to. However, the terms *form* and *meaning* are not defined in any detail. One such view is given in Ruberg (2005), who names two different points of view as purists and realists:

> Purists will argue that you can't fix such common errors as wrong verb tense or idiom, noun-pronoun disagreement, or run-on sentences. When you get such quotes, purists believe, you should make them indirect. Realists believe you can make minor corrections that typically involve a word or two. Your goal is to quote sources, realists say, not embarrass them. Bottom line: If you change meaning when you change a word, you can't use a direct quotation. (Ibid. 122–123. See also e.g. Tarshis 1982.)

Regardless of the multitude of differing instructions, the foundation of quotations lies in the idea of a more or less verbatim reproduction of the original utterance – "by using direct quotes, you are telling readers that you are putting them directly in touch with the speaker" (Brooks *et al.* 2002: 73).[3]

As far as I know, no universally recognised or accepted rules exist to define the procedures of journalistic quoting. Nevertheless, many countries have established some type of ethical code for the self-regulation of journalism more broadly. For example, in Europe such a code exists in at least forty-six countries (*EthicNet* 2008). However, only a handful of these codes address quoting at all, and even then, these regulations are very vague. I present the two "most exhaustive" instances below:

> Citations between quotation marks shall reflect the tenor of a statement as closely as possible, and no quotation marks shall be used for passages which merely render the general sense of a statement. (Code of Ethics for the Austrian Press.)

> Unethical behaviour: Whenever direct quotations are made and these are inaccurate or unreasonably edited or incomplete. (Code of Journalistic Ethics, Malta.)

Since the empirical data for this research is drawn from the Finnish media, I have paid special attention to the Finnish ethical code of journalism. Unfortunately the *Journalistin ohjeet 2014* [Guidelines for Journalists] does not provide any specific guidelines on quoting. However, a self-regulating committee for Finnish

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[3] López Pan (2010) has made a similar review of quoting instructions in the Spanish media landscape. His findings are in line with mine.

journalism practices, Julkisen sanan neuvosto [Council for Mass Media], has reviewed six cases[4] that mainly concern quoting since the year 2000. From the resolutions by the committee, one can infer their position on quoting: The linguistic form of "direct" quotations can be edited, several utterances can be merged into one quotation, and the quotations can be "written" into a scene that is different from the original one, as long as the meaning is retained.

### 1.2.2   The descriptive view on quoting: state of the research

A great deal of research on quoting in journalistic media exists, both in written and audio-visually broadcasted forms. Following the classification by Haapanen and Perrin (forthcoming 2017), this research examines the phenomenon of quoting from three main perspectives: First is research on the structure of quotes, for example, who quotes are attributed to, what their length is, and/or their linguistic appearance (e.g. Banda and Mawadza 2015; Ekström 2006; Hallin 1992; Makkonen-Craig 1999; Schneider 2011; Teo 2000; Van Dijk 1991; Zeh and Hopmann 2013). Second, there is also a large body of literature concerning the functions of quotes in journalistic media (e.g. Bell 1991; Caldas-Coulthard 1993; Carlson 2009; Clayman 2007; Conrad 1999; Cotter 2010; Davis 1985; Gibson and Hester 2000; Gibson and Zillmann 1998; Haapanen 2011; Makkonen-Craig 2014a; Nylund 2003b, 2006b; Perrin 2013a, 2015; Rahtu 2016; Roeh and Nir 1990; Satoh 2001; Stenvall 2011; Tuchman 1978; White 1998), which have, interestingly, "not simply revised but reversed" from the dawn of mass media quoting (De Grazia 1994: 289).[5]

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[4] The cases referred to can be found at http://www.jsn.fi/ at document numbers **5719 (E)xculpatory (R)uling** (The interviewee complained that s/he had been misquoted.), **4814 ER** (The quotation was put together from two comments presented in different situations. The committee stated that "although the quoting practice does not go without criticism, the story does not contain essential mistakes".), **4239 Reprimand** (The article created an impression that the anonymous quotation was said by a different person than it really was. "The committee emphasizes the accuracy and meticulousness of quotations especially in controversial cases."), **4022 ER** (The committee evaluated if the quotation [from a literal source] was wrongly taken out of context.), **3563 ER** (The quotation was put to be said in a different situation than where it actually was said.), and **3249 ER** (While handling an alleged misquoting, the committee stated that "the quotations do not need to be verbatim even in direct quotations, but the factual content must not be changed".).

[5] As Margreta de Grazia has presented (1994: 288–89), before the 18th century "[a] single or double quotation mark, generally in the margin, was interchangeable with the pointing finger or indices: it pointed to or indicated an authoritative saying like a proverb, commonplace, or statement of consensual truth. Marginal quote ciphers indicated that a passage possessed authoritative status, commonly derived from a classical (Aristotle, Seneca) or patristic (St. Augustine, St. Thomas) author or authority who was, in most cases, dead. By highlighting an utterance that was of potential interest and use to all readers, quotation marks facilitated the 'lifting' of the passages they marked. Renaissance readers, it can be assumed, routinely scanned the margins for quote marks in order to spot passages suitable for inscription in their own personalized common-place books. In brief, rather than cordoning off a passage as property of another, quotations marks flagged the passage as property belonging

Finally, there is research that takes a look "behind the scenes" and analyses the processes of quoting. As the research at hand focuses especially on the quoting process, it falls into this third category of perspectives.

Process-oriented research on quoting has substantially increased over the last two decades. So far, however, the analysis of television news production has played the main role (e.g. Ekström 2001; Kroon Lundell and Ekström 2010; Nylund 2003a), and altogether this research has highlighted a fundamental aspect in quoting: the journalist has a key role in the process as s/he sets the agenda, steers the interaction, and elicits certain answers in the interview. Even so, most recent research has revealed even more strongly the journalist's power to influence the outcome of the audio-visual quote: nowadays there are advanced techniques for editing the filmed answer in a video editing room, where distracting pauses and expletives can be removed, and even the order of utterances can be changed with the audience left none the wiser (Kroon Lundell and Ekström 2010: 485). The most striking part of this practice might be the routine removal of the journalist's questions, which can seriously change the meaning of the interviewee's quoted answers (for recontextualisation strategies in television political news, see Ekström 2001). Moreover, the most essential and pervasive finding is that the interviews as well as the editing of the raw film material are principally guided by the journalist's preliminary idea of what the emerging story should and could look like (Clayman 1995; Nylund 2003a, 2006a). At the same time, the interviewee has only a slight chance of affecting what the finished television news item will look like regardless of what they say during the interview.

Furthermore, Kroon Lundell and Ekström (2010) have demonstrated how quotes and quoting are integrated into every major aspect of television news production, as well as in the presentation of the resulting news items. They propose that a quote – or the "interview bite", as they call it – operates on the following three levels. First, an interview bite is a format because it is literally used to describe short utterances drawn from interviews caught on camera. This format decides which journalistic options are possible and which are not. Second, an inter-

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to all – 'common places' to be freely appropriated (and not necessarily verbatim and with correct authorial ascription). Not until after the seventeenth century did quotation marks serve to enclose an utterance as the exclusive material of another which could be borrowed only if accurately reproduced and ascribed." Other interesting details about the evolution of quotation marks and their connection to, e.g., the abolition of torture and the fifth amendment of the U.S Constitution are also described by de Grazia (1994), but for a thorough overview on the history of quotation marks, I recommend Ruth Finnegan's *Why Do We Quote?* (2011).

view bite is a mental representation, in that the reporters envision potential interview bites and decide from this whom to approach as a potential interviewee. Third, once collected, the interview bite becomes an artefact, a concrete semiotic stretch that can be worked within the editing studio with few restrictions regarding how it is done.

In contrast to the large amount of research about television news production (though conducted by only a handful of researchers), very little is known about actual quoting practices in *written* journalism, and thus "there is a pressing need for media scholars to pay more attention to the ways in which utterances are recontextualized into and re-presented as quotes in news stories" (Nylund 2006b: 151; see also Clayman 1990: 79). As far as I know, there are only two published studies that have used relevant empirical data to examine the "directness" of quotations published in newspaper and magazine articles. Johnson Barella (2005), in examining spoken data from press conferences and speeches, discovered that only one out of five quotations drawn from these public events were absolutely verbatim. Overall, the variety of modifications to quotations in her data ranged from small to substantial. Lehrer (1989) drew her data from public meetings, hearings, and lectures and reported that quotations had often been modified substantially, although these non-verbatim quotations were rarely considered to be incompatible with what was intended (ibid. 120–121).

Additionally, Méndez García de Paredes (2000) examined multiple instances of coverage of the same news event in different newspapers without data from the actual spoken event, while Bruña (1993) focused on the changes made in the phrases that were reproduced both in the text body of the articles as well as between quotation marks in the headline. Also, Allan Bell, a journalist and researcher, analysed (1991: 81) his own work retrospectively and stated that "depronominalization [replacing the pronoun with a coreferential noun] is one of the few tamperings I would permit with a direct quote: otherwise it should remain verbatim what the source said". (It should be mentioned, however, that Bell "recorded" his interviews only by taking notes). Some perceptions of the veracity of quotations without empirical data, or with only limited empirical data, are also presented by Caldas-Coulthard (1993, 1994), Cotter (2010), Kuo (2007), Satoh (2001), Scollon (2004: 162), Short (1988), Tuchman (1978) and Waugh (1995).

In a few instances quoting practices have been studied in survey settings (Haapanen 2010, 2011; Lee 2004). Basically, the fabrication of and tampering with quotes were rejected unanimously by the informant-journalists involved in these studies. However, in Haapanen's survey, the informants said that they execute

certain modifications as "a basic service". This involves, firstly, removing exple-
tives, planning devices, as well as tongue slips, almost as a rule. Secondly, spo-
ken-language and dialectal word forms are standardised, and fragmental and in-
complete sentences (in terms of standard language) are repaired, often com-
pressed, and clarified so that they can be correctly understood within the new
context. Additionally, utterances that have been expressed in different places in
the course of an interview can be presented one by one or be merged into a single
quotation, as long as this modification does not distort the interpretation of these
recontextualised utterances (2010: 109). Interestingly, the informant-journalists in
these brief studies allowed themselves the means of editing that more or less
followed the guidance presented in the more liberal guidebooks to which I re-
ferred in the previous subsection (1.2.1).

One common challenge in journalistic work – which is unfortunately ig-
nored in guidebooks – is an activity referred to as *translingual quoting*.[6] In
translingual quoting, the original discourse on which the quotation is based is
translated during the process of quoting. In these cases, journalists either translate
ready-made articles and their quotations from the originally written language X,
into language Z, or they make quotations in language X from interviews they
themselves conducted in language Z. As has been shown (Haapanen 2010, 2011),
translingual quoting often faces similar types of challenges as translating in gen-
eral, and on this basis, one can question the idea of direct quoting in general: can
we speak of directness if words that semantically correspond to each other have
totally different visual and phonetic forms. Finally, it is interesting that the in-
formant-journalists had no problem with the idea of using foreign language (here
mainly English) interview material as a source for direct quotations written in
their native language (here mainly Finnish).

## 1.3   Research questions and key concepts

As journalistic guidebooks and manuals generally present (1.2.1), a text segment
that is visually marked as a quotation claims to render what someone else than
the journalist has said in a word-for-word or at least meaning-for-meaning way.
Since this selected stretch of discourse is extracted from its original context,
which is usually a journalistic interview or a press conference (sometimes also a
press release, see Jacobs 1999), embedded into another context, in this case a

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[6] I coined this term in my presentation *"Translingual quoting" in written journalism* given
at the 14th International Pragmatics Conference held in Antwerp, Belgium, in July 2015.

journalistic article, and demarcated as a quotation in an appropriate way, I conceptualised the process of making quotes as *recontextualisation*.

In this research, I follow Per Linell's definition of recontextualisation, as the "dynamic transfer-and-transformation" of some part or aspect from one discourse to another (Linell 1998a: 154. See also Linell 1998b). The transferred elements may be, for instance, specific lexical items, arguments, narratives, values, conceptions, and/or ideologies. An interesting issue for research is the fact that through recontextualisation, the quoted discourse is subject to various changes (1998a: 155). My goal here is to explore the relationship between the original spoken and the final written discourse by asking: **How are journalistic interviews recontextualised into written quotations in journalistic articles?** This research question is discussed in Articles I, III and IV.

The Linellian notion of recontextualisation is especially useful for the study of journalistic quoting because it emphasises the significance and the separation of the contexts. Hence, the analysis can be focused on those changes that take place in the linguistic form and situated meaning of the recontextualised discourse. In journalistic texts this separateness can be seen very concretely, as the quoted discourse is both marked (by quotation marks) and attributed (by the reporting clause) to a prior occasion of language use, often a journalistic interview. In other words, quotations are explicitly marked as having been drawn from another context.

Furthermore, Linell suggests (1998a: 154–155) that the process of recontextualisation consists of three consecutive sub-processes: the discourse that is selected to be recontextualised is first extracted, then re-positioned, and finally modified to fit the context. I have exploited and elaborated this three-part structure in the design of my research framework, and have named the sub-processes *decontextualisation*, *contextualisation*, and *textualisation*.

Within the recontextualisation of utterances from interview to news item quotations, the quoted discourse is subject to various changes. Regardless of heterogeneity, there is reason to assume that these changes perform and renew some common pattern – otherwise there might be severe interruptions in the performance of a journalist's daily tasks.

To formulate the other research question of this study, I conceptualised the institutionalised transformation from interviews to articles as an *intertextual chain*, a term coined and defined by Norman Fairclough (1992[7]; see also Fairclough

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[7] Later, Fairclough (2003: 31) has also referred to a similar kind of process by using the notion of *genre chain*.

1995). During this "chaining", a particular type of text is transformed into another type of text "in regular and predictable ways" (ibid. 130). Fairclough exemplifies this procedure by referring to the chain which links press releases with news items, or medical consultations with medical records. In this research, my goal is to trace the regular and predictable ways that guide the process of formulating quotations in written journalism by asking: **How can we explain those quoting practices that link the original interview discourse into the final quotation discourse?** This research question is discussed in Articles I and II.

Throughout this research I mainly refer to the above-described process of the "chaining" of journalistic interview discourse to quotations as *quoting practice* or *process*. However, sometimes the concept of *quoting strategies* would also be usable, and even more precise: Practices are *situated activities* that actualise the strategies, which are *articulable ideas of how decisions are to be made so that the quoting process or quotations fulfils its intended function* (Perrin 2013a: 55). My data consist of documentations of actual quoting processes, i.e. practices, but when I abstract some generalisations from these practices, this analysis generates a repertoire of potential activities available when quoting, i.e. strategies.

In addition to quoting strategies and practices as their situated actualisation, this research also examines the established institutional settings and aspects that influence and govern these practices and automates them into routines and procedures. Procedures in this context are institutionalised routines that journalists perform unconsciously as members of a social group, such as an editorial team (Perrin 2013a: 55).

## 1.4   Positioning the research in applied linguistics

Linguistics is a scientific discipline that deals with language as a human capacity, with natural languages, and with language use. Like other disciplines, linguistics has also developed applied variants, which deal with problems from practice and base their treatment of these problems on theory. To put it simply, applied linguistics is essentially a problem-driven discipline rather than a theory-driven one. Furthermore, applied linguistics develops subdisciplines related to domains and sites of language use whose usage is socially significant (e.g. Knapp 2013; McCarthy 2001; Perrin 2013a: 26–27). In this section, the research at hand is positioned as media linguistics (1.4.1) and further within its emerging subfield as the linguistics of news writing (1.4.2).

### 1.4.1   Media linguistics

Journalistic media are a socially important area of activity whose language use can differ from language use in other areas (Perrin 2013a: 29). This research focuses on quoting in journalistic media and falls under media linguistics, that is, a sub-discipline of applied linguistics specifically focusing on (journalistic) media (see, e.g., Perrin 2013a, 2013b).

Despite the fact that journalistic media have been scrutinised from various disciplinary points of view (e.g. Töyry, Saarenmaa, and Särkkä 2011), research has often held a product-bound perspective – or even examined media discourse as an easily accessible everyday language (Cotter 2010: 4; Media Linguistics Research Network 2016; NewsTalk&Text Research Group 2011: 1843–1844). It is therefore not surprising that the main focus of media linguistics has so far been on the use of language in journalistic products (e.g. Luginbühl 2015). It has been recognised, however, that the problem of product-focused approaches is that they "fall short of explaining newswriting" (Perrin 2013: 56) and are also "bound to generate weak hypotheses" (NewsTalk&Text Research Group 2011: 5–6).

Recent tendencies, however, expand the focus of media linguistics into different dimensions (Luginbühl 2015: 16–20). Spurred by technological development, media linguistics has taken multimodality into account to a broader extent than merely relating texts and images to each other, and has focused on the cultural dimension of media texts, i.e. researchers have considered the linguistic form of communication as constitutive of certain aspects, such as values and norms, of the cultural negotiation process. At the same time, as Luginbühl raised in his overview of recent developments within media linguistics, there has been increasing interest in covering the whole communicative process of production, product and reception, although this approach is still a "desideratum" (ibid. 19. See also Cotter 2010: 4; Perrin 2013a, xi). My research contributes to this recent development as it explores the production processes of quotations; I aim to find out what journalists want to do and what they actually do when quoting, and why they do it.

### 1.4.2   The linguistics of newswriting

As my research investigates the linguistically-based practices of professional media production, it can be counted among a narrower area within media linguistics, referred to as the linguistics of newswriting. Within this emerging sub-field of media linguistics, studies have addressed, for example, the journalist's role in the representation of the source material (Van Hout and Macgilchrist 2010), transition sentences, such as the *dialogical passive*, leading the reader from one paragraph to

another (Makkonen-Craig 2005, 2011), sub-editing in newswriting (Vandendaele, Cuypere, and Van Praet 2015), intrapersonal argumentation about linguistic choices in newswriting processes (Zampa and Perrin 2016), as well as multimodal writing in newsrooms (Perrin 2015).

All of these pieces of research share an empirical and (at least partly) ethnographic research approach, but they do not have any general shared theoretical foundation nor a fixed methodology. Instead, as an interdisciplinary discipline, medialinguistic research exploits different kinds of linguistic methods as well as methods and theoretical approaches of neighbouring disciplines, such as social sciences and writing research, to answer its research questions. Thus, my research utilises, for example, a method of version analysis, which bases its comparison on the premises and research results of Fennistic interactional linguistics, discourse studies, as well as lexicology and the study of grammar (see Articles I, III, IV).[8] My research also applies the method of stimulated recall (see, especially, Articles II), often used in social sciences, and relates the stimulated recall findings to the notion of media concepts (see Articles I), which derives from developmental work research and is then re-formulated for the use of journalism studies.

To fit this research within the framework of the linguistics of newswriting, two clarifications must be made. The first pertains to the initial part of the compound, i.e. *news*. Although news journalism has attracted the main focus of research on quotes and quoting so far (Haapanen and Perrin, forthcoming 2017), it is only one genre of output within journalism more broadly. In this research, I have not restricted my scrutiny to news articles and newspapers. I have, for example, also included profiles, fact-based articles, and other kinds of prototypical[9] journalistic outputs, although the boundaries between different genres of journalistic articles are blurry and rarely defined (for an exhaustive categorisation of news articles, see Vandendaele *et al.* 2015).

While there are no research results which indicate that the exact format of a target article would play a crucial role in the invocation of some particular way

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[8] Makkonen-Craig (2014b) provides an overview of one branch of Finnish discourse studies, tentatively labelled as dialogically-oriented linguistic discourse analyses. Within this research tradition or orientation, she distinguishes five lines of research and positions the research at hand within the fifth, in which "researchers have investigated the writers' own conceptualizations and their dialogical orientations to writing and to their readers, and explored the different circumstances and constraints that writers face in writing situations" (ibid. 124). Furthermore, this research orientation is characterised by 1) its interest in linguistic resources and dialogical phenomena primarily in written discourse, and 2) its operation within a dialogistic framework (ibid. 121).

[9] By the term "prototypical", I justify the exclusion of more peripheral text-based genres, such as opinion columns and letters to the editor.

of quoting, there is also no proven correlation between quoting practices and various media genres such as national or regional newspapers, various magazines or bulletins. Therefore, I consider the expansion of the scope necessary, and see research on the quoting process to be a way of challenging the hegemony of current research on news. I assume that the emphasis on news media has to do with the fact that news journalism has high societal relevance – the press being referred to as the Fourth Estate (Schultz 1998). However, the "softer" forms of journalism are equally relevant, and I argue that these softer forms affect the status quo more tacitly, and thus more treacherously, than breaking news. In other words, magazines and such publications shape our understanding of society even if we do not always realise it. As Tammi (2016) has shown in her research on readers' engagement with magazines, such an engagement has intertwined with everyday life and its routines, perceptions and values. Tammi's recent findings support the opinion offered by Lowenthal (1944) over 70 years ago: If you want to get an impression of some (specific) time period, you should begin by reading magazines written at the time in question. Thus, in addition to newspapers I include in my research data magazines, business-to-consumer magazines, and bulletins in order to provide a more balanced view of prevalent quoting practices.

The second clarification concerns the latter part of the compound *newswriting*. A narrow understanding of *writing* may cover only the process of inscription. In the broader sense that is adopted in this research as well as in the papers mentioned above, "writing" also encompasses various professional practices preceding the concrete process of inscription, for example, negotiating the subject matter and the extent of its coverage, searching for background information, planning and performing interviews, as well as analysing the raw material collected from the interview (Perrin 2013a: 31. See also Bazerman and Prior 2004; Candlin and Hyland 1999; Jakobs and Perrin 2014; MacArthur, Graham and Fitzgerald 2005).

My research thus both builds on and contributes to existing research in media linguistics. From the former point of view, it is previous research that has confirmed the real-life problem under scrutiny and has offered a broad methodological route for handling it. From the latter point of view, my work broadens the knowledge regarding quotes as products and quoting as practices, specifically in written journalism, by explaining the multi-layered and multi-dimensional contexts which affect and are affected by the daily routines of quoting.

# 2    Three-part research design and main results

The research that has been designed to answer the research questions formulated and justified in Chapter 1, can be divided into three (2.1–3). Each of the parts explains the path from the data collection through analysis to the key findings (2.1.1, 2.2.1, and 2.3.1). The findings, affording both immediate answers to the research questions and some follow-up interests which emerged during the research process, are then elaborated in their own subsections (2.1.2–4, 2.2.2, and 2.3.2). At the end of each of these subsection, readers are provided with directions to a research article, or articles, that address each specific finding.

## 2.1  PART I – Linguistic modifications in quoting

During the first part of this research, I examined the quoting process, beginning with an oral interview and resulting in the final, published article with one or more direct quotations. To track these linked linguistic modifications, I needed the data to consist of (at least) the original and final discourse of this recontextualisation process. In the subsection that follows, I describe my data collection process and the appropriate method I selected in the analysis of the data.

### 2.1.1  Research design

To begin with, as there were no research results indicating that a specific article type (e.g. news, profiles, fact-focused articles), publication (some particular title), or media genre (e.g. national/regional newspapers, women's magazines, bulletins) would be the decisive factor in the making of quotations, I considered **the journalistic interview** to be an appropriate starting point for my data collection. First of all, a journalistic interview is clearly one conventionalised premise for information gathering in journalistic work (Ekström 2006: 23). Basically, a journalistic interview is an oral interview conducted in person or via phone or video

calling – sometimes also via email[10] – and it is performed in a somewhat conventionalised way. It has a mainly fixed structure consisting of salutations, an actual interview conversation, and the closing of the meeting. In terms of participatory roles, a journalist organises the interview situation and introduces themes and presents questions, while an interviewee, or interviewees, in turn, answer and comment on them. Moreover, despite the variations in execution of journalistic interviews, they have an explicit purpose – most obviously, to gather information for an article.[11]

My initial task was to select and contact prospective informant-journalists and solicit their participation. The key feature of the selection of my informant-journalists was that they regard themselves as professional journalists and were employees or freelancers for established media that published their content in Finnish. Additionally, I aimed for a diverse set of journalists in terms of gender, age and the type of publication they work for.

There were two methods of identification: The names of most of the journalists that I contacted were initially taken from the list of staff writers included in various publications. With the others, I took advantage of my professional networks created during my years as a journalist; these prospective informant-journalists I either knew in advance, or some journalist-colleague of mine knew them and provided me with their contact information. Only six of the journalists I contacted refused to participate in my research, and they justified their refusal by referring to their workload and time resources, the intimacy of the interviews, and the fact that they have participated "so often in such researches". This relatively fortunate result (cf. Bell and Garrett 1998: 19) might have been because I did not disclose the exact objective of my research when contacting the prospective informant-journalists, but I did emphasise to them that I am describing, not reviewing or evaluating, their work performance.

After the selection of the informant-journalists, I asked them to record one or two of their **journalistic interviews (= data set 1)** for my research, or if they had recently conducted and recorded a suitable interview, to give me a copy. In this way I received 17 recordings from 13 different journalists. I also recorded 3

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[10] In the journalistic field, there is constant discussion about the pros and cons of email interviews, or whether such a method is acceptable at all (e.g. Lisheron 2013; Tenore 2012). In my opinion as a journalist, in certain circumstances (e.g. when you are merely searching for factual information) an email interview could be an appropriate and practical choice. As far as I know, there is no statistics regarding the use of various methods in interviewing.

[11] In this research, journalistic interviews are considered *tools* to gather information, while elsewhere (e.g. Velthuis 2016) journalistic interviews are seen to be more like *article genres* that are made in order to be published as such.

press conferences for my data, because they are – besides one-on-one interviews – the other common way of collecting data for articles (Clayman 1993; Eriksson and Östman 2013). One advantage of this decision is that this makes my research more comparable to existing studies on quoting in written journalism, since they also contain examples and discussion of press conferences (Johnson Barella 2005; Lehrer 1989).

The length of these recordings varied considerably, ranging from 1 minute and 48 seconds to 1 hour and 45 minutes. It is worth mentioning that a video recording would likely have provided valuable instances of nonverbal communication within the interview. However, videotaping might have undesirably influenced the interview by distracting both the interviewer and the respondent, and was therefore not included in my data collection. An audio recording, in contrast, worked better, as it is a commonly used procedure in the field of journalism.

From some of the journalists who took notes by hand during the interview (and made audio-recordings only for my research purposes), I also asked permission to copy their notebooks. In this way I received photocopied hand-written notes of 5 interviews. In addition, I asked to have the transcription document from a few of the journalists whose regular work practice comprises audio recordings and their transcriptions. However, I only thought of the advantage of such data after my proper data collection had ended, and therefore only succeeded in collecting 3 (partly imperfect) transcriptions. As such, this data has not been much exploited in this research, but remains noteworthy for future use. I refer to these above-described texts as **transitional text documents (= data set 2)**, because they are made to facilitate the conversion of the original interview discourse into the target article text.
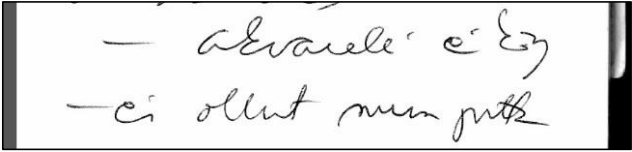
After collecting the interview recordings and transitional text documents, I collected **the published articles (= data set 3)** that were written based on these interviews. The articles were published in newspapers, magazines, business-to-consumer-magazines/bulletins, and online-publications. Since I included two articles (from different journalists) written about the same press conference in my data, there are in total 21 published articles in my data set. In addition, one of the articles comprises two different versions, one for print and one for the website of the publication. The articles were collected in their original layout, so the possible influence of layout and certain visual elements could also be taken into account in the analysis.

All of the data was collected in Finland during 2012–2014. After collection, the data were transformed into analysable form by means of the following

process. First, a rough transcript of each recording was prepared. Then, those passages that the quotations in the published articles were based on were transcribed in detail. Originally, all of the interviews were conducted and the articles published in Finnish. For this overview as well as for those articles published in English, I have translated the data examples into English.

In Table 1, I summarise the data collection for the tracking of linguistic modifications during the recontextualisation process. I also demonstrate the data using an example referred to as "Painting with oils" (This example is not exploited in any of my four research articles). In this example, the journalist provided me with a digital recording of an interview with an artist who paints sea motifs. Based on the 19-minute-long interview, the informant-journalist wrote an approximately 2 300-character-long article for the culture section of a newspaper. The article contains five quotations, and in Table 1 I focus on one of them. This journalist took notes for herself on a thin notepad – the particular recording was made and used only for my research purposes – and this notepad is also accessible below, in addition to the interview and article texts.

**Table 1**. *Data collection for the tracking of linguistic modifications.*

| Recordings, transitional texts and published journalistic articles | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Description** | **Content in total** | **Example "Painting with oils"** |
| Recordings of oral journalistic interviews | 20 recordings<br><br>• 13 one-to-one interviews<br><br>• 3 press conferences | Example in English (translation)<br><br>JO = Journalist<br>IN = Interviewee<br><br>**JO: you paint with oils**<br>**IN: yes**<br>**JO: wouldn't it be easier to depict such maritime motifs with, for example, watercolours**<br>**IN: no**<br>**JO: why not**<br>**IN: like I just said I'll tear through the paper (.) no way no way (.) and then the thing is that (.) yeah, they just don't suit me (.) I tried them a long long time ago but (.) it's not my thing (.)**<br><br>_____<br><br>Example in Finnish (original)<br><br>JO: maalaat öljyväreillä<br>IN: joo<br>JO: eikö öö tällasta merellisyyttä olisi helpompi toteuttaa vaikka akvarelleilla<br>IN: ei<br>JO: miksei<br>IN: niinku mä sanoin just mä meen paperin läpi (.) ei käy ei käy (.) ja sit se on se et' tota (.) joo se ei vaan sovi mulle (.) mä oon joskus kokeillut kauan kauan sitten mut (.) se ei oo mun juttu (.) |
| Transitional text documents | 5 sets of handwritten notes<br><br>3 transcriptions made by informant | <br><br>– akvarelli ei käy<br>– ei ollut mun juttu<br><br>_____<br><br>**– watercolours don't work**<br>**– was not my thing** |

| Published articles | 21 published articles by 17 journalists.<br><br>• 17 based on interviews<br><br>• 4 based on press conferences (2 based on the same press conference) | **Example in English (translation)**<br><br>**Sofia paints with oil colours. With them she conjures forth the waves, the splashes and churning power of the sea, but the paintings also have a sort of watercolour-like delicacy. She cannot imagine painting with watercolours.**<br>   **"I'm too temperamental. The paper would be torn with a single brushstroke," she laughs.**<br><br>_____<br><br>Example in Finnish (original)<br><br>Sofia maalaa öljyväreillä. Niillä hän loihtii esiin aallot, pärskeet ja meren vellovan voiman, mutta maalauksissa on myös akvarellimaista herkkyyttä. Akvarelleja hän ei voi kuvitella maalaavansa.<br>   "Olen liian temperamenttinen. Paperi menisi puhki yhdellä siveltimenvedolla", hän nauraa. |

The overall analytical method exploited to analyse the data described above is called **version analysis** (applied in media linguistics, see Perrin 2013a: 62). As a method, version analysis is suitable for reconstructing the changes that linguistic features undergo from one textual version to another. Thus, by means of text analysis, I tracked the linguistic modifications and the changes in the structure of the interaction between the journalist and the interviewee that took place during the recontextualisation of the discourse. This process of recontextualisation occurred between the journalistic interview and the published article and its quotations. Besides answering the first research question, my analysis also brought out new knowledge regarding the nature of such journalistic interviews that are conducted in order to collect raw material for written journalistic items, and the way the original interaction is treated during the quoting process.

Below, I demonstrate the analysis and the three key findings through the example "Painting with oils". (For the sake of convenience, I repeat a part of the example.) Then I elaborate and generalise the findings in their own subsections (2.1.2–4), and at the end of each of these subsections, I list one or more of my research articles that concern the particular findings.

**Ex. 1 - Published article ("Painting with oils")**

Sofia paints with oil colours. With them she conjures forth the waves, the splashes and the churning power of the sea, but the paintings also have a sort of watercolour-like delicacy. She cannot imagine painting with watercolours.
   "I'm too temperamental. The paper would be torn with a single brushstroke," she laughs.

**Ex. 2 - transcript of the interview ("Painting with oils")**

JO: you paint with oil colours

IN: yes

JO: wouldn't it be easier to depict such maritime motifs with for example water-colours

IN: no

JO: why not

IN: Like I just said I'll tear through the paper (.) no way no way (.) and then the thing is that (.) yeah, they just don't suit me (.) I tried them a long long time ago but (.) it's not my thing (.)

As these examples show, the first sentence of the published article (*I'm too temperamental*) is not based word-for-word on the interview discourse, although its propositional meaning can somehow be *derived* from the interview conversation, *positioned* to the beginning of the quotation, and *reworded*. These italicised verbs are meant to refer to three abovementioned sub-processes of recontextualisation, which are decontextualisation, contextualisation, and textualisation, respectively. The second sentence of the quotation resembles the spoken utterance in some respects (*The paper would be torn with a single brushstroke* vs. *I'll tear through the paper*). Moreover, the informant-journalist told me in a retrospective interview – which will be introduced and discussed in Part II (2.2) – that the interviewee made some theatrical painting gestures with her hand when telling that she "would tear through the paper", and that this also influenced the wording of the quotation. Interestingly, in this way my research framework was provided with some visual ethnographic-like information, although the original interviews were not videotaped.

→ **For details, see Findings on linguistic modifications (2.1.2)**.

Traditionally, journalistic interviews are thought to consist of the journalist's questions and the interviewee's answers. This probably derives from the fact that research on journalistic interviews has so far been limited to television (political) news interviews (Haapanen and Perrin, forthcoming 2017). However, as the example "Painting with oils" illustrates with its short alternating turns, journalistic interviews that are conducted in order to collect raw material for written journalistic items in particular involve highly diverse and mutually adaptive interaction

→ **For details, see The interaction between the journalist and the interviewee (2.1.3).**

The interactional features present in "Painting with oils" are mainly obscured in the article: The journalist-narrator does not "exist" in the article, and the readers are not provided with any concrete hints about the discursive turn-

taking during which the quoted discourse was originally produced. I have coined this particular aspect of the recontextualisation of interview discourse into articles and their quotations *monologisation*.

→ **For details, see The practice of monologisation (2.1.4).**

### 2.1.2   Findings on linguistic modifications

The version analysis between the journalistic interviews and the published articles based on them showed that it is common for the oral quoted-to-be discourse to be modified in a number of ways when recontextualised into a written quotation format. In terms of situated meaning, the same heterogeneity applies to the relation between the original and the final discourses: it is not unusual for quotations, in their contexts, to be interpreted somewhat differently than the original discourse they were based on.

As already explained (1.3), I followed Linell (1998a: 154–155) in dividing the process of recontextualisation into three sub-processes. Below, I summarise the key findings distributing them loosely according to these sub-processes: decontextualisation, contextualisation and textualisation.

*Decontextualisation* refers to the process where the journalist selects and extracts the quoted-to-be-discourse. Only certain segments of the interview discourse are exploited as a quotation in the published journalistic article. First of all, my analysis verifies and elaborates the prior research results, indicating that journalists may combine utterances from two or more places in an interview into one single quotation (see 1.2.2). Additionally, at this point journalists may merely quote the content of the original text – or, e.g., the register of the delivery of the interviewee – so that the published quotation will eventually have largely new wording. Furthermore, it is not exceptional that a quotation contains some words, phrases or other discursive elements which do not seem to originate and be decontextualised from the interview(s) they allegedly come from.

The second sub-process, *contextualisation*, refers to the process where the journalist positions the selected discourse into the article. As my data clearly shows, journalistic articles are not protocols of the course of the oral interviews they are based on, rather they are dramaturgically independent stories (see a visual illustration of this in Article III: 227). Therefore, quoted discourse is often – if not always – positioned into a co-text that is different from the original interview text. This inevitably differentiates the interpretation of the original and the final discourse. Moreover, during decontextualisation and contextualisation the interactive turn exchange, as well as the journalist's involvement in the original oral discourse, is predominantly obscured in the article. This practice, which I have

named *monologisation*, then substantially influences the interpretation of the quoted discourse. (On *monologisation* in more detail, see 2.1.4.)

The third sub-process, *textualisation*, refers to the process where the journalist modifies the quoted discourse. In principle, due to the nature of the oral and written modalities, many aspects of spoken delivery cannot be reproduced in writing (e.g. pauses, intonation, quality of voice, stresses). Even if we ignore these fundamental incorrespondences, the analysis shows clearly that the linguistic and textual form of the original discourse remains unchanged in the final discourse only in some very rare instances.

In practice, linguistic features and "disfluencies" reflecting the spontaneous nature of interview discourse are often deleted (e.g. repetitions, planning devices, restarts, hesitations, tongue slips, self-repairs) and word forms that are typical of oral language are standardised (e.g. *ajatellu* → *ajatellut* 'thought' [past participle form]). I assume that this is because journalistic quotations seem to aim at rather standard language form. However, despite the fact that occasional informal spoken language-like word choices and spellings, even structural features, seem to be possible in published quotations, it is far more common that the discourse is substantially modified resulting in deletions, insertions and revisions. These changes and modifications often make the quote more straightforward and unambiguous.

The linguistic modifications described above can affect the propositional meaning and illocutionary force of the quoted discourse, and change the impression we get of the speaker through the quotation(s). In some instances, these linguistic changes "neutralise" the effect of the new context and keep the meaning – at least in some respect – closer to that of the original discourse (see, e.g., Article I: Section 3.1).

To conclude, the quality and quantity of the modification within the recontextualisation process can range from minor revisions to substantial alterations.[12] Furthermore, it is important to note that not only is there extensive variation in the modification of quotations within a single article, but there is also a wide range of variation in modifications within one quotation. In other words, some part of the quotation might be verbatim, whereas another part might be a complete rewording.

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[12] Supposedly, the Finnish language prefers and requires some specific types of modifications. Therefore, a series of similar studies conducted in other languages and in other countries would add to the view of the kinds of modifications actually used when making quotations. (About differing journalistic cultures, see, e.g., Hallin and Mancini 2004; Hanitzsch *et al.* 2011.)

The relationship between journalistic interviews and the quotations based on them are thoroughly scrutinised in Article I (in English) and Article III (in Finnish). However, Article II and Article IV as well as Haapanen (2016) and Haapanen and Perrin (forthcoming 2017) provide further evidence and empirical examples of this relationship.

### 2.1.3 Interaction between the journalist and the interviewee

Traditionally, journalistic interviews are thought to consist of, at the very least, the journalist's questions and the interviewee's answers (see, for example, Clayman and Heritage 2002: 95; cf. Velthuis 2016). As my research has shown, in journalistic interviews conducted for journalistic articles – in contrast to, for instance, those interviews that are used as sound bites in television news – the reality seems to be much more complex.

My data shows that journalistic interviews conducted for journalistic articles are not restricted to a series of adjacency pairs of questions and answers. Instead, journalistic interviews conducted for journalistic articles actually possess numerous characteristics traditionally associated with mundane conversations (see Heritage 1998: 7). Besides the journalist, also the interviewee him/herself often takes an active or even initiating role in the interview conversation. Furthermore, in addition to posing questions, journalists also engage in the interview, firstly, by using various response particles (such as *mm* 'um', *joo* 'yeah', *okei* 'okay') to prompt the interviewee to continue her turn, and secondly, by using longer follow-ups to provoke the interviewee to elaborate on the topic.

Naturally, the equality between the journalist and the interviewee as partners in the interaction is only relative and ostensible, since the journalist holds some authority and power over the interviewee on a number of levels. First, the journalist has most likely been in far more interview situations than the interviewee. Second, if s/he is an investigative journalist, s/he may have a wider breadth of knowledge than the interviewee. Finally, the journalist already has a vision of the story s/he wants and thus in some instances will use his or her position of authority to help direct the substance of the interview (e.g. Clayman 1995; Nylund 2003a, 2006a) – a situation that would be less likely if there was total equality between the journalist and the interviewee. To sum up, at a macro level, the journalist, together with other editorial staff – excluding the interviewees – are the ones who have the control over selecting the subject matter under consideration, arranging the interview situation, and deciding the exploitation of the interview as raw material for a journalistic output.

> **The nature of journalistic interviews conducted for journalistic articles is explicitly described in Article IV. However, the data examples exhibited and analysed, especially, in Article I and II as well as in Haapanen (2016), also illustrate the case in point.**

### 2.1.4 The practice of monologisation

The analysis of text versions of the process of making media items brought up a conventional and distinctive phenomenon – albeit heretofore unmentioned in journalistic literature – which I named *monologisation*. The notion of monologisation refers to the practice during which the interactive turn exchange between the journalist and the interviewee(s) is simplified in several respects – and sometimes totally concealed – in the article.[13] This is conducted, above all, by obscuring the involvement and the influence that the journalist has had in the interaction of the original spoken discourse. In practice, this means that the journalist's questions, as well as other types of initiative turns, are removed almost without exception.[14]

As a result of monologisation, the quotations appear to be unprompted and continuous utterances by the interviewee. At the very least, this type of *sequential repositioning* obscures the original responsiveness of the quoted discourse and misleads the reader, who has no opportunity to deduce how the quoted discourse was originally prompted. The process of monologisation may also modify and even distort the original meaning of the quoted discourse. In the worst case, monologisation can result in the reader's severe misapprehension of the statements assigned to the interviewee (see Article IV, The social relevance of monologisation practices).

Monologisation, as described in this research within the context of written journalism, is a phenomenon that occurs and is relevant in both auditorily and audio-visually broadcasted media. Furthermore, the same phenomenon is also relevant in other contexts, such as converting research interviewing or police interrogating into written reports.

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[13] I based the name of the concept on the regular understanding of the words dialogue and monologue, which succeeds in reflecting the contrast between a journalistic interview as a discourse with relatively frequent turn-taking by two (or more) participants and a published, edited quotation as a discourse by a single language user. However, I am not perceiving a quotation as monologue in itself because it naturally is in an interactional relationship with the surrounding text as well as the reader. Furthermore, a quotation itself could contain dialogical aspects such as quoting.

[14] Makkonen-Craig (2014a: 103–5) has discussed a similar phenomenon as a rhetorical means in journalistic writing, and considered a text "monologized" in its perspective "when an author authorizes and legitimizes only one perspective in the topic discussed" (ibid. 103).

The notion of *monologisation* is exhaustively covered in Article IV. In addition, it is substantially dealt with in Article I, III, and IV, which also addresses the relationship between various ways of documenting an interview and their influences over monologisation (see also Haapanen 2016).

## 2.2 PART II – Tracing journalists' quoting practices

Based on the findings of the first part of my research, the relationship between journalistic interviews and the direct quotations produced from them is complex and case-specific: it seems impossible to predict the form of a quotation merely by reviewing what was stated in the original interview. Conversely, determining what was actually expressed in an interview cannot be inferred from the written quotation.

The ostensible randomness of linguistic modifications and changes in the structure of the interaction between the journalist and the interviewee has led me to the second part of the research. The relationship between journalistic interviews and journalistic articles can be seen as *an intertextual chain*, which refers to the transformational relation between texts (Fairclough 1992: 130–133). During this "chaining", a particular type of text is transformed into another type of text "in regular and predictable ways" (ibid. 130). In this part, I examine those conventionalised quoting strategies and practices that link the quotation to the original interview.

### 2.2.1 Research design

A conventional option for capturing the journalist's train of thought, writing strategies, and intentions would have been to conduct an interview-based inquiry (Grésillon and Perrin 2014). However, such an approach involves inadequate access to mental processes, because the data would be based solely on the informants' explanations regarding what they were thinking and what they were both willing and able to share with the researcher. The limitations of a conventional interview method materialised in my earlier research (Haapanen 2011) when I conducted a series of semi-structured interviews with experienced journalists and journalism educators inquiring about their perceptions of quoting. The answers I received mostly repeated the idealistic standpoints expressed in journalism guidebooks and textbooks (see also Mitchell and Rosenstiel 2000). Therefore, adopting only a conventional retrospective protocol, such as a semi-structured interview, did not seem to serve my purposes (cf. Makkonen-Craig 2005, 2011). Instead, a retrospective protocol needed to be linked concretely to the parts of the intertextual chain, i.e. the interview and (the writing of) the article, to provide a better insight into the

concrete and actual work practices of journalists (Similarly, see Androutsopoulos 2008: 8).

To overcome the potential problems with validity described above, I adopted the **stimulated recall (SR)** method. SR has been most frequently used in the analysis of learning processes, interpersonal skills, and decision-making in the educational, medical/clinical, and second-language research fields (for an overview, see Lyle 2003). It has, however, also been applied to media research (e.g. Rautkorpi [2011] has studied the production of television talk shows as a programming genre and its development prospects).

Traditionally, SR begins with videotaping a selected person at work, after which the person is asked to view and comment on the video. The method is designed to increase people's awareness of their performance and thus help them reconstruct the trains of thought they had while working. Due to the stimulus (= traditionally the videotape), the method also prompts informants to "discuss processes and interactions that they otherwise might have neglected" (Smagorinsky 1994: xv; see also Dempsey 2010: 350–351). In general, SR is a flexible tool for various research frameworks (e.g. DiPardo 1994).

In my application of SR, I used the transcript of the recording of the original journalistic interview (data set 1) and the published article (data set 3) as stimuli for the verbal protocol (**data set 4)** that reconstructed the informant-journalist's quoting process. Each SR session consisted of four elements. The session began with an enquiry of the informant-journalist's **biographical and background information**, which was then followed by two cycles of close reading of the transcript and the published article. These two cycles were organised according to the theoretical three-part structure of recontextualisation (see 1.3): **SR Cycle 1** searched for quoting practices pertaining to the decontextualisation of the interview discourse and the contextualisation of it into an emerging article, and **SR Cycle 2** addressed the sub-process of textualisation. Furthermore, my SR sessions aimed at revealing **other quoting-related issues** such as factors that influence the quoting practices of the informant-journalists. It is worth mentioning that at the beginning of each SR session I brought out my own decade-long work history as a journalist and press officer. Thus, the informant-journalists were aware that I was familiar with the various strategies that journalists go through when quoting, and as a consequence I believe they were also more willing to comment on their quoting practices even if they contradicted the prevalent guidelines. Next, I will describe in detail the course of the SR data collection (see also Article II).

The information about the informant-journalist's biographical details, such as age, education, current position and work history, as well as guidance s/he might have received on quoting, if any, was gathered with the help of a written questionnaire. This enquiry also explored the informant's general perceptions and rules of thumb about quoting. As mentioned, I strived for a diverse set of informant-journalists. The accumulation of biographical information proved that besides gender, age, and the type of publication worked for, the informants' work experiences and professional education (or the lack of it) also varied greatly and reflected the diverse backgrounds among journalists in general quite well.

The aim of this first cycle of SR was to determine the strategies and practices concerning the first and second sub-process of quoting, namely decontextualisation and contextualisation. In essence, I asked the informant-journalist to first explicate why s/he had selected this particular text segment or content to be quoted, and second, why the quotation was positioned in that particular place in the article.

During the second cycle of SR, the informant-journalist and I closely read the published article and the transcript of the journalistic interview. The main objective of this cycle was to determine the strategies and practices for the textualisation of the quoted discourse.

Alongside this formal procedure I asked about other views relating to quoting and also let the interviewee bring out his or her own views on the matter. I was especially interested in hearing about factors that motivated and influenced the quoting process.

Altogether, I conducted the SR session with 11 journalists. At this point, the answers appeared to be "saturated", in that significantly new aspects no longer arose during the last sessions. The number of sessions also seemed appropriate for my qualitative research purposes.

The following table (Table 2) will summarise the content of a SR session in a more visual way, which will also be illustrated by exploiting excerpts drawn from the example "Painting with oils".

**Table 2**. *The course of a stimulated recall (SR) session.*

| Four elements of a SR session |
| --- |

| Phases of the SR | Goal of the phase | Example "Painting with oils" |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Biographical and back-ground infor-mation | To learn the informants' ages and educational backgrounds, work his-tories, as well as guid-ance they have re-ceived on quoting, if any, etc. | Middle-aged woman, unfinished university studies (Journalism as a minor), a couple of 2–3-day update training courses. More than 30 years of work experience in re-gional and local newspapers. Mainly as a news reporter. Cannot recall any instructions on quoting from either guidebooks or the editorial offices where she has worked. Always takes notes by hand. With explosive topics (e.g. politics), she sometimes also tape-records the interview to protect herself from possible repercussions. |
| Two cycles of close reading | To determine the prac-tices of the decontextu-alisation and contextu-alisation phases | "It was difficult to find good quotes, because this interviewee didn't analyse her own work practices as profoundly as some other artists." However, "she spoke strongly with her hands, and it was interesting. Here she showed with her gestures that the paper would tear", so the journalist decided to decontextualise this as-pect of the interviewee's turn. "I don't plan the structure of an article in ad-vance but instead I often pre-arrange a list of questions which then steer the line of the emerging article", as happened this time as well. It's worth mentioning that sometimes some good quotes – "pearls" as she called them – need to be positioned at the beginning of the article, and in this way quotations clearly affect the whole structure of the article. |
| | To determine the prac-tices of textualisation phase | She spoke so quickly and so much that I had to shorten and clarify this quotation. (…) I standardised her colloquial speech. |
| Other quoting-related issues | Influencing factors on quoting, the role of quoting in the writing process, etc. | In my opinion, a quotation must be short and snappy. I don't know why… maybe it's more reader-friendly that way. The best bits as quo-tations and the rest somehow inserted into the text, moulded in one way or another. Our layout is carefully conceptualised (= pre-designed), and sometimes I work on the place-ment of quotations so that they suit the layout better. |

| | | *Do you discuss quoting practices in some particular assignment or generally?* |
| | | No. When we assemble a newspaper issue we are in such a great hurry that there's no time. I would love to discuss work practices, but our schedules are so tight that there's no time for that. |

After collecting the SR data, it was analysed by exploiting **a two-cycle qualitative content analysis procedure** proposed by Johnny Saldaña (2009). In the first cycle of the analysis, I identified similar quoting processes which emerged from the retrospective protocol data (SR Cycle 1 and 2). I then labelled the segments with shared features with a common code, for example, in terms of topic, purpose, goal or practice. I will illustrate this analysis with the example "painting with oils" (see also Table 3): The segment pertaining to the decontexualisation phase of the quoting process ("*It was difficult to find good quotes, because…*", see Table 2) was assigned the code <CHARACTERISING THE SPEAKER> and <DESCRIBING THE INTERVIEWEE'S WAY OF SEEING THE ISSUE>. The segment pertaining to the contexualisation phase (*I don't plan the structure of an article in advance but…*), was, in turn, assigned the code <CONSTRUCTING THE NARRATION OF THE ARTICLE>. The segments of the SR that concerned the textualisation phase of the quoting process were then attributed the codes <CLARIFYING THE QUOTED DISCOURSE> (*She spoke so quickly and so much that I had to shorten and clarify this quotation.*) and <MODIFYING INTO STANDARD LANGUAGE> (*I standardised her colloquial speech.*).

In the second cycle of the analysis, I identified the similarities in the patterns of the quoting processes and organised similar codes into categories. The goal of this second cycle was to reach a compact and credible number of conceptual categories in relation to the range of the retrospective verbal protocols collected in SR sessions. I will again illustrate this second cycle of the analysis with the example "Painting with oils": The first two aforementioned codes fell into the category <CONSTRUCTING THE PERSONA OF THE INTERVIEWEE>. The third code, dealing with contexualisation, was linked with another similar code, and they were labelled <CONSTRUCTING THE NARRATION>. The codes pertaining to the textualisation phase – <CLARIFYING THE QUOTED DISCOURSE> and <MODIFYING INTO STANDARD LANGUAGE> – were positioned within two categories, <CLARIFYING THE ORIGINAL MESSAGE> and <STANDARDISING THE LINGUISTIC FORM>, respectively.

In its entirety, I identified nine categories covering the practices that create intertextual chains between the journalistic interview and quotations. The analysis also produced a *core category* of <EXECUTING THE OBJECTIVE(S) OF THE ARTICLE OVER THE DEMAND FOR "DIRECTNESS"> that covers, and has an explanatory relevance, for all nine quoting practices revealed.

**Table 3**. *An illustration of the course of the analysis.*

| An illustration of the analysis with the example "paint in oils" | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Phase of the quoting process** | **Excerpt from the data set 4** | **Coding →** (1st cycle of the analysis) | **Categorising →** (2nd cycle of the analysis) | **Core category** |
| Decontextualising | It was difficult to find good quotes, because… | CHARACTERISING THE SPEAKER CHARACTERISING THE SPEAKER | CONSTRUCTING THE PERSONA OF THE INTERVIEWEE | EXECUTING THE OBJECTIVE(S) OF THE ARTICLE OVER THE DEMAND FOR "DIRECTNESS" |
| Contextualising | I don't plan the structure of an article in advance but… | CONSTRUCTING THE NARRATION OF THE ARTICLE | CONSTRUCTING THE NARRATION | |
| Textualising | She spoke so quickly and so much that I had to… | CLARIFYING THE QUOTED DIS-COURSE | CLARIFYING THE ORIGINAL MESSAGE | |
| | I standardised her colloquial speech. | MODIFYING INTO STANDARD LAN-GUAGE | STANDARDISING THE LINGUISTIC FORM | |

### 2.2.2 Aiming at the objective of the emerging article

The main finding of Part II is the depiction of nine practices of journalistic quoting which link the journalistic interviews and the quotations as the intertextual chains. These nine practices were classified under the particular sub-process of quoting in which they occur: three decontextualisation practices focus on selecting a suitable piece of information from the interview, while two contextualisation practices influence the positioning of the quoted material in the final article, and four textualisation practices pertain to deletions, changes and insertions in the quoted material itself.

These practices were then connected axially to detect a *core category* (Saldaña 2009: 163–167). The core category is composed of all the products of the analysis and is condensed into a few words. It is illuminating for the analysis as it "explain[s] variation as well as the main point made by the data" (Strauss 1987, quoted in Strauss and Corbin 1998: 147). The core category abstracted from the SR data in Part II is <EXECUTING THE OBJECTIVE(S) OF THE ARTICLE OVER THE DEMAND FOR "DIRECTNESS">. In effect, such overarching objective, or objectives, are fluctuating in nature: a journalist receives an assignment describing the task that s/he must complete, and this task serves as the objective to strive for as the journalist searches for sources, selects interviewees, outlines the text, and finally writes the article. During these stages, however, s/he most likely revisits the objective, and this revisited objective may differ from the original one.

Next, I will describe in detail the nine practices of journalistic quoting. **Three practices of decontextualisation** explain journalists' reasoning for the selection of particular parts of the interview to be used as direct quotations in the article. The decontextualisation practices comprise practices of three types, as described below.

> 1) *Constructing the persona of the interviewee*. Journalists tend to quote the opinions, insights, viewpoints and other personal perceptions that describe the interviewee's mind-set. In addition, utterances that reflect how the interviewee structures his or her thoughts and reactions toward a subject matter are likewise quotable, as are utterances that describe his or her delivery and distinctive manner of speaking.

> 2) *Disclaiming responsibility*. The source of information is indicated by a quotation, or more precisely, the reporting clause. Journalists quote utterances on subject matters that cannot be easily verified, and thus they protect themselves by transferring the responsibility for the factual content to the interviewee. Quotation marks also confirm − or rather aim at creating an illusion − that the word choices and other linguistic details in the quotation are originally the interviewee's.

> 3) *Adding plausibility to the article*. A quotation that is attributed to an expert-interviewee strengthens his/her presence in the article (which is an intrinsic value in human-centred articles), and this in turn gives further credence to the veracity of the factual content covered in the article. Indeed, journalists perceive quotations as having particular significance in relation to the body text of the article, and it therefore makes sense to place important and interesting content into a quotation. Furthermore, any content presented in the form of a quotation gains added importance.

Since journalistic articles are not accounts of the course of the journalistic interviews, decontextualised segments cannot be mechanically transferred to their "right places" in the article. Instead, this contextualisation process requires deliberate and conscious decision-making. Based on my analysis, **contextualisation practices** have two key goals in the article-writing process.

4) *Constructing the narration*. A journalistic article is an independent text entity, and for this reason, journalists place the quoted content in the article in a way that best fits and contributes to the predetermined storyline.

5) *Pacing the structure*. The quotations and the body text need to alternate in a smooth and natural way. Journalists seem to share the common principle that they will not incorporate two quotations in succession without having at least a reporting clause between them. Furthermore, relatively short quotations are preferred and long quotations are avoided, although there is variation concerning formal preferences among journalists. Another observation is that the length of the final quotations do not need to correlate with the length of the original stretches of talk on which they are based. In other words, however long the original stretches of talk might be, they are reduced to relatively short quotations.

Once the to-be-quoted segments are positioned in the emerging article, substantial modifications to the textual and linguistic form of the texts are often required. These **practices of textualisation** aim at fulfilling the function(s) of the quotations in the storyline (about the functions of quotations, see the references in 1.2.2). However, it is important to note that when the original discourse meets the target that the journalist has set for this particular quotation-in-the-making, it can be quoted in its original linguistic form without modification.

6) *Standardising the linguistic form*. Quotations are modified into standard language on a routine basis. This requires both deleting the "disfluencies" caused by the on-line nature of spoken language (such as colloquial words, re-starts, self-corrections, and expletives) and simplifying clause structures that reflect the oral origin in their fragmental shape.

7) *Intentionally including vernacular aspects*. Deviations from universal standardisation are acceptable as "flavour", as worded by an informant-journalist in the SR, but these deviations need to serve some specific function in the storyline. Most often they concern a single informal word or phrase and thus they usually characterise the interviewee by indicating his/her original word choice or enunciation.

Practices 6 and 7 are found throughout my data. However, they do not account for a considerable number of modifications. These modifications involve deletions and insertions as well as changes in the order of elements ranging from a suffix or word, to a phrase, or a longer stretch of text. It is noteworthy that insertions can also include some linguistic elements that do not exist in the journalistic interview. When explaining the reasoning behind these modifications, the informant-journalists referred to the following two practices.

8) *Clarifying the original message*. To clarify and condense the original message provided by the interviewee, journalists perform deletions, insertions, and other modifications to the quoted text; or to be more accurate, one might say that the journalists clarify their own interpretation of the message.

9) *Sharpening the function of the quotation*. Essentially, the modifications are made so that the quotations fulfil their function in the storyline. In other words, certain material is selected (decontextualised) from the interview and positioned

(contextualised) into the storyline for some specific reason; and the quotation is modified (textualised) in a way that best fulfils this task.

> The nine practices of quoting and the core category connecting them are thoroughly explained in Article II.

## 2.3 PART III – Investigating quoting in the light of media concepts

In Part II, the analysis revealed nine key quoting practices that journalists adopt when recontextualising oral interviews as written quotations in journalistic articles. Furthermore, the analysis also showed that all of these quoting practices serve the general goal of achieving the objectives of the article in the making.

Elsewhere (Haapanen 2016)[15] I used the stimulated recall data (data set 4) collected for this research and a method presented by Johnny Saldaña (Saldaña 2009) to construct the factors affecting and influencing concrete quoting processes. Based on this analysis, quoting appeared to be influenced by four factors: i) the type of article under construction, ii) the guidelines of the publisher and editorial office regarding quoting, iii) the shared journalistic culture, and iv) personal preferences.

In this third part, I investigated from a different point of view how the journalist's operational environment is structured and how the different aspects influence the examined quoting practices. To fulfil this objective, a more complex research frame was needed to relate observable quoting processes with the broader, tacit contexts of production. Effectively, I aimed at explaining the modifications revealed by the version analysis of data sets 1 and 3, and which was justified by the informant-journalists in the stimulated recall sessions (data set 4), through the notion of *media concepts*.

### 2.3.1 Research design

The notion of **media concepts** introduces and organises relevant extra-linguistic contexts and contextual resources that affect the process of creating any specific media product. The notion was formulated by Finnish journalism scholars Merja Helle and Maija Töyry (Töyry 2005, Helle and Töyry 2009, Helle 2010). Most often the notion is applied as a tool for analysing and solving contradictions in work practices as well as developing media products (see the case studies in Helle 2010). In linguistic research, media concepts have been used to compare the relationship between the intended aims of journalists and the produced journalistic texts (Jaakola, Töyry, Helle, and Onikki-Rantajääskö 2014).

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[15] This article does not form part of my dissertation.

The notion of media concepts is based on cultural-historical activity theory, which conceptualises organisations as activity systems which have historically and socially developed goals and purposes. In activity theoretical terms, every organisation has an object of activity which materialises in some outcome – either as services or, as in my research topic, a product (Engeström 1987). The key point of activity theoretical thinking, in light of my research, is that within the activity system, the work practices of a practitioner are not merely an individual or independent piece of craft, but are influenced by the external and internal contexts of the work process. In other words, the community, the rules and conventions of the activity, and the division of labour describe the way work is organised towards the common object and its outcome.

However, activity systems are always heterogeneous and multi-voiced, because different practitioners construct the object and the other components of the activity in different, partially overlapping and partially conflicting ways (Engeström 1987). For example, the journalist, editor-in-chief, graphic designer, and advertising sales representative work towards the same final outcome, a good newspaper, but on the micro level, they most probably have differing ideas as to what is *good*. Such internal tensions in the activity system appear as disturbances, such as errors, problems, breakdowns, and ruptures of communication, and therefore an activity theory, and especially developmental work research, analyses disturbances as a way to find deeper structural and historical contradictions in work practices within the activity system and a network of activity systems (Helle 2000).

Based on activity theory and developmental work research, Jaakko Virkkunen has developed *the concept of activity* to model and describe activity systems (e.g. Virkkunen 2006, 2007). The concept of activity consists of three components: 1) the purpose and values of an activity system, 2) the artefact or service produced, and 3) its production in daily practice. By identifying these components, the concept of activity makes it possible to better coordinate individual actions as the concept is "embedded in the structures and daily practices of the activity" (Virkkunen 2006: 46).

The notion of a *media concept* is an adaption of the concept of activity to media research, and it can be utilised both for scrutinising existing media products as well as creating new ones (e.g. Helle 2010). A media concept is structured into three mutually constitutive and closely intertwined components, which organises contextual resources that affect the production of any specific media product (see Figure 1). Within my research design, I use the notion as empirically

grounded modelling to relate a single quoting practice to the broad object of the activity system.

Figure 1 demonstrates the three components of a media concept.

**Figure 1.** *Components of a media concept (based on Helle and Töyry 2009: 502).*
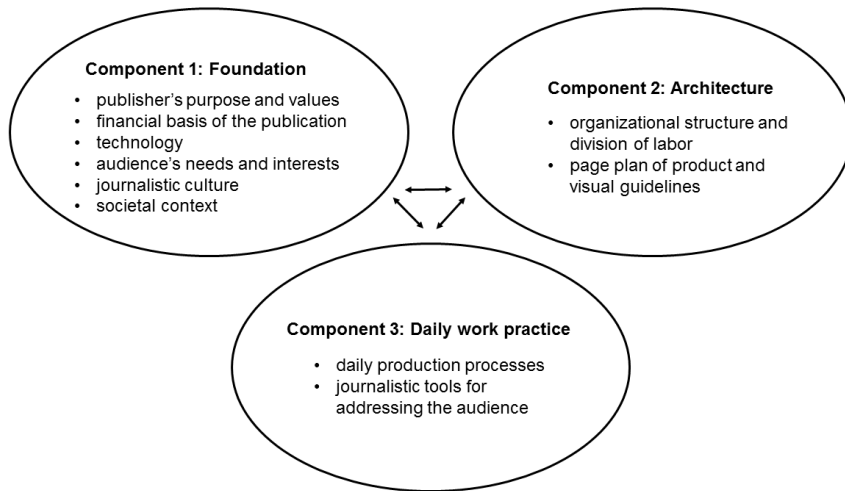


**Component 1** of a media concept consists of the publisher's values and purpose, and the financial basis of the publication. Values can be financial or ideological, whereas purpose could refer to maximal profit, dissemination of ideology, or wide circulation over targeting a precise segment of readers, or vice versa. The financial basis could consist of subscription fees, advertising revenue, and/or subsidies from some interest group.

In addition, Component 1 includes the technology available, the needs and interests of the desired audience, the journalistic culture, as well as the societal context. Journalistic culture refers to the close socio-cultural context in which all the persons involved in the particular activity (i.e. the production of a newspaper or magazine) operate. Societal context refers to the rules and regulations governing the kinds of media that can exist and be consumed.

To further illustrate Component 1 in practice, I will exploit the example "Painting with oils". The informant-journalist mentioned in her SR session that she prefers "short and snappy" quotations because they meet the audience's needs – at least as she perceives them. (*In my opinion, a quotation must be short and snappy. I don't know why… maybe it's more reader-friendly that way*).

**Component 2** refers to "the architecture of the whole and its parts" (Helle and Töyry 2009: 504; see also Helle 2010: 116), and it can be considered from two perspectives, that of organisation and that of content. The architecture of the whole is usually rather stable and is pre-designed.

The organisational architecture includes the management and production principles, as well as the division of labour. In practice, this refers, for example, to top-down decisions whether the work is done by regular employees or freelancers, or organised to be done in an individual or co-operational way. The architecture of the content, in turn, refers to the fact that each media product usually has a more or less standardised structure for presenting contents. This subcomponent is best characterised as a "template" for achieving the values and purpose of Component 1. For example, any particular media product usually comprises a specific combination of article types in a certain order, and furthermore, these article types[16] have explicitly determined targets and textual and visual instructions.

In the example "Painting with oils", the informant-journalist mentioned in her SR session that the carefully pre-designed layout also steers the placement of quotations (*Our layout is carefully conceptualised, and sometimes I work on the placement of quotations so that they suit the layout better*). The informant-journalist also pointed out that as a result of their workload, the journalist ended up feeling that there was no time to discuss quoting principles with anyone (*When we assemble a newspaper issue we are in such a great hurry that there's no time. I would love to discuss work practices, but our schedules are so tight that there's no time for that*).

**Component 3** comprises the daily production processes and practices through which the "template" is implemented. This is the "hands-on" level, where the concrete decisions are made. Such decisions consider, for example, how the communicative means (entertaining, informative, persuasive, and/or commenting) are achieved to meet the purpose of the publisher; how the probable contradictory aims (of editorial, advertising, and circulation departments, etc.)

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[16] Helle and Töyry (2009) employ the term *story type* (in Finnish *juttutyyppi*). They use it as a broad tool for analysing and developing journalistic content and editorial processes. It is determined not only by a designated *article type* (news, profile, investigative reporting, etc.), but also by the visual design both within the scope of a single article and the structure of a publication as a whole (see also Töyry, Räty, and Kuisma 2008). However, because the term is not widely established outside of the Finnish mediascape, I employ here the term *article type* in its traditional meaning.

are negotiated; and how the interviews, writing, and editing are performed. Contrary to the stable and standardised Component 2, some daily practices of the editorial staff may vary. For example, it is often decided from article to article which journalist is assigned to write it and how the writing process in all its details is performed. On the other hand, some daily practices should vary. For example, the selection of topics, viewpoints, and interviewees must change to sustain the reader's interest and thus ensure their loyalty to that particular media product.

In the light of my research frame, I investigated how the nine quoting practices (see Part II) and the array of modifications they resulted in between the interview and the quotations (see Part I), are influenced by a rather stable and pre-designed architecture of organisation and content (Component 2) and, furthermore, by the publisher's values, audience's needs, and other fundamental contextual factors. In other words, how concrete processes of quoting (Component 3) are fulfilling the broad object of the journalistic activity.

### 2.3.2   Contradictory factors influencing quoting practices

My research produced empirical support for the schematic structure of the notion of media concepts. The stimulated recall sessions brought into light various points and factors that relate to quoting, and each of these aspects could then be placed under one of the three components of a media concept.

From the second research question's point of view (*How can we explain those quoting practices…?*), the notion of media concepts helped to explain the heterogeneity and unpredictability of the quotation-making process discussed in Part I. In practice, media concepts were particularly useful in explaining single quoting-related aspects as interdependent constituents in a broader context of journalistic article production. The key finding of Part III is then to cast light on the multi-dimensional interplay of various contextual resources that takes place in quoting, as demonstrated in the following.

One of my informant-journalists justified the substantial modification she had made to the quoted discourse by referring to two requirements: on the one hand, the article and its quotations must "cover major issues from multiple angles", and on the other hand, it must meet "tight space restrictions" (see Article I: appendix, V). These aspects, defined by the predesigned architecture of the content (Component 2), substantially contradict each other. However, besides the obvious cross-pressure between these two goals, the informant-journalist also brought out an aspect that helped her to cope with the contradiction: since it is technically easy to mould the original interview discourse in a writing phase

(Component 3), for example, to fit in the preset length requirements, one can concentrate on information gathering in the interview without worrying about the exact form of the interviewee's words. Such practice also seems to be socially accepted within the profession, because it was mentioned by several informant-journalists in their SR sessions. In other words, substantial "post-interview" modification can be seen as part of the predominant journalistic culture (Component 1).

Above, there was a contradiction between two aimed-for aspects of the content architecture of the article in the making (that is, between two aspects under Component 2). However, the contradiction can also exist between the two different components. For example, one of the main goals in crafting quotations is, according to an informant-journalist, to ensure that readers can understand the quotations (audience's needs, Component 1), and this goal of intelligibility is supported by another goal, namely that the inscription of quotations must follow grammatically correct standard language (journalistic culture, Component 1). In contrast, colloquialisms and word forms mimicking the exact pronunciation certainly reduce the intelligibility of the quotation, but they can be used when they have a definite narrational point in the emerging article (the architecture of the content, Component 2). Such a narrational point exists, for example, when an Eastern Finland-based immigrant of Syrian origin is quoted using a dialectal singular first-person pronoun *mie* (*minä*, 'I', in the standard Finnish) in order to demonstrate his good adjustment to his new place of residence (see Haapanen 2016: 217–218).

Quoting is a process of constant internal negotiation between various points and aspects that might be difficult to reconcile. Furthermore, these aspects may in the first place originate from different fundamental premises and be determined by different stakeholders. For example, inadequate resource allocation (the organisational architecture, Component 2) may cause time pressure that, in turn, leads to the selection of disadvantageous working methods (daily production processes, Component 3), such as taking notes by hand because there is no time for tape-recording and transcribing (see Article I: appendix, XI) despite its inaccuracy (see Article I: appendix, X). However, whereas the commonly mentioned goal of reproducing the original idea of the interviewee's utterances in quotations (journalistic culture, Component 1) may suffer from haste, the technical easiness of modifying the quoted text (technology, Component 1) can help the writer cope with insufficient raw material. At the grass roots level, these disadvantages must be managed by the journalists themselves, although internal contradictions may

originate from fundamental premises that individual journalists can neither affect nor change.

To conclude, a trigger for this entire research was to investigate, analyse and explain the obvious contradiction between the perception of quoting presented in journalistic guidebooks and the actual and prevalent process of quoting. However, it became evident in the course of the analysis that there are also substantial and fundamental contradictions within the actual quoting taking place in journalists' daily work. The current research has raised the question of these multidimensional contextual resources and also pointed out their relevance. It is my wish that future research will explore these issues further.

**The findings discussed in this section are further explained in Article I.**

# 3     Conclusions and beyond

Once analyses have been conducted and their findings summarised, it is time to raise the question "then what?" In this chapter, I will discuss how the findings of this research contribute to academia (3.1) on the one hand, and have social relevance (3.2) on the other. The chapter concludes by outlining two future lines of research (3.3).

## 3.1   Contribution to academia

In journalistic quoting, spoken discourse is converted into written form, but additionally, quotation discourse is often modified in ways that do not seem to be necessary just because the context has changed. Thus, my research contributes both to an understanding of the relationship between oral and written language use and the collective knowledge of quoting (3.1.1). Within media linguistics, my findings confirm some results within the field and challenge others. Overall, the findings considerably expand our comprehension of journalistic quoting and the nature of journalistic interviews conducted to gather raw material for a piece of written journalism. (3.1.2.)

### 3.1.1   Towards a comprehensive conception of quoting

To begin with, my research contributes to the knowledge of the relationship between oral and written discourse, and the tension involved (e.g. Biber 1988; Linell 2005; Tiittula and Nuolijärvi 2016; Silverstein and Urban 1996; Tiittula 1992). Besides its two fundamental channels of use, oral and written – the march of technology has also created hybrids of language use, found in such situations as online-chat. In journalistic quoting, the change from the spoken to the written channel necessarily involves such auditory factors as intonation, stress, and pauses, which do not

have any conventional, let alone exact, counterpart in writing. Moreover, journalistic quotations often also go through more extensive modifications than is intuitively expected. This finding is in line with research into spoken-written conversion in other domains, such as intralingual subtitling (e.g. Pöntys 2016), speech-to-text interpreting (e.g. Rainò and Laurén 2016; Wiklund 2013), research interviews (e.g. Bucholtz 2007; Ruusuvuori and Nikander 2016), a meeting of an organisation (e.g. Nissi 2016), writing down examination records (e.g. Byrman 2016; Jönsson and Linell 1991; van Charldorp 2014), and recording the plenaries of the Finnish Parliament (e.g. Slembrouck 1992; Voutilainen 2016).

My research also helps understand quoting as a phenomenon on a deeper level. Quotations published in the media are often based on journalistic interviews. Surprisingly, as my research has shown, it is common for a great proportion of the article text, other than the quotations, to have also been derived from the interview. Notwithstanding this thorough intertextuality, journalistic media items are independent, purpose-oriented, and dramaturgically consistent stories, not descriptive, slavishly reproduced accounts of the course of the journalistic interview. When it comes to quoting within this transformation from interviews to articles, the most eye-catching and evident aspect to focus on is the linguistic appearance of the quoted discourse. This has also been a central aspect in previous research on quoting, regardless of the particular domain (e.g. Clark and Gerrig 1990; Johnson Barella 2005; Lehrer 1989; Mayes 1990; Short, Semino and Wynne 2002). However, in addition to *textualisation* I suggest also taking *decontextualisation* and *contextualisation* strategies and practices under more thorough investigation. I argue that such a development would result in a more *comprehensive conception of quoting.* For the big picture – not only quoting in the media, but also in other domains – decontextualisation and contextualisation are the processes within which the most essential, influential, and far-reaching decisions are likely to be taken. This includes considerations such as determining which rare and relatively short stretches of talk-in-interaction have been selected and extracted from the interview, and where these to-be-quoted stretches are to be positioned in the emerging article.

### 3.1.2 Expanding the big picture on journalistic quoting

In the field of media linguistics, my research constitutes a needed contribution. First of all, it broadens the focus of quoting practices and journalistic interviews in the media from just the audio-visually broadcasted context to the written one, and from just breaking news and politics, to a variety of article genres (e.g. profiles and fact-based articles) and topics.

Secondly, in terms of explaining quoting strategies and practices, my research not only (i) verifies certain findings of previous research but also (ii) takes a step further in the investigation. For example, (i) my research confirms and elaborates the fact that quoting is principally guided by the journalist's preliminary idea of what the emerging story should and could look like (e.g. Clayman 1995; Nylund 2003a, 2006a). In turn, (ii) the notion of *monologisation* is a step forward in explaining journalistic work processes, and this notion is also applicable in various other domains and sites of language use, such as scientific writing, political discourse, and police interrogations, where oral discourse is reproduced *per se* in written form – at least ostensibly.

Third, this research shows that there is not only extensive variation in the modifications of quotations from article to article, but also within individual articles, and even within individual quotations; which is to say that some part of the quotation might be verbatim, whereas another part might be a rewording.[17] As indicated by my research, this complexity cannot be explained by any single factor – be it, e.g., the medium, the experience of the journalist, the identity of the interviewee, the means to record the interview, the topic in question, or the type of article in the making. Although my data is too small for drawing all-encompassing conclusions, my research does challenge some "weak hypotheses" about journalistic quoting practices to which a product-bound approach is said to be prone to lead (NewsTalk&Text Research Group 2011: 5–6). For example, Short, Semino, and Wynne (2002: 352), in their discussion of the utility of the notion of *faithfulness*, suggest that "[a]lthough we do not have specific examples to illustrate the point, we suspect that, unless legal proceedings are thought possible, popular magazines and newspapers are likely to be less careful about faithfulness [of their quotations] than more serious journalistic organs". Without harping on the use of such vague terms as "popularity" and "seriousness", my findings do not support such a loose sentiment. Moreover, within the same paper the writers also assume that the words of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher must be "faithfully reproduced word by word", because of her societal position and the importance of her statement (ibid. 344). Such reasoning resonates with the much-cited insight "the higher the status of a speaker, the more direct the presentation" (Davis 1985: 47) that persistently lives on even today (Bell 1991: 205; Satoh 2001; Dai and Xu 2014).

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[17] These results challenge the practice of grouping quotations according to any one type of modification, as Johnson Barella (2005) has done.

However, the interplay between the original and the final discourse is more complex, as shown by my comparison between two interviews with the Finnish President, Sauli Niinistö (see, Article I: 3.1 Verbatim quoting).

In sum, a quotation drawn from an interview is an important part of today's journalism (see, e.g., Ekström 2006) and the process of quoting is an integrated element in every major aspect of daily journalistic production practices (see, e.g., Kroon Lundell and Ekström 2010). Further, my research expands the big picture on journalistic quoting, especially by integrating the notion of media concepts into my research design, and shows that quotations and quoting also reflect the publishers' ideological values and purposes, the financial basis of publications, the needs and interests of the audience and, furthermore, the current journalistic culture and societal context in which the publishing takes place. These interdependent aspects, importantly, can support but also contradict each other. This means that quoting is a constant internal negotiation process between aspects which originate from various fundamental conditions of media publishing and journalistic work.

## 3.2 Societal relevance

In this section, I will discuss the social relevance of my results from two points of view. Firstly, since routinisation of daily work practices can restrain journalists from improving them, a breakdown of the process of quoting has the potential to benefit practitioners in the field (3.2.1). Secondly, this research also equips readers with some useful tools that they can apply in their attempts to improve their critical media literacy, and this aspect is demonstrated with a recent authentic example (3.2.2). Additionally, my research also has implications for primary and secondary education and for the school system more generally. In Finland (and elsewhere), newspaper articles are commonly exploited as teaching material in classrooms (see e.g. Puro 2014).

### 3.2.1 Breakdown of journalists' routines

Since my data consist of information about journalists' actual work processes, this research could not discover anything substantially new that was not already a part of their daily routines. However, the stimulated recall sessions did reveal some interesting aspects of my informant-journalists' work and the degree of awareness of their practices, as demonstrated by the quotations given below (the Finnish responses are the originals). For example, the informant-journalists found it advantageous to reflect on their own work in such analytical settings (a)

and at the same time they were often slightly surprised at their actual quoting practices (b). All in all, the process of quoting was revealed as a fairly routinised part of their work flow (c) (cf. Zampa and Perrin 2016).

> a) In my opinion, this was also very useful for me – having to look at your own way of working from an outside perspective. You view your work habits from a different angle, and you have to explain why you've done things this way.
>
> Mun mielestä tää oli itsellekin tosi hyödyllistä että joutuu katsomaan omaa työskentelyä ulkopuolelta. Näkee omaa työskentelyä eri kulmasta ja että joutuu perustelemaan, miksi oot tehnyt näin.
>
> b) I guess I was kind of stunned myself when I realised that these [quotations] have been edited this much.
>
> Ehkä tätä itekkin hätkähtää kun huomaa että näitä [sitaatteja] on näinkin paljon muokattu.
>
> c) Maybe I don't stop to think so consciously about why something is a quotation and why something else is an indirect narrative. It tends to happen quite intuitively when I'm constructing an article.
>
> En mä kovin tietoisesti ehkä pysähdy miettimään että miksi jokin on sitaatti ja miksi jokin on epäsuoraa kerrontaa, että se tulee aika intuitiivisesti sitä juttua rakentaessa.

Journalists craft numerous quotations every day, and routinisation, that is automatisation, of such practices can undoubtedly make working more efficient and thus make it easier to stay within deadlines. However, routines and procedures, institutionalised routines, can also restrain journalists from challenging, appraising, and perhaps even from improving their work practices (e.g. Gravengaard and Rimestad 2016: 293–295; Gynnild 2007: 88–89). Taking into account that informant-journalists reported in the stimulated recall sessions that they had got almost no instruction on quoting either in their education or during their career, my research findings have the potential to benefit both the elementary studies of journalism as well as in-service training.

Since quoting turned out to be a highly situation-dependent activity, there is hardly any one-size-fits-all solution to offer. Therefore, it is crucial to become aware of the variety of means to negotiate between the foundational differences of oral and written language use, ethical principles, and the publisher's and audience's expectations. In order to promote this way of thinking, teaching and lecturing have been part of my researcher profile from the very beginning.

### 3.2.2 Transparency of quoting practices

Established broadcast media publishers and professional journalists are still – even in today's convergent mediascape – powerful actors in the building of people's world views. At the same time, laypeople are provided with next to no information about actual journalistic practices. For example, if Finnish readers want to familiarise themselves with some principles as to how the pieces of journalism in the Finnish mediascape are made, *Journalistin ohjeet* [Guidelines for Journalists] is the only official and publicly available document. *Journalistin ohjeet* (2014) is a set of guidelines drafted specifically for the purpose of self-regulation, and as far as quoting is concerned, these guidelines offer no explicit instructions. The only point (ibid. point 8) that naturally – though in a very generalised manner – also applies to quoting reads, "[t]he journalist must aim to provide *truthful* information".[18] The same lack of clarity also applies to ethical guidelines in other countries (see 1.2.1).

From the audience's and lay-citizen's side of the issue, I argue that the question of the truthfulness of quotations is, to a great extent, a question of the *transparency* of the principles of work practices, and this also applies to journalism in general.[19] Conversely, non-transparency of quoting practices can lead to striking consequences, as demonstrated in the end of Article IV: The practice of monologisation in the news coverage of a gang rape together with the misleading follow-up column substantially affected the public discourse regarding the credibility of the police. This example was expanded into a long-lasting and nationwide news topic. However, once again I argue that seemingly minor and insignificant articles also affect the status quo as much as grandiose news events (cf. 1.4.2).

I will support this point with the help of a recent news article that is not part of my research data described in Chapter 2. The 'clickbait'[20] news item dealing with taxes on bottle deposits was followed by a widespread social media discussion which showed, in my view, alarming deficiencies in the media literacy

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[18] The Finnish version of this response reads "[j]ournalistin velvollisuus on pyrkiä totuudenmukaiseen tiedonvälitykseen", which might have a slightly different meaning on close reading. Both language versions are provided by the Council of Mass Media on their website www.jsn.fi.

[19] I owe this insight to my colleague, a researcher of photography, Hanna Weselius, who was commenting on journalistic photos.

[20] A colloquial term, *clickbait* refers to web material with an alluring – and sometimes slightly misleading – headline that through word choice and phrasing may entice a potential reader to click on the headline and access the story, thus increasing the website's view count.

skills of the audience. I use this news event to show the applicability of my research findings, namely that *a comprehensive conception of quoting* could help to uncover and explain certain journalistic practices.

In July 2016, a Finnish regional newspaper published an online news article dealing with the taxation of deposits received from bottles and cans collected from the street. Below is my English translation of the beginning of the news article, which is then followed by the Finnish original.

**Taxes must be paid on deposits received from bottles collected from the street, unreported income is subject to back taxes** [headline]

Income tax should be paid on deposits received from bottles and cans collected from the street, says senior tax inspector Petri Manninen from the tax administration.

"Income received from collecting bottles is normal taxable income, which should be reported in one's tax return."

However, self-purchased bottles can be returned to collection points tax-free.

Unreported income can result in back taxes, Manninen informs. The size of this kind of punitive tax increase depends on the amount that has been left untaxed.

**No Statistics** [subheading]

According to Manninen, tax administration does not have any specific statistics as to how much of the income received from bottle collecting is reported to tax authorities.

"Investigating this is not our main focus."

(…)

**Kaduilta kerätyistä pullopanteista on maksettava veroa, jälkivero uhkaa ilmoittamattomista tuloista** [Otsikko]

Kaduilta kerättävistä pantillisista pulloista ja tölkeistä saatavista tuloista pitäisi maksaa ansiotuloveroa, verohallinnon ylitarkastaja Petri Manninen kertoo.

"Pullojen keräämisestä saatu tulo on aivan normaalia veronalaista ansiotuloa, joka pitäisi ilmoittaa veroilmoituksella."

Omat pullot saa kuitenkin palauttaa verovapaasti palautuspisteisiin.

Ilmoittamatta jääneestä tulosta voi joutua maksamaan jälkiveroa, Manninen kertoo. Mahdollisen veronkorotuksen suuruus riippuu siitä, kuinka suuri summa on jäänyt verottamatta.

**Ei tilastoja** [väliotsikko]

Mannisen mukaan verohallinnolla ei ole erillisiä tilastoja siitä, kuinka paljon verottajalle ilmoitetaan panteista saatuja tuloja.

"Tämän tutkiminen ei ole painopisteitämme."

(…)

Once the news article was published, it was soon cited (mainly reproduced) by several eminent Finnish media institutions. As expected, this news item raised a great deal of discussion. For example, the comment section of a certain afternoon tabloid collected more than 1 200 comments on the topic. The issue was also widely (and wildly) discussed in several online discussion forums and social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter.

Based on the discussion, the article perhaps resulted in reinforcing the fashionable and socially accepted antipathy towards bureaucracy. Given the plethora of posts, I could not skim through all of them, but a random sample of the commentary indicated the common sentiment that the greedy Finnish tax authorities had gone mad in chasing bottle collectors who would get a punitive tax in return for their important cleaning work. I argue that with the aid of a comprehensive conception of quoting, we are able to draw a different and more truthful kind of conclusion on this subject matter.

To begin with, there is nothing newsworthy in this news. First of all, the basis of income tax legislation is that all income, including returning bottles for their deposits, is taxable as long as it is not specifically classified as tax-free income. No alteration in legislation or in tax administration guidelines had happened – a fact that remained unaddressed in the article. Secondly, the very same "sensation" was also brought out in Finnish mass and social media in July 2011, so there was hardly anything worth bringing into public discussion. However, publishing the issue as a news article invited readers to search for something newsworthy in it. Moreover, the propositional content could easily have been given by the journalist-narrator himself, but instead, Senior Tax Inspector Manninen is "brought to the podium" to tell about it, both by means of direct and indirect quoting. Such personalisation also adds ostensible importance to the issue (e.g. Haapanen 2011. See also Article II).

In the absence of any kind of recording of the original interview with Mr. Manninen, there is no basis for us to review the linguistic modifications or the changes in the structure of the interaction between the journalist and Manninen that the quoted discourse might have gone through. However, in light of the comprehensive conception of quoting provided above (3.1.1), I argue that the isolation of Manninen's responses from the surrounding context of the journalist's questions makes both direct and indirect quoting sound very strict and informative. However, we can only speculate as to the kind of impression these utterances created in their original interview context. Additionally, due to the monologisation of Manninen's comments and their positioning at the very beginning of the news article, the impression that Manninen had been a kind of initiator in this

news-making process is created. This is most likely not true, since, from the perspective of the tax authorities, no new information about tax policy was being released.

In the headline, the close proximity of propositions about taxes and back taxes naturally links these issues together. Due to monologisation and the fact that any journalistic article is an independent story, not an account of the course of an interview, the paragraph dealing with taxes and punitive taxes leaves even the most discerning reader uncertain whether Manninen has originally discussed these issues particularly with respect to bottle deposits, or if he was describing – or, more likely, was asked to describe – general taxation procedures.

In this subsection, I have described the aspects that readers should be aware of to handle today's highly mediatised public discourse. Certainly, the improvement of readers' media literacy skills is an important and desirable progression, but it is, I argue, more like tackling the symptom rather than the cause of the problem. To begin with, the practice of quoting and the treatment of quotations in the taxation case as well as in the gang rape case were hardly an accident or due to an oversight but more likely the outcome of professional journalists' deliberate decision-making. This decision-making, in turn, is not merely an individual and independent piece of craft, but is influenced and governed by the established institutional settings, as my analysis showed. Therefore, should one feel like identifying some responsible stakeholders in the evident contradiction between actual (and sometimes mundane) quoting practices and the high aims of journalism to objectivity and truthfulness, the right direction would be to go "above" the journalists themselves. This is because the observable concrete work practices, which are often automated into routines and furthermore institutionalised into procedures, must meet the publisher's ideological and economic purposes and values on the one hand, and the audience's preferences and points of interest on the other.

## 3.3  Future directions

In this section, I will propose two lines for future research. The first strives for research-based ethical consideration and practical guidelines for journalistic quoting (3.3.1). Secondly, I wish to broaden the scope. Based on the findings that quoting plays an important role throughout the production processes of traditional, journalistic mass media items, and also importantly in new, social media, I will outline a research framework concerning the ways the social media could – and should – add value to journalists' daily practice (3.3.2).

### 3.3.1 Rethinking the fundamental basis of quoting

During quoting, journalists modify the to-be-quoted interview discourse in various ways. Based on the data from retrospective verbal protocols (data set 4), I argue that these modifications are often quite understandable and situationally justifiable. However, this does not remove the fact that an evident and severe contradiction still exists between the high aims and the complex reality of journalistic quoting.

Even though the contradiction is realised in daily practices, its reasons are not for journalists themselves to solve. Furthermore, the cause and effect of the contradiction often seem to be organically intertwined. For example, in recent decades the number of media offerings for the audience to select has exploded, and since the audience does not always take the trouble to be that "aware" in their media behaviour, the publishers comply with the audience's interests and compromise their ethical ideals with clickbait journalism and dubious quoting practices. Therefore, I argue for a thorough rethinking of the fundamentals of quoting.

Such a rethinking requires, firstly, to unpack the present state of affairs of quoting by pointing out the possible historical "burden" that might result in contradictions. For example, only in the last half of the 20th century have quotes developed as visually discernible from the rest of the news text (Ekstöm 2006: 30; see also footnote 5). Before then, the switches from the reporter's voice to that of the source could be quite unclearly marked.[21]

Secondly, in light of the comprehensive conception of quoting suggested in this research, the practice of quoting needs to be seen as a process comprised of several sub-processes; to-be-quoted text is selected and extracted, then positioned in the emerging article, and modified to fit in there. On this basis, I argue that the nine quoting practices abstracted and conceptualised in this research (2.2.2) could serve as a suitable theoretical framework – detailed enough but not too context-specific – for careful drafting of rethought guidelines on quoting; the guidance should take a stand on each of these quoting (sub-)processes.

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[21] Such hybrid forms of quoting come close to so-called *free indirect speech*, which has particularly attracted researchers in literature studies (Kalliokoski 2005: 30–36). I argue that especially due to modern journalism's high claims to objectivity, free indirect speech is no longer a common – or even acceptable – manner of discourse representation. However, as my research with access to the original interview discourse has revealed, it is very common that the interviewee's statements are reproduced in quite a verbatim way in the article, but presented as the journalist-narrator's unattributed information (see, e.g. Article III: Example 1). Such manner of newswriting is actually (a type of) free indirect speech, but the interviewee's role in this hybrid is not revealed to the readers.

Hopefully, such a research-based set of guidelines could facilitate the work, and clarify the position, of journalists in today's convergent mediascape, since "[i]nterviewing methods and quoting techniques have played a central part in what is usually described as the professionalization and/or institutionalization of journalism" (Ekström 2006: 21). Might these guidelines even have some kind of role in restoring the professional appreciation of journalists and the institutional position of journalism? (About the loss of trust in journalistic media in Finland, see T-Media 2015: 28, and internationally, see Cushion 2007: 120.)

### 3.3.2 Social media as an added value in journalistic writing

Quoting plays a key role in today's highly mediated public discourse (Haapanen and Perrin forthcoming 2017). However, there seems to be a lack of an integrative description of quoting that reaches beyond the previous medium-focused approaches. Therefore, in order to identify new and emerging quoting practices and cross the boundaries between mass and social media, I have worked with Daniel Perrin on such a schematic description (Haapanen and Perrin in preparation).

Reflecting the Mediated Social Communication approach (Groth 1960; Fürst, Schönhagen and Bosshart 2015; drawing on key concepts from Wagner 1977), Perrin and I have built our description of quoting on the perception that modern societies allocate space for competing forces to publicly negotiate socially relevant topics in the mass media, and these negotiations are mediated by journalists as forum leaders. In practice, journalists and their editorial teams, firstly, topicalise particular issues and select the key societal forces pertaining to these issues. Secondly, they personalise, or in other words, identify representatives of these social forces and include them in a kind of virtual panel discussion of the emerging media item. Thirdly, journalists quote these representatives.

With the emergence of social media, the concept of quoting has further evolved. Social media contributions also often require the sub-processes of topicalising, personalising and quoting, albeit mostly conducted in a non-collaborative way. However, research has suggested that quoting in the social media also serves new kinds of discursive functions, and therefore Daniel Perrin and I have conceptualised a practice of *socio-quoting* and further divided it into two, namely *paradigmatic* and *syntagmatic* socio-quoting (more in detail, see Haapanen and Perrin forthcoming 2017: Section 6; in preparation). In socio-quoting, social media users exploit media items and their quotes in order to socialise, display their staged identity, and connect to other social media users (e.g. Marwick and boyd 2010; Myers 2010; Puschmann 2015; Zappavigna 2012: Chapter 5). In other words, through these emergent forms of quoting, facilitated by the platform architecture of social media, "quoting has

taken on a broader role, emphasizing phatic and sociocommunicative aspects in addition to argumentative and information needs [that are predominant in mass media and introduced in Section 1.2.2]" (Puschmann 2015: 36).

Aside from journalists and mass media producers, through socio-quoting laypeople can also have an effect on public discourse, for example, if societal forces and their key players become influenced by social media posts. This effect can then loop back to the mass media by initiating updates of existing media items or by triggering a production process for additional items. (Tremayne 2007). Additionally, we argue that this vital intertextuality between social and mass media could also offer numerous advantages from the point of view of the journalist's daily work, and this is the very point we consider an urgent subject matter to focus on.

On the one hand, social media contributions could provide journalists and journalistic media with further information on the subject matter of their articles as well as introduce topical issues and offer novel angles on them.[22] Moreover, social media could provide feedback to the editorial staff regarding whether or not the journalistic material they produce really meets their audience's expectations and reflects their values.

On the other hand, journalists can identify prospective interviewees in the social media, and also build networks around the main topics they follow and cover. In this way, they can easily interact with these experts – something that used to occur in lunch meetings and corridor discussions – without the traditional challenges of availability of time and place.

Based on our research review (e.g. Brandtzaeg *et al.* 2016; Fürst, Schönhagen, and Bosshart 2015: 329 and its references; Larsson and Ihlebæk 2016; Weaver and Willnat 2016), we argue that the potential of the above-described advantages is not yet fully exploited, although this conclusion might partly derive from methodological deficiencies in identifying and conceptualising these novel practices. Therefore, the relationship between social media and journalistic writing seems to be a relevant field for transdisciplinary research (for transdisciplinary action research, see Perrin 2012) to improve professional journalists' legitimate interplay with social media – in contrast to simple click-baiting and hunting for link shares. Additionally, social media platforms have, unfortunately, enabled disinformation, hate speech, and other similar negative by-products, and as a consequence, some media publishers

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[22] Kruikemeier and Lecheler (2016) have shown that when journalists get their information from social media, audiences find the reports less credible. However, perhaps this should not be seen as an obstacle but a challenge for journalists to figure out credible ways to articulate the fact-check procedures of information of social media origin.

in Finland, for example, have temporarily closed down their comment sections due to the inappropriate discussions that have arisen. Since transdisciplinary research develops knowledge in collaboration with practitioners, we argue that, for example, designing an active and participatory chairing system for comment sections could help traditional media to manage harmful by-products without turning to undesirable steps to curtail this behaviour (e.g. Lewiński 2010. About the role of design in communication, see Aakhus and Jackson 2014).

I will conclude this Chapter 3, and close the whole Overview, with a bit of nostalgia. Nearly seven years ago, for the final page of my master's thesis (Haapanen 2010: 124), I sketched some daring steps for further research on quoting. Aware of the methodological shortcomings of semi-structured interviews, I wished for a research framework that advanced from *what journalists say they do when quoting,* to *what journalists actually do when quoting* and concluded that "arranging such research would be difficult (…) however, it would not be impossible".

Now, on the final page of the overview on my doctoral dissertation research project, I would like to set out for myself some daring steps for future research on the intertextuality of media discourse. I intend, for example, to examine how editorial staff and specific journalists take into account, participate in, and are influenced by social media when planning, writing, and reviewing their media items. This could lead to identifying and conceptualising a multifaceted array of what is referred to as rich points and best practices. It would be a challenging thing to do, not least from the point of view of methodology. However, it would not be impossible.

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