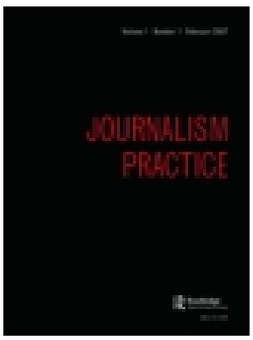

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MONOLOGISATION AS A QUOTING PRACTICE
Obscuring the journalist's involvement in written journalism

Lauri Haapanen

This paper explores a particular aspect of journalistic quoting, monologisation. During monologisation, the interactive turn exchange between the journalist and the interviewee is simplified in the resulting article. This simplification process mainly takes the form of obscuring the role of the journalist in the original spoken discourse. As a result, the quotations appear to be unprompted, continuous utterances by the interviewee, and this in turn has seminal consequences for the interpretation of the quotation. This paper will demonstrate that monologisation is an effective means for journalists to steer the reading of the article and to include their own points of view without breaking the professional rule that journalism must separate facts from opinions. The results of this study are based on a comparison between two types of empirical data; recordings of journalistic interviews, on the one hand, and published articles, on the other. This study will focus on one particular type of journalistic interview that has been largely neglected in prior research along with its specific quoting practices, namely the interviews were conducted by the journalists in order to collect raw material for written journalistic items, published either in print or electronic form. This paper will show that interviews of this type involve highly diverse and mutually adaptive interaction, contrary to the clearly structured question–answer interviews that are used as sound bites in television news items and have thus far remained the primary focus of research on both journalistic interviews and quoting processes. The notion of monologisation could be applied in various domains where an interview is converted into a written account, such as research interviewing and police interrogations.

KEYWORDS direct speech; journalistic interviews; monologisation; print media; quotations; quoting practices; version analysis

Introduction

Journalistic interviews are a common means for journalists to gather raw material for their articles (see e.g. Ekström 2001), which frequently utilise direct quotations drawn from these interviews (see Ekström 2006; Haapanen and Perrin, forthcoming). In this paper, I examine the quoting process that begins with an oral interview and results in the finalised, published article with one or more direct quotations. Through this process, the journalist re-contextualises spoken discourse into a written form. My goal is to explore how this ostensibly "direct" relationship of the original spoken and the final written discourse is subject to changes, both in terms of its linguistic form and the different types of situated meanings (see e.g. Linell 1998, 154–155; Perrin 2013, 28). More specifically, I examine a particular aspect of this re-contextualisation that I have termed *monologisation*.

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During monologisation, the interactive turn exchange between the journalist and the interviewee(s) is modified—often simplified in several respects, if not totally concealed—for the article. This modification is made, above all, by obscuring the involvement and influence of the journalist in the original spoken discourse. As a result, the quotations appear to be unprompted and continuous utterances by the interviewee. Thus, the regular understanding of the words *dialogue* and *monologue* 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 (see also Haapanen, forthcoming a, section 3.4).

As the empirical data of this paper show, interaction between the journalist and the interviewee in the journalistic interview is substantially characterised by co-operativeness and equality. Since any single stretch of discourse receives its situated meaning in relation to its interactionally accomplished contexts (see e.g. Linell 2009), deliberate modification of the impression that is created of original interaction, such as simplification, provides the journalist with substantial means for controlling the interpretation of the readers. In other words, the journalist can exploit the dialogue and common understanding that emerges in the interview for his or her own purposes (see also Eriksson 2011; Kroon Lundell and Ekström 2010; Nylund 2003). Thus, the notion of monologisation contributes to the discussion of power relations in journalism.

I begin by explaining the background of the notion of monologisation and reviewing the related studies. Additionally, I highlight the intrinsic differences between various types of journalistic interviews. Next, I introduce the data and methods of the present study and then elaborate the concept of monologisation in three consecutive subsections, which also particularise the nature of such journalistic interviews conducted to gather raw material for journalistic articles. After that I discuss the societal significance of the practice of monologisation, and finally, I summarise and discuss the findings and conclude that the notion of monologisation is not only interesting in theorising journalistic work practices but is also a key to a critical reading of the media of our time.

Background and Related Studies

My conceptualisation and understanding of monologisation has arisen from two primary conclusions of my earlier research. Firstly, version analysis indicated that there is an intrinsically complex relation between journalistic interviews and the quotations that are based on them (Haapanen, forthcoming a). Secondly, stimulated recall interviews suggested that this complexity was explained by the journalists' deliberate and overarching attempt to fulfil the objectives of the article when formulating quotations, rather than sticking to the idea that the quotations must be "direct", that is, word-for-word, or at least meaning-for-meaning, testimonies of the original utterances (Haapanen, forthcoming b). What remained unexplained when relating the text analytical findings (result 1) to the journalists' self-reflections (result 2) was the phenomenon that is under discussion in this paper: monologisation. It is noteworthy that despite the indication in my empirical data that monologisation is a common and everyday practice, journalists themselves did not encapsulate and/or conceptualise this particular procedure when discussing their work process. Therefore, the close scrutiny and articulation of this particular practice could also provide practitioners with added value.

Monologisation can also be considered a blind spot in research on the production of media items. While a somewhat similar phenomenon has briefly been described in earlier

research, it has not been given comprehensive consideration (Clayman 1990; Eriksson 2006, 2011; Kroon Lundell and Ekström 2010; Nylund 2006, 2011; Perrin 2013).[1] Previous research has predominately focused on television news productions, arguing that the majority of sound-bite quotes are "isolated answers", meaning that answers to specific questions are presented independently without the questions. This creates, first of all, the impression that the comments are made on the speaker's own initiative. Furthermore, removing the journalist's original question also changes the meaning of the quoted utterance, as pointed out by Ekström:

> The widespread practice of divorcing answers from questions give news journalists considerable leeway, for example, to ask leading questions and otherwise provoke answers which may then be presented to the public as the interviewee's spontaneous comments. (Ekström 2001, 569)

However, Ekström's research had no access to the original interview situations to assess the true nature of the original turn exchange. Nevertheless, Ekström presupposed and simultaneously renewed the perception that a journalistic interview is fundamentally an exchange of questions and answers and that quoted passages are inherently answers to questions. This notion might be valid in certain types of journalistic interviews.

Firstly, there are press conferences, in which many journalists, one after another, each present a question to an interviewee(s) and are unlikely to have an opportunity for a follow-up question. This naturally leads to well-prepared—and often more complex—questions (see e.g. Clayman 1993; Eriksson and Östman 2013). Secondly, there are so-called news interviews, which are relatively long stretches of unedited turn-taking used as one segment of a news programme or the overarching format for the programme as a whole (Clayman and Heritage 2002, 1). In most news interviews a single journalist is in charge of the questioning at any given time, and this allows him or her the freedom to ask follow-up questions. News interviews are among the most thoroughly researched forms of broadcast talk (see e.g. Clayman and Heritage 2002; Fetzer 2002; Fetzer and Weizman 2006; Harris 1991; Hutchby 2005, 2006; Lauerbach 2007; Montgomery 2007), and the field has shown signs of diversification from the study of general features to more specialised practices geared to particular subgenres (Clayman and Romaniuk 2011). Thirdly, there are journalistic interviews that are incorporated as sound-bite quotes into television or radio news items (see e.g. Ekström 2001; Kroon Lundell and Ekström 2010; Nylund 2006, 2011; Perrin 2013). To reduce unexpected and/or incoherent communication, these interviews conducted in front of the camera or microphone tend to precede so-called pre-interviews. Pre-interviews refer to a process during which a journalist contacts prospective interviewees, listens to what they know, and assesses if they are capable of delivering succinct and fluent quotes. Although pre-interviews have not been studied much, it is probable that they often emerge in a more informal and inconsistent way than the filmed or tape-recorded interviews with fixed lists of preconceived questions (Nylund 2011).[2]

One common—yet less studied—type of a journalistic interview still remains unaddressed, namely a journalistic interview conducted to gather[3] raw material for a *journalistic article* (abbreviated henceforth "JA"). Since the emergence of the interview varies depending on the medium (Quinn 2005, 102), in journalistic interviews for a JA, the interaction between the journalist and the interviewee is, in fact, much more diverse and complex than might be assumed on the basis of the findings of television-focused research (see e.g. Clayman and Heritage 2002, 95).

These characteristics of journalistic interviews for a JA is the very reason why I argue that in written journalism the phenomenon of monologisation is not only more diverse but also more significant than in audio-visually broadcasted media: journalistic interviews conducted for a JA are relatively long, unstructured, and informal, as will be illustrated below (see also Haapanen, forthcoming a). Therefore, the process of constructing a concise and pertinent article out of such "loose" raw material requires—and simultaneously enables—more substantial editing than a television news production. In the latter, journalists are advised, for example, to limit the length of their interviews to five minutes and to prevent the interviewee from rambling (Gormly 2004, 250–255).

Data and Methods

This paper draws from two empirical data-sets, which comprise recordings of authentic interviews conducted by several journalists (data-set 1) and the published articles written by these same journalists on the basis of their interviews (data-set 2). All the articles were published in the Finnish media between 2012 and 2014.

To begin with, there were no research results indicating that a particular title, media genre (e.g. national/regional newspapers, women's magazines, bulletins) or article type (e.g. news, profiles, features, reportages) would be a decisive factor in the making of quotations. Therefore, I considered the *journalistic interview* to be an appropriate starting point for my data collection. First of all, a journalistic interview is clearly one of the conventionalised premise(s) for information-gathering in journalistic work (Ekström 2006, 23). Most commonly it is an oral, one-to-one interview that is performed in a somewhat conventional way and, despite the variations in execution, has an explicit purpose—most obviously, to gather information for an article. This kind of interview also has a fixed overall structure and predetermined participant roles. Apart from one-to-one interviews, I also included a few press conferences in my data, because they are another common way of collecting data for articles (Eriksson and Östman 2013). This expansion also makes my research more comparable to the existing studies on quoting in written journalism, since they also consist of press conferences (see Johnson Barella 2005; Lehrer 1989).

I did not set any prerequisites for the interviewees of these interviews and press conferences. Although the identities of the interviewees might influence quoting practices, I assume that this interplay is more complex than, for example, Davis's (1985, 47) much-cited insight "the higher the status of a speaker, the more direct the presentation" suggests (for a comparison between two interview–article pairs with the President of Finland, Sauli Niinistö, see Haapanen, forthcoming a, section 3.1).

Thus, the first data-set consists of 20 recordings of authentic journalistic interviews and press conferences from 16 experienced journalists who work as either full-time employees or as freelancers for various established publications. I asked the journalists to record one or two interviews for my research purposes, but I did not disclose the exact objective of my study. The length of these interviews varied considerably, ranging from less than 2 minutes to 1 hour 45 minutes. I have written permissions from these journalists to use these recordings for research purpose.

The second data-set consists of 21[4] published articles that were based on the interviews and press conferences in the first data-set. The articles could be categorised as news, profiles, and fact-focused interviews, although no clear-cut typology of journalistic articles exists (however, for a typology of news articles, see Vandendaele, De Cuypere, and Van

Praet 2015). These articles were published in newspapers, magazines, business-to-consumer magazines ("B2C magazines"), and Web publications.

After collecting the data, a rough transcript of each recording was prepared. Subsequently, the passages that served as the basis for the quotations in the published articles were transcribed in further detail. In the examples presented in this paper, I have marked:

pauses	(.)
points of overlap onset	[speaker 1
	[speaker 2
truncation of an intonational phrase / a word	this is a- / examp-
substantially rising intonation	?

All the data were originally in Finnish. For the purposes of this paper, the data excerpts are presented in English, while the original Finnish versions are attached as Appendix A. To maintain the anonymity of my informant-journalists and the interviewees mentioned in their articles, all the names and other identifying characteristics have been changed.

The analytical method applied to these two data-sets is version analysis (in media linguistics, see Perrin 2013, 62), which is a method of analysing data to reconstruct the changes that occur in the linguistic features of two different versions of data. In my research design, I will first examine the diverse nature of journalistic interviews in terms of interaction. Subsequently, I will analyse how these interactional and mutually constructed features are—or are not—reflected in the quotations of their new co-text and context.

Types of Monologisation Practices

In this section, I will begin by introducing the most straightforward monologisation practices in which the journalistic interview for a JA consists of questions and answers, with both elements reproduced to some extent in the published article. I will then proceed to discuss more complex practices in which the journalistic interview for a JA comprises both questions and answers, but the questions are omitted from the published article. Finally, I will cover the most common and yet the most complex composition of journalistic interviews for a JA. In these interviews, the turn exchange between the journalist and the interviewee is relatively "equal", which could be best described through negation: these types of interview situations involve diverse interaction, but no clearly shaped question–answer exchange. This type of interaction is then predominately obscured through monologisation, generating changes in both the meaning of the quoted content and the impression disseminated about the original interaction between the journalist and the interviewee.

Original Turn-exchange is Reproduced but Reduced

Human social interaction is known to be sequentially organised through turn-taking (see e.g. Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson 1974). A *journalistic interview* is an institutionalised form of human interaction that occurs between a journalist and an interviewee. According to Heritage, this institutional aspect constrains the participants and causes "dramatic differences" as compared to everyday conversation:

> In conversation, topics emerge freely and in a variety of ways, the participants are free to make diverse contributions to the subject at hand and anyone can initiate a new line of departure. In the news interview, by contrast, the participants are fundamentally constrained.

> Interviewers restrict themselves to questioning and interviewees restrict themselves to answering the interviewers' questions, or at least responding to them. (Heritage 1998, 7)

It should be noted that Heritage's observation concerns first and foremost audio-visually broadcasted (live) news interviews. However, as no similar comparison exists between everyday conversation and journalistic interviews for a JA, I adopt Heritage's claim as the basis for the structure of my analysis. Against this initial description, I will begin to compose an understanding of journalistic interviews for a JA.

I will first examine a case where the journalist poses a question and the interviewee answers it, and this question–answer sequence is shown in the article as well. The example ("Dancer") below is extracted from a profile article published in a magazine. The subject is a dancer (Korhonen) and her work.

Example 1A: "Dancer" (profile article / published in a magazine).

> But what does the performance convey in practice? Who is Korhonen on stage?
>
> "My approach has always gone towards not assuming a role."

Example 1B below shows the particular portion of the journalistic interview that acts as the basis of the extract above, demonstrating the relationship between the two. The left-hand column contains the transcript of the interview, whereas the right-hand column presents the quotation and the preceding text as they appeared in the JA. The corresponding sections are placed on the same row.

Example 1B: "Dancer" (journalistic interview versus published article).

	Journalistic interview (transcript)	Published article (excerpt)
1	**JO[urnalist]**: I didn't have this [question] included with those questions but but I realised that I've been thinking about this the whole time I've watched your- or sort of studied, these pieces in particular and this- well well (.) because these are somehow so (.) very common (.) like kinda (.) hu- human-sized and like well like kinda somehow (.) thematically universal in a way (.) **IN[terviewee]**: yeah? **JO**: so well so errr	
2		But what does the performance convey in practice?
3	**JO**: do you have roles on stage or or i- is it you who kinda like then performs stuff	Who is Korhonen on stage?
4	**JO**: I dunno if I ca- can explain [this **IN**: [yeah **JO**: very well **IN**: yeah I get it- (.)	
5	**IN**: well, this aesthetics of mine if one could call it that **JO**: mm **IN**: or or or approach or thinking **JO**: mm **IN**: in my art has specifically (.) like **JO**: mm **IN**: always g-gone towards not having roles	"My approach has always gone towards not assuming a role."

Even a cursory review of the comparison presented in Example 1B reveals that two core elements of the interview are reproduced in the article. The first is the journalist's question on row 3 (without quotation marks, which is a common convention in the field of written media) and the second is the interviewee's answer on row 5. While the question has undergone a relatively extensive rewording, the answer is re-contextualised on a more verbatim basis, although some considerable modifications have occurred.

These modifications have simplified and obscured the process-like nature of the original discourse in several ways, as analysed below. Firstly, the interview discourse that was jointly produced contained a considerable number of continuers (*mm*) by the journalist (row 5), which serve to signal the interviewee to continue her turn (see e.g. Schegloff 1982). In the quotation, these discourse particles are deleted, which creates the impression that the interviewee has originally uttered her comment in a continuous and spontaneous way.

Secondly, expressions of word search and planning, for example, the planning device "like" (originally, *niinku*) and repetitions of words, are deleted from both the answer and the question. Furthermore, word forms typical of spontaneous spoken language are edited to accommodate the forms of the standard language. However, there is one exception: on row 5, in its original Finnish form, the quotation contains the pronoun *mun* (pro *minun* "my"). These types of short pronoun forms are typical of spoken Finnish discourse and indeed the interviewee uses them throughout her speech in the interview, but they are much more distinctive in the written format. This one occurrence of "mimicking" can be interpreted as a deliberate means to create an illusion of spoken language in the quotation (Haapanen 2011).

Thirdly, the interviewee begins her utterance (row 5) with a discourse particle translated as "well" (*no* in Finnish), which signifies both a shift in topic and the fact that the speaker is reserving a longer turn for herself to speak of this new topic (Vepsäläinen, in preparation). This discourse particle is absent from the quotation, which in turn reduces the reader's possibilities to deduce the original function of the quoted passage.

Finally, the interview discourse preceding the quoted section also contains many interactional elements that are likewise concealed from the reader. Firstly, on row 1, the journalist provides the premise of her question. This background is omitted from the article entirely. Then, following her main question on row 3, the journalist presents one more question (row 4), as if doubting her ability to make her point clear. This procedure-related "metaquestion" and the interviewee's answer are likewise eliminated. (Furthermore, there is an additional question [row 2] in the article that does not exist in the interview. I will return to this point later in this section.)

To summarise, despite these obvious modifications in the linguistic form of the utterances of both the journalist and the interviewee, the represented section reflects the chronology of the authentic turn-taking that it is based on. However, as many elements of the original interaction *in* this section (such as the continuers of the journalist) and *around* this section are absent (e.g. the agenda setting and the self-reflection), the original participatory roles, especially that of the journalist, are dispelled and, similarly, the intrinsic complexity of the original interview interaction is concealed from the reader.

It should also be kept in mind that journalistic articles are not protocols of the course of the oral interviews they are based on, but are dramaturgically independent stories (Haapanen 2016). For example, if a published article contains a question leading to the quotation, this does not necessarily mean that this particular question was presented in the actual interview, let alone in its exact linguistic form. The first question of the published article on row 2 is a case in point. As this question had no equivalent in the interview, it was perhaps

formulated for narrative reasons, such as to create a background context for the next question in the journalistic article (row 3).

Interestingly, a complete, faithful reproduction of the original interaction, even to the extent of Example 1, is very rare in the collected data (the same applies to broadcasted news; see Ekström 2001).

Questions Omitted, Answers Reproduced Without "Answer-ness"

This subsection discusses a common monologisation practice that involves a quotation (and in this example, also an indirect quotation) drawn from the interview, while the journalist's preceding question is edited out. This results in considerable distortion regarding the way the original interaction between the journalist and the interviewee is reflected and constructed in the article.

Example 2 ("Feedback") is drawn from a newspaper article that discusses a service launched by a particular public library to provide feedback for amateur writers. Again, I will first present the extract of the published article (Example 2A) and then complement it with the transcript of the interview between the journalist and the interviewee (librarian Numminen) in Example 2B.

Example 2A: "*Feedback*" *(news article / published in a regional newspaper)*.

According to Numminen, people expect a little too much of evaluation services, meaning that in actuality, one is supposed to read a long piece of text and give concrete advice on how to get it published.

"If there are about a hundred pages of text to be evaluated, I read maybe thirty pages, plus a few excerpts from underneath the most interesting headings."

Example 2B: "*Feedback*" *(journalistic interview versus published article)*.

	Journalistic interview (transcript)	Published article (excerpt)
1	**JO**: So in what way do customers receive this feedback or with what kind of expectations do they come here	
2	**IN**: well some ha- some expect a little too much that we'd direct (.) that we'd read some immensely long piece of text all the way through and (.) advise how it will get published (.) however we prefer to read the brief (.) brief excerpt of the text and give an evaluation of that	According to Numminen, people expect a little too much of evaluation services, meaning that in actuality, one is supposed to read a long piece of text and give concrete advice on how to get it published.
3	**JO**: What is brief (.) in this case	
4	**IN**: well from one particular (.) hundred plus pages long text I read thirty pages (.) and then (.) browsed through it and read a few interesting headings (.) or rather a couple of paragraphs with interesting headings, not just the headings of course	"If there are about a hundred pages of text to be evaluated, I read maybe thirty pages, plus a few excerpts from underneath the most interesting headings."

The interview turn-taking is characterised by the journalist's initiating and interrogative role. However, when the journalist wrote her article based on this interview, her own role as the initiator and interrogator was predominately concealed from the reader. The journalist's

question on row 1 (*So in what way do customers receive this feedback … ?)* is excluded from the article. The answer to that question on row 2 is moulded into an indirect quotation where the content of the passage is clearly attributed to the interviewee (*According to Numminen …*), but the linguistic form does not necessarily follow the original utterance word-for-word. However, this particular indirect quotation does not reveal to the reader who took the initiative for the quoted passage and what this initiative might have been.

On row 3, the journalist produces a follow-up question to clarify a qualifier that the interviewee used (the length of *brief*). The interviewee answers this follow-up question (in the left-hand column of row 4), and this answer is reproduced as a direct quotation in the article (in the right-hand column of row 4). Nonetheless, the formulation of the beginning of the quotation is rather different from the beginning of the answer. Among other aspects, the discourse particle "well" (originally *no* in Finnish) is once again deleted. Furthermore, the issue is presented as a generic example of work practices in the quotation, although the utterance refers in the interview to the particular case under discussion. As a consequence, from the published quotation alone, the reader cannot deduce the type of turn-taking that it is based on. Also as the lay definition of an interview clearly rests on the assumption of asking and answering, a reader who attempts to "de-code" the questions might devise guesses such as *What have people's expectations of this service been?* and *How many pages does one read as a sample?* As can be observed in Example 2B, these guesses are quite different from the actual questions posed in the interview.

Finally, in terms of the linguistic features of the interaction, Example 2B demonstrates several deviations between the original and the re-contextualised discourse. Compared to the journalist in Example 1, the journalist in Example 2 does not steer the conversation by using continuers or any verbal discourse particles.[5] Despite this, the process-like features, such as the slight confusion as to the headings on row 4, are "corrected" in the quotation, and the flow and register of the text is standardised.

To summarise the main findings of this subsection, the journalists' initiating, interrogative, and participatory role in the to-be-quoted discourse is edited out and the responsive nature of the to-be-quoted turns of the interviewee is concealed. In the next subsection, I will discuss a case where the original interaction in the journalistic interview for a JA is more complex than what we have seen in Examples 1 and 2. This further extends the consequences of monologisation.

An Equal Turn-exchange is Dispelled

In the previous examples, the journalists presented (relatively) clear questions and the interviewees answered them (see Examples 1B and 2B), even though many features indicating that they were responses, their *answer-ness*, were subsequently deleted from the quotations. However, the course of a journalistic interview for a JA does not always, or even often, proceed in such a well-ordered and structured way. Instead, interviews that are conducted "only" to gather information but not to be broadcasted (see broadcasted news interviews treated in Clayman and Heritage 2002), most commonly consist of joint production and reciprocal negotiation (e.g. Nylund 2006, 212–213). Furthermore, interviewee-driven journalistic interviews are not exceedingly rare, either. That is to say that the interviewee might digress from the topic introduced by the journalist, or even come up with a different (sub)topic of their own.

I will illustrate these observations with an interview–article pair (Example 3, "Engineer") drawn from a business magazine. The article discusses the company and career of a Chinese immigrant in Finland who speaks Finnish as a second language.

Example 3A: "Engineer" (mini profile / published in a business magazine).

At Midsummer 1994, Wang's life changed completely when she arrived in a deserted Helsinki with her husband.

"In China I was a successful diploma engineer [original: *diplomi-insinööri*, 'Master of Science in Technology'], here I was nothing. It was hard to accept."

Since the interviewee is a non-native Finnish speaker, she not only has a foreign accent, but also makes frequent errors in inflection and word choice. However, these features were all "corrected" into standard Finnish in the article (see Appendix A). In my English translation, I have not attempted to replicate the incorrect language features.

Example 3B: "Engineer" (journalistic interview versus published article).

	Journalistic interview (transcript)	Published article (excerpt)
1	[*The interviewee discusses her education, and the journalist asks a related follow-up question:*] **JO**: Where did you study? [*The interviewee answers in a verbose way and then digresses to ponder on the importance of language skills and local education for immigrants on her own initiative, without any question from the journalist. This section takes about 1 minute 50 seconds*]	
2		At Midsummer 1994, Wang's life changed completely when she arrived in a deserted Helsinki with her husband.
3	**IN**: although I was so good (.) I can say that I was a diploma engineer and everything (.) education and career and (.) at the peak [of my career] in China at that time **JO**: yeah	"In China I was a successful diploma engineer,
4	**IN**: but when I came here I am (.) a zero (.)	here I was nothing.
5	**JO**: was [it a hard situation to [accept **IN**: [if you cannot- [yes yes it was **JO**: okay	It was hard to accept."

First of all, the original utterance that the quotation was based on was not an answer to a direct question. This is in contrast to Examples 1 and 2, where the utterances were answers to the journalist's questions. It is true that the quotation is not even presented as or purported to be an answer. However, this does not mean that the quotation could not be an answer, as was demonstrated in Example 2.

In my data, detaching the journalistic interviews conducted for a JA from the question–answer structure is very common. For example, in the journalistic interview of Example 3, the journalist's most recent question (see row 1) was presented almost two

minutes earlier. After this question, the interviewee digressed from one topic to another on her own initiative. During this digressing, the journalist did not pose any formal questions, only minor dialogue particles that allowed the interviewee to continue with her turn.

In Example 3, nothing in the article itself offers clues that the quotations would not follow the original interview discourse in a more or less verbatim way. Despite that, the published article and the journalistic interview exhibit a number of essential differences, which I will examine in detail in the following paragraphs.

In the interview, the section from which the quotation was later extracted is preceded by a mutual reflection on the importance of language skills and local education for immigrants. As has been argued before, sense-making processes are always dependent on contextual resources (see e.g. Linell 2009, 2.5), and thus, the rhetorical function of the to-be-quoted section in the interview can be perceived as an example for the preceding co-text. (In other words, as an answer to a hypothetical question such as *Can you give an example why these skills are important?*) However, in the published article, there is a paragraph leading to the quotation saying that "At Midsummer 1994, Wang's life changed completely when she arrived in a deserted Helsinki with her husband" (see row 2). This leading paragraph is an obvious primary frame (Goffman 1974) against which the reader will interpret the illocution of the quotation. Thus, the following quotation functions as an illustrative explanation for this "change". (That is, as an answer to a hypothetical question such as *What does it mean that your life "changed completely"?*)[6] Therefore, due to monologisation and especially the fact that the quoted discourse is positioned in a new matrix of contexts, the function of this quoted discourse has changed from its original one.

Next, I will focus on the quoted passage. In terms of the intrinsic meaning of the quote (as distinct from its rhetorical function or purpose in language use), the quote virtually paraphrases the stretch of the interview discussion on which it is based (on the left versus the right side of rows 3–5). However, the exact wording is predominately new, which might be due to both the spontaneous nature of the interview and the interviewee's imperfect language skills. Contrary to rows 3 and 4, the latter sentence of the quotation (the right-hand column of row 5) is not actually based on the interviewee's utterances at all (the left-hand column of row 5). Instead, the sentence is modified after the journalist's "sympathetic" question (*was it a hard situation to accept?*), which prompted the interviewee to elaborate on the topic and which was followed by an affirmative answer (*yes yes it was*). One might even question whether the interviewee would have raised this "issue of acceptance" of her own accord, because when the journalist posed the question, the interviewee was on the verge of beginning her own new speaking turn (*if you cannot-*), which she then interrupted to answer the journalist's question instead.

Example 3 contains several aspects that were hidden from the reader by monologising the journalistic interview for a JA. Firstly, the interviewee herself introduced the quoted subject matter in the interview without the journalist posing a question or providing any other type of clear initiative. Nothing in the published article referred to such an initiative. Secondly, the evaluative and personal quotation creates an illusion that it was uttered in an independent and continuous way, although it was actually based on both participants' active, joint production (as in television news production; see Nylund 2006, 216). Additionally, the quotation was framed with a slightly misleading co-text, which further reduces the reader's possibility to deduce the course of the original interaction.

It is worth pointing out that the monologisation of the above-mentioned features was by no means a mechanical and axiomatic process, by which I mean that this original

interview discourse—as well as any given interview discourse—could have been monologised in numerous other ways. Thus, in general, the practice of monologisation provides the journalist with substantial means not only for controlling the exploitation of the dialogue and the common understanding which emerges in the interview, but also for steering the readers' understanding of the current state of affairs. This is an important point that I will now elaborate and discuss.

The Social Relevance of Monologisation Practices

Modern societies should have space for competing forces to negotiate socially relevant topics. The importance of monologisation—among other journalistic practices in general and quoting practices in particular—relates to the fact that media are expected to provide that space and serve there both as gatekeepers and discourse moderators (see e.g. Ekström 2002, 259; Berger 2007, 209). While the purpose of this paper is not to posit normative claims about what is right or wrong when quoting, I do want to demonstrate the social relevance of the practice of monologisation by citing a strong and topical, recent example.

In the spring of 2015, an alleged (and later substantiated) gang rape occurred in Helsinki, Finland's capital. A prominent Finnish newspaper quoted a police officer in its website news item in the following way: "The woman was not severely physically injured in this incident" (original: "Nainen ei loukkaantunut fyysisesti vakavasti tapahtuneessa"). The quotation was preceded by a somewhat "neutral" co-text, by which I refer to the text not strongly steering the interpretations of this quotation in any manner. In fact, the same quotation was also used in another news item in the same publication and was preceded there by a different co-text. The inflammatory news item provoked hundreds of comment posts from the readers of this newspaper. In many of them, the comment-writer seized on this very quotation and interpreted it—genuinely or on purpose—as showing that this police officer understated the injuries of the victim and thus diminished rape as a crime.

Based on the results of the research presented in this paper, I became suspicious about the real state of affairs. I contacted the journalist who had interviewed the police officer and co-written the news item. The journalist told me that the quoted utterance was a verbatim reproduction of an answer to his question "Was the victim severely injured?" (However, there was no audio recording of this interview so he had based his article on his hand-written notes.) The journalist also stated that his intention was to quote this utterance in the news item in an unbiased way. "I perceived the answer as neutral, and did not try to make any interpretation of the answer", he told me in an e-mail. However, due to monologisation—especially due to the omission of the journalist's initiating and interrogative role—the news item resulted in the misapprehension by the general public that the police had dismissed this crime as well as the psychological injuries it had probably caused. More generally, this news item might have enhanced the resilient perception that the police dismiss sexual crimes, a perception that turned out to be false, at least on this particular occasion.

Let us speculate for a moment, since this question presented to the police officer, regardless of its simplicity, was anything but easy to answer. What really could the police officer have replied to the question "Was the victim severely injured?"? A negative answer—"No, she was not severely injured"—would have been misleading because it would have neglected the possibility of psychological injuries. On the other hand,

neither would a positive answer have worked because the police was not aware of any "severe" injuries at this early stage of the crime investigation. In this light, I argue that the police officer did his best in commenting on the issue that he had not introduced on his own initiative but as an answer to the question presented to him.

However, the story goes on. The next day, this news item was followed up by a column in the same paper. The columnist, another journalist for the same newspaper, wrote that due to the dismissive attitude reflected in the police officer's statement, it was hard to keep in mind that "we are not living in the eighteenth century or in India". This Web column—which was read by several superiors before publication, as I was told—immediately received a vast number of shares in social media and the comment section exploded with comments. I assume that if not yet completely implied by the original news item, this follow-up column did convince readers that the interpretation "the police dismissed this crime" was the correct one. Only a few of these commentators eventually challenged how the discussion between the police officer and the journalist had actually emerged in the interview of the first article—which shows readers' unawareness of monologisation practices. To sum up, the practice of monologisation and the misleading follow-up column substantially affected the public discourse around the discussion of the police's credibility.

Conclusion

Traditionally, journalistic interviews are thought to consist of the journalist's questions and the interviewee's answers (see e.g. Clayman and Heritage 2002, 95). However, as regards journalistic interviews conducted for a JA—in contrast to those interviews that are used as sound bites in television news—the reality is much more complex.

Journalistic interviews conducted for a JA do not only comprise a series of adjacent pairs of questions and answers, but also the interviewees themselves often take the initiating roles in interview conversations. Furthermore, in addition to posing questions, the journalists also engage in the interview firstly by using various responsive devices (such as *um*, *yeah*, *okay*) to prompt the interviewee to continue their turn, and secondly, by using longer follow-ups (for instance, in Example 3: *was it a hard situation to accept*) to prompt the interviewee to elaborate on the topic (cf. O'Keeffe [2006, 46], who summarises the research on [the lack of] responses in broadcast news interviews). In fact, journalistic interviews conducted for a JA possess numerous characteristics of mutuality and equality that have traditionally been associated with everyday conversations (see Heritage 1998, 7). Naturally, one must consider that the equality between the journalist and the interviewee as partners in the interaction is maintained within the interview situation itself. At a macro-level, however, 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 a raw material for a journalistic output.[7]

Within the institutional context described above, monologisation refers to a particular aspect of making quotations for the article in which the journalist predominantly eliminates the role that he or she had in the co-adaptive interview interaction. Thus, monologisation makes the direct quotations appear as though they were originally unprompted and continuous utterances by the interviewee, and this outcome can modify and even distort the original meaning of the quoted discourse and also result in

the reader's severe misapprehension of the statements assigned to the interviewee, as we saw especially in the previous section.[8]

As this paper has shown, purpose-oriented simplification of the interaction is, on the one hand, an effective means for controlling, steering, and even distorting the message of the interviewee, and on the other hand, a means for incorporating the journalist's subjective points of view in the article without breaking the "ideological rule" that journalism must disseminate impartial knowledge and separate facts from opinions (Van Dijk 1991, 192). At the same time, monologisation is an important part in the performance of journalistic professionalism: for example, Eriksson and Östman (2013, 319–321) have demonstrated that journalists' co-operativeness towards political actors within the interactional phase (= interviewing) often changes into adversarialness within the news-construction phase (= writing). They draw the conclusion that while it makes sense for journalists "to seek information more than confrontation" (319) when interacting with their politician sources, the adversarial stance adopted in publicly accessible phases of the news production, in turn, indicates to the audience the journalists' commitment to their highly ranked ideal of watchdog-role (see also Reich 2006). Since monologisation is not an axiomatic process but consists of a series of deliberate decision-makings, its situation-dependent practices and goals need further research and also call for an ethical consideration of journalistic practices.

Finally, the notion of monologisation is essential also from the readers' perspective: readers who are not provided with solid and unambiguous information regarding the original interactional co-text and context are unable to interpret the quotation so that they understand what the quoted discourse essentially meant in the interview. Also since I argue that a question of the truthfulness of quotations and journalism in general is—to a great extent—a question of the transparency of the principles of work practices, to become aware of monologisation as a fundamental journalistic practice is the key to a critical reading of the media of our time.

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NOTES

1. Outside media studies, a somewhat similar phenomenon has been discussed, especially in connection with police interrogations (see e.g. Jönsson and Linell 1991; Komter 2006; Van Charldorp 2014), but also in contexts such as parliament records (Slembrouck 1992) and therapy (Ravotas and Berkenkotter 1998).

2. It is worth pointing out that within all the literature concerning press conferences, news interviews, and television news sound bites, the greatest attention thus far has been devoted to interviews dealing with politics (e.g. Ekström and Patrona 2011, 1). As Montgomery (2007, 147) has noted, the whole genre and practice of news interviews have been defined by "one sub-type", although its primacy "is neither supported by the history of the journalistic interview nor justified by a survey of current broadcasting practice".
3. "Gathering" is, of course, a simplifying conceptualisation. As Nylund (2011, 488) has argued, a "[journalistic] interview is more about generating and constructing knowledge, rather than simply gaining or collecting it".
4. The inconsistency between the number of recordings and the number of articles results from the fact that there are two journalists in the data-set who wrote an article on the same press conference.
5. A video recording might reveal possible non-verbal communication by the journalist. However, videotaping would have undesirably influenced the interview, and was therefore not included in my data collection.
6. In fact, the "Midsummer 1994" issue is also discussed in the interview, but approximately five minutes earlier than the section transcribed above.
7. It has been argued that these fundamental decisions are influenced by factors such as the publishers' ideological values and purposes, the financial basis of the publication, the needs and interests of the audience, and, on a grander scale, the current journalistic culture and the societal context in which publishing takes place in general (Haapanen, forthcoming a; Helle 2010; Kang 2007; Kuo 2007).
8. I have also demonstrated elsewhere that besides quotations, a substantial part of other text material in journalistic articles is often based on information that has been abstracted from an interviewee. When this occurs, the monologisation practice can actually be conceived of as occurring the other way round: now the interview's interactive turn exchange is presented merely as the *journalist's* independent text without attribution to its co-adaptive origin (Haapanen 2016). However, this procedure is outside the scope of this article.

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Lauri Haapanen, The Department of Finnish, Finno-Ugrian and Scandinavian Studies, University of Helsinki, Finland. E-mail: lauri.haapanen@helsinki.fi. Web: www.laurihaapanen.fi

Appendix A

Examples 1B, 2B, and 3B in Their Original Finnish Form

Example 1B: "Dancer" (journalistic interview versus published article).

Journalistic interview (transcript)	Published article (excerpt)
JOurnalist: tätä mul ei ollu nois kysymyksissä mut mut mä tajusin et mä oon pohtinu tätä koko sen ajan kun mä oon katsonut sun (.) tai tutkinut niinku (.) just näit teoksia ja tätä et et tota (.) kun nää on niin jotenki (.) tosi yleisiä (.) semmosii niinku ih- ihmisen kokosia ja semmosii aika semmosii niinku jotenki (.) tietyl taval universaaleja nää teemat **INterviewee**: joo? **JO**: niin tota nii ää **JO**: onko sulla rooleja näyttämöllä vai vai o- oletko se sinä joka ikäänku niinku sitte (.) performoi asioita (.) **JO**: emmä tiiä osaak- osaaks mä selittää [tätä **IN**: [joo **JO**: kauheen hyvin **IN**: joo mä ymmärrän oikein- (.) **IN**: no mun tää estetiikka jos vois näin sanoa **JO**: mm **IN**: tai tai tai lähestymistapa tai ajattelu **JO**: mm **IN**: täs taiteessani niin on nimenomaan (.) niinku **JO**: mm **IN**: s- sitä kohti menny ihan aina että ei ole rooleja	Mutta mistä esitys kertoo konkreettisesti? Ketä Korhonen esittää lavalla? "Mun lähestymistapa on sitä kohti mennyt aina, että ei ole roolia."

Example 2B: "Feedback" (journalistic interview versus published article).

Journalistic interview (transcript)	Published article (excerpt)
JO: Millä tavalla asiakkaat sitten suhtautuvat tähän palautteeseen tai minkälaisin odotuksin he tänne tulevat **IN**: no joillakin tu- jotkut odottavat vähän liikaa että me ohjaisimme (.) että me lukisimme jonkun valtavan pitkän tekstin kokonaan ja (.) neuvoisimme miten se kustannetaan (.) me kuitenkin luemme pikemminkin lyhyen (.) lyhyen otteen tekstistä ja annamme siitä arvion **JO**: Mikä on lyhyt (.) tässä tapauksessa **IN**: no eräästä (.) yli satasivuisesta tekstistä luin kolkytsivua (.) ja sitten (.) selasin sen läpi ja luin muutaman kiinnostavan otsikon (.) tai mu- muutaman kiinnostavasti otsikoidun kappaleen en tietenkään pelkkiä otsikoita	Ihmiset odottavat Nummisen mukaan arviointipalvelulta vähän liikaakin eli käytännössä pitäisi lukea pitkä teksti ja antaa konkreettiset neuvot siitä, miten sen saa kustannettavaksi. "Jos arvioitavana on sata sivua tekstiä, luen siitä noin 30 sivua ja lisäksi katkelmia kiinnostavimpien otsikoiden alta."

Example 3B: "Engineer" (journalistic interview versus published article).

Journalistic interview (transcript)	**Published article (excerpt)**
IN: mä olin niin hyvi (.) mä voi sanota että mä oo diplomainsinööri ja kaikki (.) koulutus ja ura ja aika huipula kiinasa silloin	Juhannusaattona 1994 elämä muuttui täysin, kun Wang saapui miehensä mukana autioon Helsinkiin.
JO: nii	"Kiinassa olin menestyvä diplomi-insinööri, täällä en ollut mitään. Sitä oli vaikea hyväksyä."
IN: mut ku mä tulin tänne mä oo (.) nolla (.)	
JO: oli[ks se vaikee tilanne [hyväksyä joo	
IN: [jos ei osanu- [oli oli	
JO: joo	