Directly from interview to quotations?
– Quoting practices in written journalism

Lauri Haapanen

1 Introduction

This chapter shifts the perspective from the analysis of the emergence of embodied and spoken interaction to a different channel and temporal dimension of interaction.[1] I will focus on the process of constructing direct quotations in written journalistic articles and offer a unique glance at journalistic work processes. By examining empirical data drawn from Finnish media, we will discover that the ostensibly static text surface connects the spoken interaction between journalists and their interviewees to the pre-planned architecture of the article in the making, and further to the values and purposes of the publication and its publisher.

In general, written quotations are defined as being approximately verbatim repetitions of the original spoken utterances. Theoretically speaking, this is possible: a quotation can be defined in terms of a verbatim representation of the original text, or by faithfulness to it (Short et al. 2002). In other words, a direct quotation would then represent the reported event in a manner that is faithful to the form, content, and speech act value of the original (for example, see Short 1988: 69–71).

This definition also serves as a goal in many practical guidebooks on quoting: "Never alter quotations even to correct minor grammatical errors or word usage." (Goldstein 2009: 232; see also Adams 2001: 80–83; Brooks et al. 2002: 85–86; Kramer & Call 2007: 107–109). However, some guidebooks are not as inflexible

in their approach. To paraphrase their general views, utterances could and should be merged, edited and cleaned up as long as the factual content is maintained (e.g., Blundell 1988: 148; Ruberg 2005: 123; Töyry et al. 2008: 92–93). Perhaps surprisingly, there are also numerous guidebooks that comment hardly at all on the issue of modifying quotations (e.g., Clark 2006; Flaherty 2009; Jacobi 1991; Lundberg 1992, 2001).[2]

Many countries have established some type of ethical code for journalists. For example, in Europe, such a code exists in at least 46 countries.[3] However, only a handful of codes are related to the practice of quoting at all, and even then, they are very vague. In Finland, *Journalistin ohjeet 2014* [Guidelines for Journalists] does not provide guidelines on quoting practices. However, since the year 2000, the self-regulating committee for Finnish journalism practices, Julkisen sanan neuvosto [Council for Mass Media], has reviewed six cases that mainly concern quoting, and one can extract from the resolutions by the committee their position on quoting: The linguistic form of the "direct" quotations can be edited, several utterances can be emerged 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.[4]

Regardless of these slightly differing guidelines, it can be stated that the foundation of quotations lies in the more or less verbatim repetition of the original utterance – "by using direct quotes, you [the journalist] are telling the readers that you are putting them directly in touch with the speaker" (Brooks et al. 2002: 73). Furthermore, the illusion of being in touch with the original speaker's voice also serves as the basis for the majority of the functions of quotations in journalistic texts. For example, quotations are thought to enhance the reliability, credibility and objectivity of an article and to characterize the person quoted (in research literature, see, e.g., Cotter 2010: 145–151; Haapanen 2011; Nylund 2006: 161. In guidebooks, see, e.g., Blundell 1988: 141–152; Clark 2006: 128–132).

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

[3] The list of ethical codes of journalists http://ethicnet.uta.fi/codes_by_country (visited 1 February, 2017).

[4] Http://www.jsn.fi/. The document numbers of the cases referred to are 5719, 4814, 4239, 4022, 3563, and 3249.

Based on my own decade-long experience as a journalist, I challenge the more or less verbatim-oriented perception of the direct quotations in journalism by suggesting that they are not as "direct" (in the sense of *verbatim*) as is widely assumed and stated. The research presented below is linguistically oriented and attempts to answer two research questions:

> **1.** What types of modifications are made when transferring discourse (= meaningful semiotic human activity[5]) from a journalistic interview to direct quotations in a written journalistic article?
>
> **2.** What is the explanation for these modifications?

These questions are essential, as little is known about actual quoting practices (Clayman 1990: 79; Nylund 2006: 151. For an overview of research, see Haapanen & Perrin 2017).[6] Although the research on quoting in television news has been studied in last two decades (e.g., Ekström 2001; Kroon Lundell & Ekström 2010; Nylund 2003), only two published studies have used relevant empirical data to examine the "directness" of *written* journalistic quotations. Johnson Barella (2005), discovered that in examining spoken data from press conferences and speeches, only one out of five quotations was absolutely verbatim. Overall, the variety of modifications 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).

Without data from the actual spoken event, Méndez García de Paredes (2000) examined the coverage of the same event in different newspapers, while Bruña (1993) focused on the changes made in the phrases that were both in the text body and between quotation marks in the headline. In addition, journalist-researcher Bell (1991) analyzed his own work[7] retrospectively and stated that "de-

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[5] To me, *discourse* comprises all forms of meaningful semiotic human activity in its contexts as a part of social action (see Blommaert 2005: 2–3), contrary to another common (especially in social sciences) definition of *a discourse* as 'a consistent use of language in a given field of social practice' (eg., *political discourse*, *feminist discourse*, *medical discourse*, etc.).

[6] More generally, the recontextualization of oral discourse into written form has been studied within several domains such as police interrogation / report (e.g., Jönsson & Linell 1991; van Charldorp 2014), meeting / minutes (e.g., Nissi & Lehtinen 2015) and parliament talk / record (e.g., Voutilainen 2016).

[7] It should be mentioned that Bell "recorded" his interviews only by taking notes. See my discussion of recording practices in the subsection entitled Monologization of the interview.

pronominalization [replacing the pronoun with the noun it is referring to] is one of the few tamperings I would permit with a direct quote: otherwise it should remain verbatim what the source said." 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), Short (1988), Tuchman (1978) and Waugh (1995).

The rest of the paper consists of three main sections. First, I introduce the subdiscipline of applied linguistics referred to as media linguistics and then establish the theoretical foundations for the practice of quoting and the interplay of *form* and *meaning*. In addition, I present my data and the methods of analysis. Second, the empirical analysis forms the main part of the paper, and it is divided into four subsections. In the final part, I will present the summary of the findings and my conclusion.

2 Framework, data and methods

As journalistic media constitute a socially significant area of activity whose language use can differ from the use in other areas, this paper can be situated as a part of an emerging subdiscipline of applied linguistics, referred to as media linguistics. (*Media Linguistics Research Network 2016*; Perrin 2013a; 2013b). When addressing the research questions of media linguistics, it is necessary to utilize concepts and theories from neighboring disciplines, such as journalism studies and sociology. Furthermore, media linguistics programmatically focuses on the production process, because "[m]edia discourse continues to be predominantly investigated from a product-oriented [vs. process-oriented] perspective or even as easily accessible everyday language" (*Media Linguistics Research Network 2016*) and because "lack of attention to the news production process is bound to generate weak hypotheses" (NewsTalk&Text Research Group 2011: 1843–1844).

This section consists of three subsections. First, I will present an overview of quoting from the perspective of a dialogistic theoretical framework. I will then introduce the data and methods. Third, I will discuss the notion of media concept, which will be used to structure and relate my results to the wider picture in the process of producing journalistic articles.

2.1 Quoting and recontextualization

Journalistic guidebooks discuss the correspondence between the original utterance and the quotation based on terms of *form* and *meaning*, but they do not explain form or meaning in any detail. I argue that these two concepts have been used in an overly simplistic way.

First, despite language-related conventions governing how sound waves are presented as ink graphemes on paper, several features of oral communication do not have any absolute equivalence in writing. Thus, in terms of linguistic form the relationship between the original utterance and the quotation is always somewhat deficient. Second, the term of meaning is also loosely defined, as it can be understood either from a semantic or a pragmatic point of view. To analyze the form or the meaning of language in use within the dialogistic theoretical framework, a third component is needed: *contexts*. According to the *theory of contexts* (Linell 1998a; 1998b), utterance (≈ linguistic form), understanding (≈ situated meaning) and contexts (of which Linell prefers to use the plural form[8]), comprise an organic whole; they arise from each other, they will be interpreted against each other, and they renew and modify each other. Linell describes this reciprocal dependence as follows (1998a: 139):

- Understanding is understanding-of-discourse-in-contexts.
- Utterances are expressions-of-understandings-in-contexts.
- Contexts are partly products and projects of sense-making activities, of producing-and-understanding-discourse-in-prior-contexts.

Within the production of newspaper and magazine articles, the contexts change drastically when information is drawn from a spoken face-to-face interview and used in a written print or screen-based publication. Thus, if we endeavor to assess whether the form is "direct" (= *verbatim*) or the meaning is "direct" (= *equivalent*), it is necessary to examine and compare the original (interview) and the final (quotation) discourses in their separate contexts. The process of quoting can be analyzed and described by applying the concept of *recontextualization*. Recontextualization is defined by Linell as the "dynamic transfer-and-transformation"

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[8] Linell prefers the plural form *contexts* to the singular form *context* because the given piece of discourse is not embedded within, nor does it activate, only one particular context, but a matrix of different types of contexts. Furthermore, Linell speaks of *contextual resources* because no context is a context by itself but it can be made into an actual, relevant context through the activities of the interlocutors. (See Linell 1998a: 128–134.)

of some part or aspect from one discourse to another (Linell 1998a: 154). Linell also observes that, "[w]hen parts of texts or discourses are relocated through re-contextualization, they are often subject to textual change, such as simplification, condensation, elaboration and refocusing" (ibid. 155). As a consequence, the process of quoting requires reconciling the contradictions that are necessarily created by the changes in contexts.[9]

When recontextualizing journalistic interview discourse, the most obvious contextual change will occur between the oral and the written modality of language. Whereas oral language is auditory, evanescent and primarily temporally structured, written language is visual, enduring and spatially organized (for example, see Wold 1992: 176–180). However, the significant variable in transferring discourse from an interview into quotations is not this modal dichotomy *per se*. Instead, the dichotomy results from the spoken and written language being used in different communicative situations, and further, that each of these particular situations affects the textual features of the discourse. As a consequence, no linguistic or situational characterization of speech and writing can be generalized for all spoken and written genres. (Biber 1988.)

For these reasons, the relation within and among journalistic interviews and articles in written media is complex and associated with a variety of different situational, functional, and processing considerations. Formulating direct quotations therefore involves addressing not only the disparity between spoken and written language, but also the involved contexts. Thus, recontextualizing a form and/or meaning from one context (= oral face-to-face interview) to another (= particular part in a particular article in a particular written medium) is not a mechanical and systematic operation. Instead, recontextualization is a dynamic and highly situation-dependent operation, involving numerous aspects that need to be taken into account. For these reasons, the recontextualized discourse is, at its best, an *illusion* of spoken discourse, rather than the true and concrete equivalence of it. This illusion is often created with only a selection of vernacular cues instead of fully mimicking an original discourse (Makkonen-Craig 1999), and these particular vernacular cues and other aspects of oral discourse are selected for a quotation

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[9] On recontextualization, see also Sarangi 2008, cf. entextualisation Bauman & Briggs 1990; Blommaert 2005. See also Rock 2007: 22–23 for an exhaustive list of complementary concepts for such a repetition-related phenomenon.

to meet the rhetorical purpose of the person who is making that quotation (Haapanen in press 2017; Clark & Gerrig 1990; Wade & Clark 1993).[10]

Thus, it can be concluded that even those journalists who do aim for identical representation of form and/or meaning in their quoting – and think that it is achievable – are bound to fail due to the difference in context. This conclusion is contrary to the guidance and perceptions offered in guidebooks, but it will be supported by the data analyzed in this paper.

2.2 Data and methods

To address my research questions, I have collected three types of empirical data: The recordings of authentic interviews conducted by journalists; the published articles based on these interviews; and stimulated recall sessions with some of the above-mentioned journalists. Stimulated recall is a method used here to retrospectively explore and explain the journalists' motivations and strategies for making[11] quotations. Let us introduce the data and the analytical methods.

The *first data set* consists of 20 recordings of authentic journalistic interviews and press conferences from 16 experienced journalists (henceforth *informant-journalists*) who worked for various established publications as full-time employees or as freelancers. I asked the journalists to record one or two interviews, but I did not disclose the exact objective of this study. I also received permission to copy the notebooks of the journalists who took notes by hand. The length of the interviews varied tremendously, ranging from 1 minute 48 seconds to 1 hour 45 minutes.

For my *second data set*, I collected the articles that were based on the interviews and press conferences of the first data set. To facilitate analyzing the visual elements of the collected articles, they remained in their published layout. The total

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[10] The Finnish language is ideal for using vernacular cues to create this illusion. This is because Finnish has a direct one-to-one relationship between the spelling and the sound and hence one can mimic special pronunciation in detail (e.g., *minä, mä, mää, mnää, mie* are dialectal variations for the pronoun 'I').

[11] I prefer the verb *making* over *writing* when dealing with the production-process of an article. This term emphasizes that the inscription is merely a minor stage in the work process compared to activities such as planning and information-gathering.

number of the articles[12], was 21, and they were from newspapers, magazines, customer magazines ("B-to-C magazines") and web-publications. Each of the data examples presented in this paper originates from a different medium.

Data sets 1 and 2 were both collected from Finnish media and they are originally in the Finnish language. My transcriptions of the interviews are simplified versions of conventional conversation analysis transcription.[13] The precision of transcriptions is guided by appropriateness of my analysis. The English translations are not verbatim, but strive for idiomaticity and intelligibility. When referring to either data set 1 or 2, the number of the example is followed by letter "a" (=interview) or "b" (=published article), respectively. Letter "c" refers to a notebook source. In the transcripts I made, unless otherwise mentioned, the abbreviation "IN" refers to "interviewee" and "JO" to "journalist [interviewer]."

Data sets 1 and 2 are analyzed according to *comparative linguistic text analysis* (cf. Arffman 2007: 112–113 and *version analysis*, Perrin 2013b: 62). In this context, *text analysis* refers to the description and interpretation of both the form and content of the discourses. *Linguistic* refers to the point that the focus of investigation is not only on the discourse as a textual whole, but also more specifically on its linguistic level, on the words and clauses in their co-text. The term *comparative* emphasizes that the analysis examines neither the original discourse (data set 1), nor the final discourse (data set 2) *per se*, but instead compares the two with each other in order to detect any discrepancies between them.

The *third data set* consists of so-called *stimulated recall* sessions (SR) (DiPardo 1994).[14] Traditionally, an SR begins with videotaping a selected informant at work, after which s/he is asked to view and comment on the video. The method reconstructs the informants' thought processes while they worked. For example, compared to semi-structured interviews, SR extends beyond a recitation of so-

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[12] The inconsistency between the number of recordings and the number of articles comes from the fact that there are two journalists in my data set who wrote an article on the same press conference.

[13] For transcription symbols, see p. [not included in this preprint version].

[14] The SR has been most frequently used in the analysis of learning processes, interpersonal skills and decision-making in the field of educational, medical/clinical and second-language research (for an overview, see Lyle 2003: 862–863), but it has also been applied to media research (for example, see Rautkorpi 2011). For a discussion of the selection of methodology and the course of my SR sessions in detail, see Haapanen (in press 2017).

cially valorized practices (Haapanen in press 2017) and encourages that the "informants discuss actions that they actually engaged in during ongoing interactions, not idealized actions they might or should take, or actions that they imperfectly remembered taking" (Dempsey 2010: 351).

When applying this method, I first localized and transcribed a section or sections from an interview that the specific quotation was based on. Then, in the SR, the informant-journalist and I read her/his article (data set 2) along with the transcript made of the original interview (data set 1). My main objective was to account for her/his writing strategies and conscious writing practices when formulating quotations, and to demonstrate how institutional framing affects quoting activities.[15] Some of the questions presented in the SRs were as follows: How do you describe your process of quoting in this particular case? Why did you do it this way? Why did you select this particular segment to be quoted? Why did you position the quotation in this particular place? Why did you edit the quoted material in this way? What influenced the process?

I conducted an SR with 11 of the 16 informant-journalists from data set 1. In this paper, I quote explicitly 7 of these SRs (11 excerpts, numbered I–XI in order of appearance). The quoted excerpts are included in the appendix in their entirety. The SRs were conducted in Finnish; the English translations are my own.

To explain the modifications revealed by the text analysis of data sets 1 and 2 and justified by informant-journalists in SR sessions, I exploit the notion of *media concept*, which is a theoretical modeling of the process of creating a media product (for further detail, see the next subsection). By connecting the results from the analysis of all three data sets into this modeling, I can explain these observable activities of the quoting process as parts in the broader contexts of production (cf. Layder 1993: 51).

All data sets were collected during 2012–2014. All the data examples in this analysis (from data sets 1–3) are anonymized, and I will consistently use the feminine pronoun regardless of the gender of the person in question.

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[15] For a similar approach, *cue-based retrospective verbal protocol* for studying process of newswriting, see Perrin 2013b: 63–64.

2.3 The notion of media concept

The notion of *media concept* was formulated by the Finnish journalism scholars Merja Helle and Maija Töyry. This concept is based on the cultural-historical activity theory and developmental work research (Cole 1996; Engeström 1987; Virkkunen 2006). It looks at any human activity as activity system that includes the subject, object of activity, tools, rules, community and division of labor. Thus, also journalistic work is not merely an individual or independent craft but is heavily influenced by the external and internal contexts of the work process. The media concept is an extension of an activity system adapted to media research (Helle 2010; Helle & Töyry 2009). It can be used as a tool for analyzing and developing media products, and for understanding their use. In linguistic research the media concept has been used to compare the relationship between the intended aims of journalists and the journalistic texts produced (Jaakola et al. 2014).

The media concept introduces and organizes relevant extra-linguistic contexts and contextual resources that affect the process of creating any specific media product. The three components of the media concept are mutually constitutive and closely intertwined:

Figure 1. Components of a media concept (based on Helle & Töyry 2009: 502).
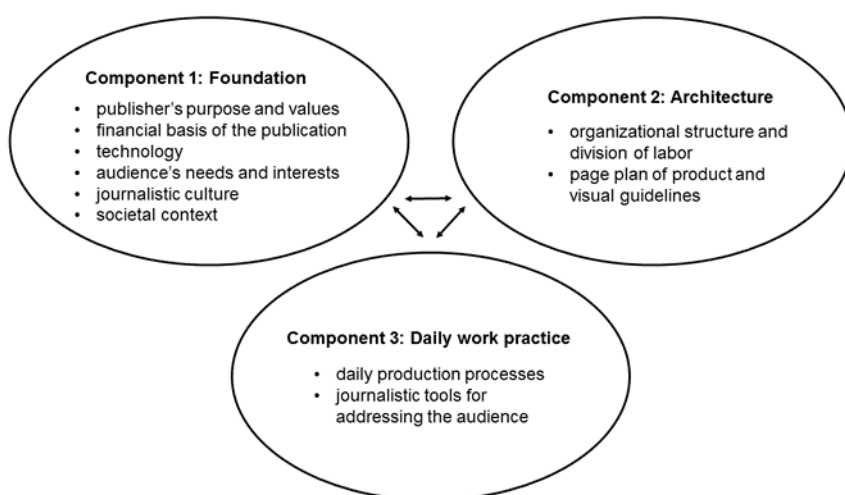
Component 1 of the media concept consists of the publisher's values and purpose and the financial basis of the publication. Values can be financial or ideological,

whereas the purpose could refer to maximal profit, dissemination of ideology, or wide circulation versus a precise target group. The financial basis could consist of subscription fees, advertising revenue and/or subsidies from some interest group. In addition, Component 1 includes 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 this particular activity (that is, creating a media product) operate. Societal context refers to the rules and regulations as to what kinds of media can exist and be consumed.

Component 2 consists of what is referred to as the *architecture of the whole*. This architecture is usually rather stable and formalized from issue-to-issue. This component can be described as a "template" to achieve the values and purpose of Component 1, and it can be considered from the perspectives of both the organization and content. The organizational architecture includes the management and production principles and the division of labor (for example, a regular employee versus a freelancer, or an individual versus co-operational work process). The architecture of the content refers to the fact that each media product usually has more or less standardized structure for presenting content (for example, the specific combination of article types in certain order, fixed visual guidelines) and explicitly determined targets and instructions for each article type[16] for the editorial office.

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, such as considering how the communicative means (entertaining, informative, persuasive and/or commenting) are achieved to meet the purpose of the publisher, probable contradictory aims (of editorial, advertising and circulation departments, etc.) are negotiated, and the interviews, writing, ed-

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[16] Helle & Töyry (2009) employ the term *story type* (in Finnish *juttutyyppi*). They use it as a broad tool for analyzing and developing journalistic content and editorial processes. It is determined not only by a designated *article type* (news, profile, investigative reporting, etc.), but also the visual design both within the scope of a single article and the structure of a publication as a whole. (See also Töyry et al. 2008.) However, because the term is not yet firmly established outside the Finnish mediascape, in this paper I employ the term *article type* in its traditional meaning as it serves my needs better.

iting, and layout design are created. Contrary to the stable and formalized Component 2, the daily practices of the editorial staff *may* vary in terms of which journalist is assigned to write a particular article and how the gathering of information is conducted, and also *should* vary (for instance, topics, viewpoints, and interviewees) to sustain the readers' interest and thus ensure their loyalty to the particular media product.

3 From verbatim quoting to substantial modifications

The first subsection examines cases that contain a quotation that is the closest to verbatim quoting in my collection. Subsequently, cases will be presented that contain discrepancies between the original and final discourses on two levels, one linguistic and the other, textual. The third subsection will focus on one particular strategy for making quotations: when the journalist's words in the interview have been quoted as the interviewee's own words in the article. Finally, I will analyze the manner in which the interactional nature of an interview is "monologized" into written quotations. I will also analyze the way in which the manner of documenting an interview (for example, note-taking by hand versus tape-recording) influences the formulation of quotes.

In every subsection, I will present either one or two data examples. These have been selected to be not only representative examples of the phenomenon under examination, but also to be representative examples of the data. At the beginning of every subsection, I will analyze the (possible) modifications that have been made when the discourse has been transferred from an original context into the final one. I will then propose reasons for these modifications drawn on stimulated recall sessions and relate these reasons to the notion of media concept.

3.1 Verbatim quoting

This subsection focuses on the occurrence of verbatim quoting in my data. Example (1) is from a prominent Finnish newspaper, and the interviewee in this article is the President of Finland, Sauli Niinistö.[17] This interview was conducted on a one-on-one basis and the topic referred to as the *child issue* with Russia was

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[17] In this example I mention the identity of the interviewee as an exception, because it is essential for my analysis. However, this does not risk the anonymity of the journalist.

a current topic at that time[18]. The original interview consisted of three questions that were asked and answered one-by-one. Before posing her questions, the journalist summarized the situation in that Russia would impose an embargo against Finland if the country did not agree to make a bilateral child agreement with Russia. The first question-answer sequence (ex. 1a) concerned the president's response to the Russian government on the issue.

Example (1a) [Child Agreement, transcript, IN = President of Finland Sauli Niinistö]

01 JO: ((…)) miten vakavana asiana pidätte tätä ja
    ((…)) how serious do you consider this matter to be and

02   miten aiotte vastata tähän asiaan
    how are you going to respond this matter

03 IN: no minun tehtäväni ei ole vastata
    well it is not my role to answer

04   vaan päinvastoin (2.0) öö me olemme öö
    but on the contrary (2.0) um we have um

05   ulkoministeri Lavrovin vierailun yhteydessä (.)
    during the visit of Foreign Minister Lavrov (.)

06   keskustelleet (.) siitä (.) Venäjän ehdotuksesta ja
    discussed (.) this (.) Russia's proposal and

07   ne olisivat tällaisen komission kannalla (.)
    they would be in favor of this kind of commission (.)

08   <meidän> ehdotuksemme on ollut että (.) viranomaiset harrastavat
    our proposal has been that (.) the authorities engage in

09   mahdollisimman pitkälle menevää yhteistyötä (.)
    as extensive cooperation as possible (.)

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[18] The "child issue" was an accusation made by Russia against Finland in the autumn of 2012 regarding the treatment of Russian citizens in Finland.

| 10 | <ja muuten> (.) juuri viime viikolla |
| | and by the way (.) just last week |

| 11 | ennen tähän- tämän kohun nousua (.) Suomesta (.) |
| | before there- this issue came up (.) Finland (.) |

| 12 | lähetettiinkin (.) tällainen yhteyshenkilö (.) |
| | sent (.) this type of contact person (.) |

| 13 | tiedosto Venäjän viranomaisille (.) |
| | file to the Russian authorities (.) |

| 14 JO: | selvä |
| | right |

Example (1b) [Child Agreement, published]

(…). Miten vakavana asiaa pidätte ja mitä siihen vastaatte Astahoville?

"Minun tehtäväni ei ole vastata. Päinvastoin, olemme ulkoministeri (Sergei) Lavrovin vierailun yhteydessä keskustelleet Venäjän ehdotuksesta, jossa he olisivat tällaisen komission kannalta. Meidän ehdotuksemme on ollut, että viranomaiset harrastavat mahdollisimman pitkälle menevää yhteistyötä. Muuten viime viikolla juuri ennen tämän kohun nousua Suomesta lähetettiin tällainen yhteyshenkilötiedosto Venäjän viranomaisille."

(…). How serious do you consider the matter to be and what are you going to answer Astahov?

"It is not my role to answer. On the contrary, during the visit of Foreign Minister (Sergei) Lavrov, we have discussed Russia's proposal in which they would be in favor of this kind of commission. Our proposal has been that the authorities engage in as extensive cooperation as possible. By the way, last week, just before this issue came up, Finland sent this type of contact person file to the Russian authorities."

The entire interview proceeded smoothly and lasted less than two minutes. The questions had been carefully planned in advance, and the published article retains the same question-answer-structure. In addition, both the questions and the answers are presented in the article.[19]

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[19] However, the questions do not have quotation marks around them, which is a common convention in the written media field. Additionally, it is worth mentioning that the question sequences in the interview actually consisted of three turns: The journalist's question, the interviewee's answer, and the journalist's feedback [line 14: selvä, 'right']. This three-part

At first glance, the published quotation seems highly faithful to the original utterance. The linguistic form is predominantly verbatim, and the uniformity of the situational meaning is also preserved, with the discourse being an answer to (nearly) the same question both in the interview and in the article. A facile explanation for the "directness" is the status of the speaker – who would dare to alter the speech of the president (see, e.g., Davis 1985: 47; Bell 1991: 205; Satoh 2001: 189). I will argue, however, that this is not the primary reason for the directness of this quotation. Let us now focus on this quotation in more detail.

Perhaps the most conspicuous differences pertain to the rhythm of the discourses. The Finnish president had pauses and twice a quiet *öö,* 'um,' sound (line 4) that occurred between his words, but these features have not been preserved in the quotation. This solution is predictable and obvious because language features of this type are almost always ignored in published texts. Moreover, there are few established marking conventions for these language features in journalistic publications. Some other alterations have also been made in the quoted passage, as demonstrated in the following extracts i–iv (taken from example 1):

[This space has been intentionally left blank.]

exchange is very typical in my first data set (= the recordings of journalistic interviews). However, in journalistic articles, this turn-taking system is simplified by frequently omitting the follow-up, as in example (1), and often the question is likewise left out (similarly, see Caldas-Coulthard 1993: 199–202; Makkonen-Craig 2014: section 4). Similarly in television news productions, "[a]nswers are routinely divorced from the questions that elicited them" (Ekström 2001: 570).

Table 1. Comparative analysis of interview and published quotations in example (1).

	Interview	**Published quotations**
(i)	…yhteistyötä (.) <ja muuten> (.) juuri viime viikolla… *cooperation (.) <and by the way> (.) just last week*	…yhteistyötä. Muuten viime viikolla juuri… *cooperation as possible. By the way, last week, just*
(ii)	…vastata vaan päinvastoin… *to answer but on the contrary*	…vastata. Päinvastoin… *to answer. On the contrary*
(iii)	… (.) Venäjän ehdotuksesta ja ne olisivat… *Russia's proposal and they would be*	…Venäjän ehdotuksesta, jossa he olisivat… *Russia's proposal in which they would be*
(iv)	…ennen tähän- tämän kohun… *before there- this issue*	…ennen tämän kohun… *before this issue*

In (i), a change occurs in the word order (the place of *juuri,* 'just,'). Additionally, the connectives *ja*, 'and,' in (i) and *vaan*, 'but,' in (ii) have been omitted from the published quotations, and instead, a sentence boundary has been inserted. The syntax of spoken language differs from the syntax of written language, and the connectives and other similar features are also used differently in speech than in writing: For example, spoken language frequently uses connectives to join utterances solely to create a link between utterances on a pragmatic basis (e.g., Laury 2008). By deleting these speech-like features in the published quotations, the utterances resemble the standard written language more closely, and this reaffirms the formal register pursued in the article. Similarly, in (iii), the connective *ja*, 'and,' has been replaced by a more explicitly subordinating connective *jossa*, 'in which.' The writing here needs to be more linearly explicit, because the information structure of written discourse must be marked by grammatical means,

whereas spoken discourse can also utilize prosody and paralinguistic means (Biber 1988: 38).

Another alteration in (iii) worth mentioning is the replacing of the personal pronoun *ne*, 'they', with *he*, 'they', in the quotation. According to the norms of Standard Finnish, the third-person pronouns *hän* and *he*, 's/he and they,' are the only accepted pronouns to refer to humans. However, in colloquial Finnish, the demonstrative pronouns *se* and *ne*, 'it and they,' are typically used for third-person human references. In this light, the president's choice of pronoun would have created a strong impression of informality in the written quotation. Especially in this type of "fact-based" news article, the pronoun *ne* would be startling and draw attention to irrelevant associations, whereas in some other article type, such as *a profile article*, these types of word choices could serve a characterizing function (see Haapanen 2011: 78–79). In a similar manner, the president's self-correction in (iv) has been "cleaned up." Although self-repairs are common and inconspicuous in spoken interaction, they are eye-catching and very distinctive in written formats.

I propose that the main reason for the almost verbatim representation of the discourse in example (1) is not the respectful attitude towards the person quoted (although naturally, the premise of journalists is to respect their interviewees), but that the president was well prepared to respond to questions on a current topic, something I also observed while working as a press officer in the Office of the President at the time of this interview. In other words, the president had already generally formulated his answers prior to the interview. Due to this, his utterances – even though not written down – sound rather formal and thus meet the intended linguistic formality of quotations in this type of news article. [20]

In terms of the media concept, the planning and conducting of the interview as well as the writing of the article in example (1) belong to Component 3 (= the daily production processes and practices). However, the simple and straightforward course of the concrete production process was due to the fact that the inter-

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[20] I also have a second interview with President Niinistö in my data. For this interview, he did not have the opportunity to be prepared for the topic and questions, and the "unscriptedness" results in some complexity in his utterances. As a consequence, the linguistic form of the quotations was modified more on this occasion.

view and the intended linguistic formality of the article – the "template" of Component 2 (= the architecture of the whole) – happened to correspond to each other. However, the spoken-like linkage between clauses in extracts (i, ii and iii), the choice of a pronoun in (iii), and the self-correction in (iv) do not fit that frame, and thus they have been "amended."

In this particular case, the quotations were extremely verbatim apart from some minor modifications. In other words, example (1b) is a *direct quotation* in the manner prescribed by the journalistic field. In this light, it is interesting that only few quotations in my data are as close to the spoken utterance in the interview as this example. Additionally, it is important to note that in many cases, the modifications made to one quotation vary extensively. In other words, some part of the quotation can be verbatim, whereas another part can be substantially modified.

3.2 Discrepancies in linguistic composition

This subsection addresses the differences in the data between the original and the final discourses in terms of linguistic features. I illustrate this variation with example (2) from an interview and a broad profile article based on it, published in a culture-oriented magazine. The interviewee is a Finnish actress who describes her first impressions of a large film studio.

Example (2a) [Film Studio, transcript] (IN=Interviewee / JO=Journalist.)

01 IN:	(.) kiehtoo et on ne samat (.)	
	(.) it's fascinating that there are the same (.)	
02	jättimäiset studiorakennukset mihin rakennetaan sisälle	[sit
	gigantic studio buildings where they build inside	[then
03 JO:		[mm mm
		[mm mm
04 IN:	kokonaiset metsät [ja	
	whole forests [and	
05 JO:	[joo	
	[yeah	

06 IN: ja (.) kylät
           and (.) villages

07 JO: ((naurua))
           ((laughter))

08 IN: jotka £sit   [poltetaan
           that are £then   [burned down

09 JO: [((naurua))
                               [((laughter))

10 IN: nii oli ihan sellai£ pyörryttävää et yhtäkkii menee (.)
           so that it was kinda like£ too much that all of a sudden
           ((you)) go ((there)) (.)

11   kun siel oli se kyläkin joka oli semmonen? (.)
           because there's this village, which was like (.)

12   <mitä mä sanoisin (.) minkä torin kokone se ois>
           well, how would I put it (.) what size of market place it would
           be

13   >varmaan tommonen< (.) ää (.) Hietsun kirppiksen
           [kokonen alue (.)
           probably like maybe (.) um (.) an area the size of the Hietsu
           flea market

14 JO: [joo joo
           [yeah yeah

15 IN: se oltiin niinku (.) öö (.) ulkopuolelta se näytti
           it had been like (.) um (.) from the outside it looked

16   vaan sellaselt laudotetulta alueelta? (.) ja sit kun sinne astuu
           sisään (.)
           only like a boarded up area (.) and then when you go in (.)

17   niin siellä oli kokonainen semmone
           then there was like a whole

18 JO: joo
           yeah

19

19 IN: kylä (.) ties miltä luvulta

          a village (.) who knows from what period

20 JO: ((naurua))

          ((laughter))

21 IN: koska se oli vähän niinku luvuton

          because it was a little like out of no period

22 JO: joo

          yeah

23 IN: toi (.) aikakausi (.) nii sitä et (.) et (.) et (.)

          that (.) era (.) so that (.) that (.) that (.)

24   joo et on se noin kivaa kun on rahaa ((nauraen puhuttu))

          yeah so it's real nice when you have money ((spoken with
          laughter))

25 JO: ((naurua))

          ((laughter))

26 IN: tehä (.) niinku ihan mitä vaan että (.)

          to do (.) like whatever that (.)

Based on the interview above, the journalist produced the following quotation.

Example (2b) [Film Studio, published]

Ensimmäiset päivät studiolla olivat huikeita.
      "Kun näki ne jättimäiset rakennukset ja niiden sisällä kulisseiksi ra-
kennetut kokonaiset kylät ja metsät, jotka lopuksi poltetaan, siinä mietti,
että kiva kun on niin paljon rahaa, että voi tehdä mitä vaan. Siellä oli Hi-
etsun kirppiksen kokoinen kylä."

The first days at the studio were fantastic.
      "When you saw those gigantic buildings and inside of them entire
villages and forests built as sets, which are in the end burned down, you
were thinking that it's great to have so much money that you can do
whatever you want. There was a village the size of the Hietsu flea mar-
ket."

The interview and the quotation display substantial discrepancies, as I will explain later in this subsection. In other words, the original discourse has been modified extensively during the quotation-making process. In terms of the media concept, these concrete acts belong to Component 3, the daily production process comprising the planning and conducting of the interview and the writing of the article. Nonetheless, it is evident that there are also other factors governing these concrete processes.

As I suggested when analyzing example (1) [Child Agreement], the need to modify the quotation depends on the difference between the original discourse and the intended final discourse. In example (1), these two discourses mainly coincided, but in example (2), it is obvious that these two "poles" are rather far apart. Next, I will present some findings concerning the linguistic differences between spoken utterances and written quotations and discuss further what causes this difference.

The interview in example (2) was not conducted in a formal style. According to the SR, the journalist had not prepared for the interview by formulating specific questions beforehand, but had only written down some general themes to cover. As a result, the interview became very "interactional", in that the journalist and the interviewee cooperated in organizing the flow and structure of the interview. The text analysis and the SR also confirmed that the interviewee's speech was exceedingly spontaneous and impromptu and therefore it was replete with repetitions, run-on sentences, hesitations, self-repairs, and other features of talk-in-interaction. Furthermore, during the interview, the interviewee's pronunciation of the words was truncated, which is typical of spoken language. All this resulted in a need for the journalist to make major alterations to the linguistic form of the quoted text. A few examples from the differences in the interview and published quotations are the following:

Table 2. Comparative analysis of interview and published quotations in example (2).

	Interview	Published quotations
(i)	…(.) kiehtoo et on ne samat (.) <u>jätti</u>mäiset studiorakennukset mihin rakennetaan sit sisälle kokonaiset metsät ja ja (.) kylät… *(.) it's fascinating that there are the same (.) <u>gigan</u>tic studio buildings where they build then inside whole forests and and (.) villages*	Kun näki ne jättimäiset rakennukset ja niiden sisällä kulisseiksi rakennetut kokonaiset kylät ja metsät,… *When you saw those gigantic buildings and inside of them entire villages and forests built as sets*
(ii)	…kokone… *the size of*	…kokoinen…
(iii)	…siel… *there*	…siellä…
(iv)	… (.) kun siel oli se kyläkin joka oli semmonen? (.) <mitä mä sanoisin (.) minkä torin kokone se ois> >varmaan tommonen< (.) ää (.) Hietsun kirppiksen kokonen alue (.)… *because there's this village, which was like (.) <well, how would I put it (.) what size of market place it would be> >probably like maybe< (.) um (.) an area the size of the Hietsu flea market*	…Siellä oli Hietsun kirppiksen kokoinen kylä. *There was a village the size of the Hietsu flea market.*

The syntax in (i) has been reconstructed substantially, and the phonetic form of the words in (ii) and (iii), was supplemented in the text even though this is a relatively informal article type.

In addition to the requirements of the intended register, the SRs I conducted serve as evidence that the article must function as an independent, dramaturgically consistent story, not as an account of the course of the journalistic interview. As a consequence, the original discourse requires reorganizing and editing in order to be shaped as coherent and concise quotations that can be positioned in a logical relationship with their surrounding text. One obvious example of this process is presented in (iv), where the long speculation about an appropriate comparison to illustrate the size of the set is represented in the quotation by one clause only. In addition to being a content-driven summary of the interviewee's talk, the clause is also placed at the end of the quotation. This transfer could be explained by observing that the core of the utterance has been formulated into a simpler form in order for the quotation to serve the objectives that were established for the overarching plot of the article (cf. Haapanen in press 2017).

When quoting, one needs to intentionally extract the selected information from the conversation and then edit it into a quotation. In this particular case, the quoted discourse needed to be shaped into a forward-oriented response to the prior text. This prior text presented an assertion, and the quotation offered an illustration for it. When examining this quotation, an additional influence of the "planting" of the quotation is the abbreviation of *studiorakennukset*, 'studio buildings', into *rakennukset*, 'buildings'; since the text prior to the quotation has already established the context for the quotation – *Ensimmäiset päivät studiolla olivat huikeita*, 'The first days at the studio were fantastic' –, it would be, according to the SR, a waste of space, and would also be tautological to repeat the word *studio*, '(film) studio.'

Thus far, taking into consideration the media concept, the immediate motives for the modifications I have presented above can be explained in terms of Components 2 and 3. These pertain to the article's formal requirements and the concrete composing process of it (planning, interviewing and writing), respectively. Nevertheless, the data clearly suggest that extensive modification of the text is not solely related, on the one hand, to the differences between spoken and written

discourse and the original and intended register (for example, standard / colloquial language), and on the other hand, to dramaturgy. Let us now turn to the analysis of some linguistic features that support the existence of Component 1.

Despite the extensive standardization of the quoted discourse described above, the intended article type may evidently contain – or even require – some spoken-like features. For example, apart from the last clause, the whole quotation consists of one long clause complex.[21] In addition, there is the speech-like spelling *mitä vaan,* 'whatever,' (*mitä vain,* in standard language), a lexical colloquialism *kirppis,* 'flea market,' (*kirpputori,* in standard language), a casual word *kiva,* 'nice,' and a colloquial nickname, *Hietsu* (more formally the name would be *Hietalahti*). The SR revealed that the journalist was utilizing these spoken-like features to create an illusion of spoken language in the text, although the text is still far removed from the original spoken discourse behind the quotation. My position is that this illusion-making works because readers have "learned," for example, from fiction, an inaccurate conception of what spoken discourse looks like in its written representation (cf. Haviland 1996: 49). This conception makes it difficult for the average reader to decipher informal face-to-face interaction as described in detail by linguists. This needs to be taken into consideration as a part of the societal context in which all the newspapers and magazines are produced. In the modelling of the media concept, the societal context belongs to Component 1. In practical terms, if a journalist intends to create an illusion of spoken language, she would paradoxically achieve better results by not quoting verbatim, but rather by selecting only some particular vernacular features to achieve the desired impression (for similar observations about fiction, see Koivisto & Nykänen 2013; Tiittula & Nuolijärvi 2013; Leech & Short 2007). One illustration of this is that in one of my data interviews, the interviewee stated *nätti ja söötti,* 'pretty and cute,' words which also appeared in a journalist's notebook. However, the published story read *kaunis ja söötti,* 'beautiful and cute'. In the SR, the journalist explained that in her opinion, replicating both vernacular words would have created "a too strong impression of spoken language."

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[21] Although the clause chains that occur in spoken language may indeed be rather lengthy (see Auer 1992), recursion (successive embedding) – as in the quotation in question (ex. 2b) – appears to be strictly limited (Laury & Ono 2010). Thus, the quotation is not to present a *realistic* representation of spoken language, but to create an *illusion* of it.

I will discuss one additional linguistic feature in terms of Component 1 of the media concept. Let us return to the words *Hietsun kirppis*, 'the Hietsu [Hietalahti] flea market,'[22] in example (2). The use of the nickname indicates the colloquial register of the article. Furthermore, using the proper name, and especially the nickname, of a specific district in downtown Helsinki, is a decision that may reflect the values and ideologies of this particular publication. The majority of people living in the Helsinki metropolitan area undoubtedly recognize the nickname, whereas it is probably less familiar to people who live in other areas of Finland. Moreover, out of those people who are familiar with the nickname, only some have actually visited the square where *Hietsun kirppis* is located. The usage of this specific word can therefore be interpreted as reflecting a type of arrogance, or at least a metropolitan-centric outlook. This word choice is likely to be intentional, because the magazine in which the article was published is known for its thorough editing culture. Owing to these circumstances, the linguistic composition of the original discourse has been so substantially modified that this particular word could also have been changed if so desired. As demonstrated above, the analysis of the linguistic choices in quotations (Component 3) can lead to the more foundational factors that affect the process of creating quotations (Component 1). Next, I will present some further findings that belong to Component 1.

Most of the informant-journalists claimed in their SRs that the values and purpose of the target publication affect not only the choice of the article type, the topic, and the interviewee but also whether or not the article would include quotations, what the target tone (such as fact-oriented/lively/striking) and the target register (standard / colloquial language) are, and the degree to which quotations are modified (factors such as the number of spoken-like syntactic structures, words or spelling can occur, if any) (for example, see [I] and [II] in the appendix). Additionally, acknowledging the audience arose several times as a justification for modifications: "You know that people talk in a way that you understand when you speak with them, but then if you write that down, it can no longer be understood by anyone who wasn't present at the time; so you have to write it so that the reader can understand what's being said. And that's the main starting point, to ensure that the reader understands." ([III] in the appendix.)

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[22] *Hietsun kirppis*, 'the Hietsu flea market' is rather well-known among people living in the Helsinki metropolitan area.

Overall, the aspects belonging to Component 1 were rarely mentioned in the SRs. My assumption regarding this is that the publisher's values and purpose as well as the journalistic culture are learned through actual work on the one hand, and as tacit information on the other. In other words, they are institutionalized into the activities one normally performs unconsciously as a member of a social group such as an editorial staff (Perrin 2013b: 55). Therefore, the matters belonging to Component 1 are difficult for the journalist to verbalize for the researcher. As one informant-journalist described in the SR: "Every publication or magazine has its own nature ((…)). You know it and you tune into it, but it's hard to conceptualize it, or to break it down to something like five bullet points." ([IV] in the appendix). (See also Helle & Töyry 2009: 503.) In addition, some factors[23] might be sufficiently obvious that the informant-journalists did not even mention them, especially because they were aware of my own background as a journalist.

To summarize my findings thus far, Component 1, which encompasses the values and purpose of the publisher, the needs of the audience, as well as the journalistic and societal context, creates the basis for Component 2 by first setting the goals for a particular article (ex. 1: informative *news article* versus ex. 2: entertaining *profile article*), and then by allowing these goals to affect the article's determined length, structure, and style (ex. 1: compact, question-answer-organized, standard language versus ex. 2: broad, dramaturgically independent, colloquial features). Component 2 functions as a motive for the modifications that are performed during the daily production processes that comprise Component 3. In other words, these motives steer the planning of the interview (ex. 1: fixed questions versus ex. 2: general themes), the conducting of it (ex. 1: journalist-driven versus ex. 2: interactional), and the concrete writing-process (the functions, length, frequency, tone, and register of quotations). (cf. Kroon Lundell & Ekström 2010.)

3.3 Discrepancies in textual composition

As mentioned in the previous subsection, some words, phrases, and clauses can be omitted from quoted discourse. Even so, it is sometimes not sensible to speak of omission because a quotation can be composed of two or more separate seg-

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[23] For instance, the basic structure of the journalistic text: headline + standfirst / subhead + text body.

ments of discourse clearly lifted from different parts of an interview. In this subsection, I will first analyze the relationship between the original and final discourse from the textual point of view. I will then proceed to highlight a particular aspect in creating quotations, how a journalist's utterances are transferred to an interviewee's quote.

The next data excerpt, example (3), is from the news section of a prominent Finnish newspaper. This article concerns a criticism that was expressed towards the social services of a Finnish municipality. The focus of the criticism is the expense caused by the temporary lodging that was purchased from a certain private company.

Example (3b) [Housing, published]

> Jatkuvat asumisjärjestelyt eivät kuuluisi sosiaalityöntekijöille, HAASTATEL-TAVA huomauttaa.
>   "Se on muusta ihmisten tukemisesta pois. Virastoa on syyllistetty, mutta olemme toimineet lakiin perustuen ja ihmisiä heitteille jättämättä."

> Constantly spending time on arranging housing isn't really part of the social workers work, THE INTERVIEWEE points out.
>   "It is time away from other kinds of support for people. The office is being blamed, but we have acted according to the law and without abandoning people."

The published quotation comprises two segments of discourse. These segments are from different parts of the interview.

Example (3a) [Housing, transcript]

01 JO: tarkoittaako se sitä että kun te jouduitte hoitamaan (.)
           does this mean that when you have to take care of (.)

02   tämmöstä määrää niinku asumisongelmia
           so many of these, like, housing problems

03   niin se on sitten <resursseista> sitten pois jostain muualta?
           so it is then taken from other resources, from somewhere else

04 IN: on (.)
           yes (.)

[17 minutes omitted. At the end of the omitted sequence, immediately before line 5, the journalist and the interviewee have concluded that the problems in emergency housing should be solved by politicians, not by the social work sector. The journalist and the interviewee agree that this problem is difficult, but they look forward to the public discussion that might arise after this news article is published. At this point, there is a prolonged pause.]

05   (3.0)

06 IN: .hh niin sen mä niinku tiedän että et-
             .hh the thing I sort of know is that

07   meitä on syyllistetty tässä (1.5) mutta
             we have been blamed for (1.5) but

08 JO: mm
             mm

09 IN: haluan nyt puolustautua että (.)
             I now want point out in our defense that (.)

10   olemme tehneet sen niinkun (.)
             we have done it like (.)

11   lakiin perustuen ja ihmisiä heitteille jättämättä.
             according to the law and without abandoning people

12 JO: mm
             mm

The two segments of discourse (lines 1–4 and 5–12) that were used to construct the quotation were actually stated seventeen minutes apart. The SR indicated that the reasons for this integration originated from Component 2 of the media concept, which relates to the required length, compactness and storyline of the article (see [V] in the appendix). Many informant-journalists raised the same point regarding the integration of extended or multiple segments of discourse into a single quotation. They supported this practice if it did not alter meaning. Strictly speaking, it is impossible to achieve an equivalence of the meanings. As stated by Linell (1998a), when the context changes, the meaning will change as well.

Nevertheless, it is rational to adopt a more practical position on the issue – this practical orientation is also the mindset of journalists in their everyday work.

To illustrate the journalists' practices, let us compare the meanings of examples (3a) and (3b). The published quotation begins with *Se on muusta ihmisten tukemisesta pois*, 'It is time away from other kinds of support for people.' The first word of the quotation, the pronoun *se*, 'it,' has the same referent as *jatkuvat asumisjärjestelyt*, 'constantly spending time on arranging housing,' which is placed in the text before the quotation. During the interview, the interlocutors have discussed "the resources" (line 3) and "taking care of housing problems" (lines 1–2). Although the interview and the article do not have the same wording, the meaning can be assessed to be moderately equivalent. Let us move then to the second sentence of the quotation: Whereas it is rather verbatim from the linguistic point of view, the perception changes when we focus on the meaning. The second sentence begins with the clause *Virastoa on syyllistetty* 'The office has been blamed.' The cause for this blame has not been exposed, but due to the adjacency of the two sentences comprising the quotation, the primary reading is that the cause would be *jatkuvat asumisjärjestelyt* 'constantly spending time on arranging housing'. However, the quoted discourse is decontextualized from the end of the interview and the actual referent is (more or less) *hätämajoituksen ostaminen yksityiseltä palveluntarjoajalta* 'the purchase of emergency housing from the private service provider' (for a longer version of example 3, see Haapanen 2016a: 231–234). Although the difference between the meaning of the original and the final discourse is rather minor and subtle, it nonetheless exists. In my data, the same observation often applies to the cases where the quotation is constructed from several different parts of the interview.

However, if we shift the orientation so that we perceive the term *meaning* from the perspective of social actions, the relation between the original and the final discourse is direct: During lines 5–12 and immediately before them at the end of the omitted sequence in example (3a), several lingering turns and pauses have occurred as well as "reinvocations of the reason for initiating the conversation," which indicate that the interlocutors are preparing to close the conversation (Schegloff & Sacks 1973: 90–91). The sequence occurred during the last minutes of the 35-minute interview. Respectively, the quotation based on this sequence finished the article.

Next I will highlight one particularity of making quotations: the manner in which discourse produced by the journalist in the interview is attributed to the interviewee through quoting. The first clause of the quotation in example (3) (*Se on muusta ihmisten tukemisesta pois*, 'It is time away from other kinds of support for people') is attributed to the interviewee, although the linguistic form and content is mainly based on the utterance produced by the journalist herself. In other words, in the published article, the journalist's question (lines 1–3) is edited into a declarative sentence and planted into the mouth of the interviewee.

An analysis of the original and the final discourse does not lead us further than that, but utilizing the SR allows us entry to behind the scenes.

The journalist explained in the SR that she had not prepared all of the questions in advance, but formulated them – especially the exact wording – during the interview (see [VI] in the appendix). This is related to Component 2 of the media concept. First, the article type and the topic of the article in the making on the one hand, and the journalist's workload on the other, determine the amount of preparation required. Second, the SR data indicate that when a journalist writes an article for the written media, it is possible and – at least tacitly – acceptable to attribute the journalist's discourse to that of the interviewee.[24]

Example (4) is further evidence of the same phenomenon and it originates from an interview for an article in a business-to-customer-magazine (4a). The interviewee is the director of a company that manufactures high technology devices.

Example (4a) [Market, transcript]

> 01 JO: teidän asiakkaat ni siis ne on sairaaloita ja (.) vastaavia
>   your customers then they are like hospitals (.) and such
>
> 02 IN: ne on sairaaloit joo
>   they are hospitals, yeah
>
> 03 JO: joo (.) mut alust asti on siis ollu niinku selkeet et (.)
>   yeah (.) but from the beginning it has been kinda clear that (.)

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[24] The data in this paper contain three similar cases. This case was from a newspaper, while the other two were published in a magazine and in a business-to-customer-magazine. The last instance will be analyzed as example (4) below.

04		se on ulkomaille myös suuntautuvaa
		it's also directed abroad
05	IN:	joo
		yeah
06	JO:	tai siis että (.) markkinana on koko maailma (.) eiks näin
		I mean (.) the whole world is the market (.) isn't it
07	IN:	kyllä joo joo (.)
		yes, yes that's right (.)

Based on the conversation above, the journalist composed the following quota-
tion (ex. 4b) that is attributed entirely to the interviewee:

Example (4b) [Market, published]

> "Olemme tähdänneet kansainvälisille markkinoille alusta alkaen, ja asiak-
> kaitamme ovat sairaalat eri puolilla maailmaa. Tähän mennessä olemme
> toimittaneet noin pari sataa laitetta, joista kotimaahan on mennyt vain
> puolenkymmentä", HAASTATELTAVA kertoo.

> "We have targeted international markets from the beginning, and have
> hospitals from around the world as our customers. So far, we have deliv-
> ered about two hundred devices, of which only half a dozen have been
> sold in this country," THE INTERVIEWEE says.

As in example (3), the quotation in example (4) is based predominantly on what
the journalist herself said (lines 1, 3–4, 6). The interviewee confirmed the infor-
mation (*ne on sairaaloit joo*, 'they are hospitals, yeah' [line 2]; *joo*, 'yeah' [line
5]; *kyllä joo joo*, 'yes, yes that's right' [line 7]). Once again, the SR serves as
further evidence for this analysis.

The SR disclosed that the journalist's original article assignment defined "inter-
nationalization" as the main topic of the article. In other words, the company and
its director were selected because the magazine wanted to highlight the interna-
tional markets of the company. When the journalist called the interviewee for the
first time, the journalist told her that the central point of the article would be the
international markets of the company. In the actual interview, the journalist
wanted to introduce this main topic to the discussion to verify that her infor-
mation was correct and to elicit more information on it. Nevertheless, as they had

already discussed that specific topic – internationalization – over the phone, there was no need to ask any explicit questions related to it during the interview. Finally, when the journalist was writing her article, she wanted to "let the interviewee say the main point" ([VII] in the appendix), even though the quoted utterance was never actually uttered during the interview. To summarize, the purpose and needs of the publication prompted the journalist to use the quote as a text linguistic device so as to formulate the interviewee's standpoint, rather than quoting it per se. Regarding the media concept, the intended content and outline of the article (Component 2) govern the journalist's quoting processes (Component 3).

In the stimulated recall sessions, both journalists (of ex. 3 and ex. 4) remarked on the questionable nature of the work practice discussed: "When you haven't prepped all the questions beforehand, your own phrasing might be bad, and you'll get a sort of yes-or-no answer. Well, that probably kinda should be written down word for word." "Well, strictly speaking, you probably shouldn't put that as a quote" (see [VI] and [VIII] in the appendix). This is natural, because guidebooks and ethic codes are strictly against this phenomenon, as well as against all types of fabrications of quotations:

> Never intentionally misquote (Stein 1995: 241).
>
> Fabricating a direct quote, even from general things that a source has said or from what the source might say if given the chance, is never a good idea (Brooks et al. 2002: 85).
>
> Don't "invent" quotations. Your job is to put your sources on record – not put words into their mouths. If a source refuses or is unable to give you the quote you need, go back for another interview or go to another source. (Ruberg 2005: 122.)

Yet, despite of the guidelines and ethic codes, this phenomenon is rather common. This is understandable from the perspective of work practices: If a journalist has prepared sufficiently well, she probably already knows in advance the main points of the interview discussion and introduces them to the discussion herself. The role of the interviewee then becomes affirmative, leading to confirmations such as "yes," or "that's right." However, these short utterances would not make the article sufficiently vital and impressive in their verbatim form (quotations have multiple functions in the narration of an article, see Haapanen 2011).

Thus, the apparent contradiction between 'etic' guidance and 'emic' practice clearly necessitates further ethical considerations.

From the perspective of the media concept, this peculiar yet common practice is caused by the predetermined viewpoint of the article (Component 2), which is then reflected in the concrete work processes used in producing the planned article (Component 3). Considering the current journalistic culture (Component 1), this is a somewhat "naturalized" and economic strategy to produce an article for print media.

3.4 Monologization of the interview

This section discuss one special aspect of recontextualization through which the frequent and robust interaction between two (or more) participants in the journalistic interview is eliminated in the articles. In other words, the journalist does not only ask the questions, but she also keeps the interview conversation going and structures it by using frequent response particles and other responsive elements, including gestures and laughing. All this is obscured from the readers through the procedure, which I have labeled *monologization.* [25] (On *monologization* in more detail, see Haapanen 2016b.) In this connection, I also focus on the work practices of documenting an interview, because these practices reflect on the process of the monologization of the interview.

First, due to "monologization," the sequential positioning of the quoted text in the final discourse does not match its positioning in the original discourse. For example, from the typical three-part structure of an interview (the journalist's question, the interviewee's answer, the journalist's feedback), only the answer is typically exposed in the article. This results in the fact that quoted discourse, which originally was a response to a question, often appears to be expressed as if it had been stated on the interviewee's own initiative (similarly in television news production, see Ekström 2001: 571). Yet, this type of *sequential repositioning* is often far more extensive than merely a concealment of the responsiveness of a quoted discourse, as shown in my data.

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[25] The everyday perception of the words dialogue and monologue well reflects the contrast between a journalistic interview as a discourse with relatively frequent turn-taking by two (or more) participants, and a quotation as a discourse by a single language user.

Example (5a) [Restriction] is an excerpt from an interview for a business magazine that deals with the interviewee's career and the company. The interviewee was a non-native Finnish speaker and consequently she not only had a foreign accent (not indicated in the transcript), but she also made frequent errors in inflection and word choice. These features were cleaned up in the quotations, and the SR confirmed that the journalist did not even consider quoting the non-native-like Finnish verbatim in the article. According to the media concept, it is not common in the current journalistic culture (Component 1) to replicate defective language skills, and this could be done only with a firm justification from the viewpoint of the article (Component 2), as stated in the SR (see [IX] in the appendix). In addition to influencing linguistic modifications discussed in the previous subsections, the non-native delivery likewise highly influences the structure of the interview and, thus, the practice of quoting.

Prior to the transcribed excerpt in example (5a) below, the journalist and the interviewee discussed the financial turnover of the company. The interviewee stated that the turnover has not been large yet.

Example (5a) [Restriction, transcript] [26]

01 IN:	mutta mä halusin niinkun (.) ensi vuonna mä piti (.)	
	but I kinda wanted that like (.) next year I was going to (.)	
02	lopetta tämä rajoitus (.) oma	[rajoitus
	end this restriction (.) my own	[restriction
03 O:		[nii (.) et (.)
		[yeah (.) that (.)
04	ett sä voisit kasvaaki vai tarkotat joo	[sitäksä
	that you could also grow ((your business)) or	[is that what you mean yes
05 IN:		[joo joo
		[yes yes

---

[26] Erroneous inflections occur throughout the interviewee's utterances. Yet these inflections have not been replicated in the translation.

```
06 IN:        ja nimen[omaan nyt-
              and right now-

07 JO:                 [nii et se on ollut sun päässä    [oleva rajoitus
                       [so that it has been in your head [the restriction

08  IN:                                                  [joo
                                                         [yes

09            se on mun päässä (.) mä tiedän mä tiedän (.)
              it's in my head (.) I know I know (.)
```

The SR established that in this particular excerpt, it was difficult for the journalist to understand what the interviewee meant. But as is characteristic of a face-to-face conversation, the journalist could immediately check whether or not she had understood correctly. She wanted to affirm that *tämä rajoitus*, 'this restriction', referred to some aspect that prevented the interviewee from expanding her business (line 4). The interviewee confirmed this assumption (line 5). The journalist then posed another question concerning whether she had inferred correctly that the obstacle for expansion was of a mental nature (line 7), and received another affirmative answer (lines 8–9). To summarize, the structure of the interview is highly interactional.

Based on these negotiations over meanings, the journalist wrote the following excerpt:

Example (5b) [Restriction, published]

> Ensi vuonna HAASTATELTAVAN tavoite on kasvattaa yritystä. Tähän asti hän on tyytynyt elättämään itsensä. "Mielessäni on ollut este kasvulle, mutta nyt on aika poistaa se."

> Next year the goal of THE INTERVIEWEE is to grow her business. Until now, she has been content to be able to provide for herself. "There has been an obstacle to growing in my mind, but now is the time to remove it."

The interactive negotiation is concealed from the reader of the published quotation. Rather than repeat the turn-taking verbatim, the journalist corrects the interviewee's language and presents *her own* formulation of the jointly produced

understanding. Yet according to the informant-journalist in the SR, the inter-viewee did not object to the use of the quotation after reading the article prior to its publication.

Next, I will analyze how the manner of documenting an interview influences monologization. The notebook of the journalist (ex. 5c) reveals that the interac-tion was already filtered out during the interviewing situation in real time. Picture 1 is an image from the notebook.

Picture 1. [Example (5c), Restriction, notebook]
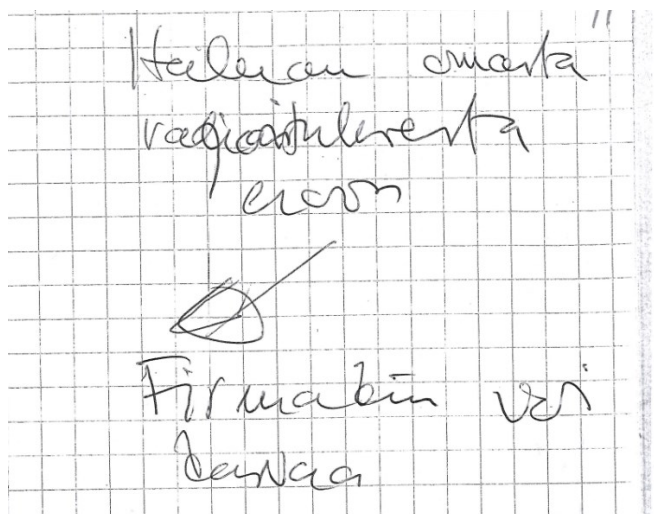
Haluan omasta rajoituksesta eroon
↓
Firmakin voi kasvaa

I want to end my own restriction
↓
The company can also grow

As picture 1 indicates, the interactional nature of the interview is no longer visi-ble in the notebook. In other words, from those few words (and one arrow) writ-ten on the notebook, it is unclear which of the words were originally uttered by the journalist and how the turn-taking unfolded.

Because the method of documenting an interview (such as tape-recording, note-taking, and memory) is one of the essential variables in journalistic work prac-tices, I will discuss them in detail from the perspective of quoting. I will focus

on two somewhat opposite documentation practices that were used by the journalists in example (2) [Film Studio] and example (5) [Restriction]. As we have seen, extensive editing of the quoted discourse was required in both cases.

In example (2) the journalist tape-recorded the interview and then roughly transcribed it from beginning to end. With this method, the most extensive modifying process took place when the journalist sketched and wrote the article based on her transcription. In example (5), however, the journalist documented the interview only by taking notes.[27] In this, as in other cases in my data, *taking notes* seems to necessitate that, first, a journalist demarcates a segment from a longer, conceptually and intentionally continuous and coherent stretch of discourse – fairly forcefully in the case of a talkative interviewee. Then, she writes it down, eliminating, abbreviating and/or summarizing the original discourse. Thus, a substantial part of the modifying process already had been completed during the interview situation itself and almost in real time, because it is arguable to assume that when the journalist wrote her article afterwards based on these few key clauses in her notebook, she cannot – and was not required to – recall the exact turn-taking anymore. To summarize, when documenting an interview by taking notes, the notes – rather than the original discourses – become the basis for the quotations. (See also Haapanen 2016a: 241–244.)

My data also show that journalists base their quotations and articles not only on tape recordings and/or notes, but also on their own memory. This is demonstrated by the following brief example (6) from a newspaper. The interview (ex. 6a) is one of the cases where I have access to the tape-recording that the journalist herself did not use when writing the article (ex. 6b). During this interview, the interviewee stated *eihän se nyt voi sillä lailla loppua että siinä niinkun paha ei saa palkkaansa*, 'it really cannot end in such a way that the evil won't get its pay.'[28] The utterance using this proverb was not written down in the journalist's notebook. Nevertheless, the quotation included the clause *Ja että paha saa palkkansa*,

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[27] I asked the informant-journalists to create articles (both interview and the writing-process) as they would normally do. Some of the informant-journalists were used to taking notes by hand, and did not ordinarily tape-record the interview, but at my request, these informant-journalists made tape-recordings for my use only.

[28] The underlined section is an adaption of the Finnish proverb *paha saa palkkansa*. The proverb means that one gets due punishment (lit. *palkka*, 'a pay') for his or her misdeeds. In the quotation based on this utterance, the proverb is in its traditional form. An approximate English gloss of this proverb would be *the chickens come home to roost*.

'And the evil will get its pay.' Thus it would appear that the journalist based the inscription on her memory rather than her notes.

In general, it would appear that while it is relatively easy to recall content, keywords, or proverbs, human memory is an unreliable source for replicating exact wordings (for example, see Clark & Gerrig 1990: 796–797). Additionally, by examining my data from the perspective of work practices, it is evident that the most verbatim quotations in the data (especially when the quotation is longer than only a few words) are based on tape-recordings (on the practice of taking notes, see [X] in the appendix).

The examples above indicate that work practices – such as tape-recording versus note-taking – clearly influence the recontextualization of the interviews into quotations. As a rule, however, the method of documentation and the verbatim character of the quotations do not correlate. If the original discourse is radically different from the intended final discourse, substantial modifications are needed, regardless of the method and precision in the documentation of the interview (see also Haapanen 2016a).

In terms of the media concept, the choice of the documentation method is a journalistic tool to perform the journalist's daily production duties (Component 3). On the other hand, the choice of documentation practices also seems to be affected by the workload and time resources of journalists (see [XI] in the appendix), which can be categorized under the division of labor (Component 2), and by the journalistic culture, which represents Component 1 of the media concept. In other words, why would a journalist tape-record and perform the time-consuming and laborious procedure of transcribing, if it is not necessary to produce quotations that follow every detail of the interviewee's speech?

4 Summary and conclusions

The analysis of published articles, original interviews, and stimulated recalls in my data demonstrates that the relation between an interview and a quotation is highly case-dependent. As a result, it is impossible to predict the form of a quotation merely by reviewing what is stated in the original interview. Conversely, determining what was actually expressed in an interview cannot be inferred from a written quotation.

In some rare instances, the linguistic and textual form of the original discourse remains unchanged in the final discourse. But even then, due to the nature of the oral and written modalities, many aspects of spoken delivery cannot be reproduced in writing. Yet it is far more common that the discourse is modified in one way or another, resulting in deletions, insertions, revisions and changes in word order. The modifications vary in quantity and quality, and range from word-level changes to substantial alterations of the discourse. Furthermore, journalists can merge texts from different parts of an original discourse into one quotation.

Another common practice is that quotations have been "monologized," where the co-construction (in terms of both form and meaning) of the original discourse between the journalist and the interviewee is reduced into a monologue by the interviewee. In light of journalistic professional guidance, this procedure seems controversial. However, if we disentangle ourselves from the verbatim-oriented position and rethink the phenomenon in a dialogistic theoretical framework (e.g., Linell 2009), the discourse segment in question is a social action. In this social action, a question being responded to by a "yes" makes the constructed meaning a collaborative enterprise. In other words, the "yes" makes the content of the journalist's question something that the interviewee is co-responsible for, and hence the interviewee can be attributed to in the quoted representation.

In terms of meaning, the same heterogeneity applies to the relation between the original and the final discourses. Thus, it is not unusual for quotations, in their contexts, to be interpreted somewhat differently than the original discourse they were based on.

It is important to note that not only is there extensive variation in the modifications of quotations within one 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 complete rewording.[29] In addition, no single factor (for instance an article type, a work practice, the topic of the article, or a target medium) seems to determine how a quotation is modified in my data. However, my data is clearly too small to make any broader conclusions.

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

The heterogeneity and unpredictability of the quotation-making process raises the question of what accounts for the modifications in quotation-making. First, the main actors who create the article are the journalist and the interviewee. The journalist (and the editorial staff the journalist works with) determines the topic and whom to interview. She then produces the interview situation jointly with the interviewee(s), and exploits the original discourse as source material when writing the article. In the threefold modelling of the media concept, the journalistic work process comprises Component 3, that is, the daily production processes.

Nevertheless, my analysis suggests that a journalist by no means creates an article solely according to her own free will. Instead, she produces the intended article type, which is a predetermined part of the structure of a media product. Additionally, she is unavoidably influenced by her employer's division of labor and the work load caused by it. The article type and the work load constitute what is referred to as the architecture of the whole, which comprises Component 2 of the media concept.

The architecture of the whole does not come into existence spontaneously, but it is a result of the well-thought-out objective of the publisher. When running their businesses, publishers have informative, ideological, financial, and perhaps other goals as well. To attain these goals successfully, the publisher must define the target audience, and determine how to create a permanent relationship with it. For example, they accomplish this by understanding and satisfying the audience's needs and interests. This is the core of Component 1 of the media concept. But in addition to the publisher and the audience, any specific media is influenced by the prevalent journalistic culture. Within the parameters of this paper, that culture creates the foundation for the general conception of how spoken discourse is transferred into written form, and how the interactional nature of the interview is reduced into monologuous quotations.

The main conclusion of my paper is that these factors, grouped into the three components of the media concept, create the complex relation between the original discourse (= the interview) and the final discourse (= the published quotation); they also govern the work practices in journalism. Furthermore, all things considered, quoting is not a mechanical and systematic process, but it is carefully self-monitored by the journalist. In addition, no single unambiguous definition

for "directness" seems to exist that would apply to all direct quotations in my data. Instead, direct quotations are text elements in an article that combine the discourse of an interview and the multifaceted purposes and aims of a journalist, publication and publisher. (Similarly in television news production, see Nylund 2003; Kroon Lundell & Ekström 2010. For more detail on quoting practices, see Haapanen in press 2017.)

As demonstrated in this study, the reality of making quotations is not in line with the perception in the guidebooks and with those shared by the audience.[30] I would argue that this makes the rare references to quoting offered in guidebooks to more resemble noble declarations than serious guidelines for daily work. The SRs I conducted showed that the journalists themselves recognize the actual daily work practices presented in this paper – although several informant-journalists were rather surprised during the SR to discover the extent of the modifications they had actually made. Nevertheless, the informant-journalists did not express concern regarding the prevalent perception on quoting.

As for the underlying reasons for the phenomenon in the previous paragraph, I have two educated guesses. First, to uncover all the modifications and pure fabrications that occur in quoting practices might cause the audience to be perplexed and would result in accusations, even if these modifications were carried out of necessity and were created to serve the readers. The second point is that the majority of the rhetorical and narrative functions of quotations[31] (see Haapanen 2011) are based on the idea of verbatimness. As Stimson (1995: 69) has stated, "readers apparently assume they are hearing a person's actual words within quote marks, and journalism is happy to let them think so."

To conclude, rather than stirring up a hornet's nest in the profession, perhaps for journalists and media publishers, it is both useful and safe to sustain this illusion.

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[30] As a matter of fact, the audience's viewpoint needs to be researched more (see, however, Culbertson & Somerick 1976).

[31] Quotations enhance such factors as the plausibility that the quoted person's has been reproduced in the authentic verbatim way, they reflect a speaker's unique manner of using language and his or her first-hand experiences, and they characterize the quoted speaker (Haapanen 2011).

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Appendix

Original excerpts and their English translations from stimulated recall sessions (I–XI)

(I)

RESEARCHER: Jos ajattelet eri lehtiä, mihin teet, niin ajatteletko muokkaamista eri tavoin?

INFORMANT-JOURNALIST: Joo. Ehkä niin päin että kun tunnen [Lehden 1]:n niin hyvin ja tiedän että siellä ollaan avoimia kaikelle uudelle, niin uskallan kokeilla rohkeammin. Sitten varmaan johonkin [lehti 2]:aan en edes uskaltaisi kokeilla, että siellä pysyisin hyvin yleisellä ja neutraalilla tasolla.

RESEARCHER: When you think of the different publications you're working for, do you regard modification differently?

INFORMANT-JOURNALIST: Yeah. Maybe because I know [Magazine 1] so well and I know that they are open to new things, so I dare to experiment more boldly. Then again, for some [Magazine 2] I wouldn't even dare to try anything and would keep things at a very general and neutral level.

(II)

INFORMANT-JOURNALIST: On sovittu, että sitaateista tehdään oikeakielisiä. Eli jos joku sanoo jotain kieliopin vastaisesti, niin sitten se korjataan, koska sen ((= sitaatin)) pitää olla luettavaa tekstiä, ja jos se ((= epäkieliopillisuus)) vaikeuttaa sitä ymmärtämistä, niin silloin sitä muutetaan. Täytesanat otetaan pois.

INFORMANT-JOURNALIST: It's been agreed that quotations are to be made (so they are) grammatically correct. So if someone says something that's grammatically incorrect, it will be corrected, because the text ((= the quotation)) must be readable and if it ((= the ungrammaticality)) makes it harder to understand, then it will be altered. Fillers (and some hesitations) are taken out.

(III)

INFORMANT-JOURNALIST: Ihmisethän puhuu sillä tavalla että sen ymmärtää kun sen kanssa puhuu, mutta sitten jos semmosen kirjoittaa ulos, niin sitä ei ymmärrä enää kukaan tilanteen ulkopuolella ollut, eli se täytyy kirjoittaa niin että se lukija ymmärtää mistä siinä puhutaan. Että se on se päälähtökohta, että lukija ymmärtää.

INFORMANT-JOURNALIST: You know that people talk in a way that you understand when you speak with them, but then if you write that down, it can no longer be understood by anyone who wasn't present at the time; so you have to write it so that the reader can understand what's being said. And that's the main starting point, to ensure that the reader understands.

(IV)

RESEARCHER: Osaatko sitä arvioida, että miten se ((= lehti)) vaikuttaa muokkaamiseen – eli ei juttutyyppi vaan se lehti?

INFORMANT-JOURNALIST: Kyllä se jutun julkaisualusta vaikuttaa ((…)) jokaisella julkaisulla tai lehdellä on oma henki ((…)) sen tietää ja siihen asettuu mutta sitä on vaikea käsitteellistää, tai purkaa vaikka viideksi ranskalaiseksi viivaksi.

RESEARCHER: Could you assess how it ((= the publication)) affects modification – *it* meaning not the article type, but the magazine.

INFORMANT-JOURNALIST: For sure, the publication platform has an effect ((…)) every publication or magazine has its own nature ((…)). You know it and you tune into it, but it's hard to conceptualize it, or to break it down to something like five bullet points.

(V)

INFORMANT-JOURNALIST: Meillä on tosi tiiviit tilat ((= juttupaikkojen merkkimäärät)) ja siinä pitää pystyä usein kertomaan monipuolisesti isoja asioita. Sen takia on mun mielestä perusteltua tehdä tuontyyppisiä [muutoksia], jotka ei muuta sitä merkitystä millään tavalla.

INFORMANT-JOURNALIST: We have really tight space restrictions and at the same time, we have to cover major issues from multiple angles. So that's why I think it's justifiable to make those kinds of changes, since they don't alter the meaning in any way.

(VI)

INFORMANT-JOURNALIST: Jos olisin tv-toimittaja, niin mun ois varmaan pitänyt miettiä nää kysymykset tarkemmin ennakkoon. Mutta kun ((…)) ei ole kaikkia kysymyksiä miettinyt etukäteen, niin oma muotoilu saattaa olla huono, jolloin sä saat sellaisen kyllä–ei vastauksen. Varmaanhan se niinku pitäis kirjoittaa auki ((= sanatarkasti, muuntelematta)).

INFORMANT-JOURNALIST: If I were a TV journalist, I probably would have had to prepare these questions more carefully in advance. But when you haven't prepped all the questions beforehand, your own phrasing might be bad, and you'll get a sort of yes-or-no answer. Well, that probably kinda should be written down word for word ((= verbatim, without modifications)).

(VII)

INFORMANT-JOURNALIST: Tää ((=asia)), mitä tässä nyt tarkastellaan, oli sen jutun pääpointti. Niin siksi halusin antaa haastateltavan sanoa [lehdessä] sen jutun pääpointin.

INFORMANT-JOURNALIST: This ((=matter)), what we're looking at now, was the main point in that article. So that's why I wanted to let the interviewee say the main point [in the article].

(VIII)

INFORMANT-JOURNALIST: Jos oikein tiukkoja ollaan, niin totahan ei välttämättä vois laittaa sitaatiks. Mutta mä luulen, että tää on hyvin tyypillinen tapaus mihin sä tuut törmäämään, tai mä voisin kuvitella, että aika moni toimittaja tekee tällasta.

INFORMANT-JOURNALIST: Well, strictly speaking, you probably shouldn't put that as a quote. But I think that this is a really typical case that you will run into, I mean, I can imagine that quite many journalists do something like this.

(IX)

RESEARCHER: Sitaattien tarkoitus ei siis ollut kuvailla puhujaa?

INFORMANT-JOURNALIST: Ei. Jos puhekielisyyksiä on valittu niin niillä pitää olla joku pointti sen jutun kannalta, mutta tässä ((= jutussa)) niillä ei ollut. Ja tässä ei myöskään ollut tarkoitus korostaa sitä, että nyt ne puhuu huonosti suomea. ((…))

RESEARCHER: Eli jos puhekielisyyden valitsee niin se on ennemmin leimanomainen juttu kuin suora lainaus?

INFORMANT-JOURNALIST: joo, se on niinku tarkoituksella silloin. Että meidän lehdessä sitaatit on yleiskirjakieltä, ja sit jos sinne ((= sitaattiin)) on laitettu puhekielisyys, niin se on sen takia että on haluttu sillä korostaa esim jotain siinä tyypissä tai jotain muuta, et niin se on.

RESEARCHER: So the purpose of the quotes was not to describe the speaker?

INFORMANT-JOURNALIST: No. If colloquialisms have been selected then they have to have some point in the story, but in this one ((= story)) they didn't have any idea. But the idea here wasn't to emphasize the fact that they speak broken Finnish either. (…)

RESEARCHER: So if you choose a colloquialism, it's more about characterization of the quotation than making a direct quotation?

INFORMANT-JOURNALIST: Yeah, it's on purpose in that case. In our magazine the quotes occur in standard language, and if any colloquialisms are used ((= in the quotation), they're used to emphasize things like something in that person or something else like that, that's the way it is.

(X)

RESEARCHER: Miten muuten kun nyt teit nauhurin kanssa mutta joskus teet [vain] käsimuistiinpanoilla, niin osaatko arvioida että jos olisit tehnyt tämän jutun vain muistiinpanoja tehden, niin…

INFORMANT-JOURNALIST: En ois pystynyt näin tarkkaan, en missään nimessä. ((…)) En mä mitenkään ehdi kirjoittaa näin paljon. ja sit mä en muista, jos mulla on lyhennettyjä sanoja, niin en välttämättä muista mikä se loppuosa oli koska ei se mun tekniikka oo mitenkään niin tarkka. (Similarly, see Lehrer 1989: 122.)

RESEARCHER: By the way, since you used a tape-recorder but sometimes only take notes, can you assess if you had made this article just by taking notes, you have been able to….

INFORMANT-JOURNALIST: I wouldn't have been able to be this precise, no way. ((…)) I really don't have time to write down this much. And then if I've used abbreviations, I don't necessarily remember what the word actually was because the technique I use isn't that exact at all. (Similarly, see Lehrer 1989: 122)

(XI)

INFORMANT-JOURNALIST: Äänitän harvoin, en tykkää siitä, enemmän käsimuistiinpanoja suosin. Ja yksi syy on se, että jos kaiken äänittäis ja kaiken purkais, niin työaikahan ei riittäis, kun ei se riitä muutenkaan. Niin tuossa säästää sitten aikaa kun ei äänitä kaikkea.

INFORMANT-JOURNALIST: I rarely record on tape, I don't like it, I prefer taking notes. And one reason is that if you record everything and transcribe everything, your working hours won't be enough, because they aren't enough as it is. So you save time when you don't record everything.