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Routledge
2017-08

Haapanen , L & Perrin , D 2017 , Media and Quoting : Understanding the purposes, roles, and processes of quoting in mass and social media . in C Cotter & D Perrin (eds) , The Routledge Handbook of Language and Media . Routledge handbooks in linguistics , Routledge , London , pp. 424-441 . <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315673134-31>

<http://hdl.handle.net/10138/300593>

<https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315673134-31>

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Please cite the original version.

Media and Quoting

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1 INTRODUCTION

Direct quoting is a distinctive and essential phenomenon in the media. Albeit, how it materializes varies according to the medium in which it occurs. In television and radio, the statements drawn from interviews are embedded as sound bites into a media item, whereas in print publications selected quotes-to-be are rendered as quotations. The Internet has allowed for the transgression of this traditional dichotomy, since *written* items can be published there without concrete *printing* – and mixed and blended with *audio* and *audio-visual* items without traditional broadcasting.

With the emergence of Internet 2.0 and, mainly, social media, the concept of quoting has further evolved. With social media platforms, it is easy to share links to media items published all over the web. Posting links can be considered a (new) kind of quoting in itself because a) some links quote extracts from source text, and b) following the link results in a full quotation of the source text in a new browser window – which then must be processed in the context of the text containing the link. Furthermore, these links are often accompanied by extensions such as comments on and quotes from the linked text.

Based on these different dimensions of intertextuality, we define *quote* and related key terms in the next section of this chapter. In Section 3, we outline the main scholarly perspectives on quoting. Taking clues from journalism, in Section 4, we present the current state of the research explaining the structure of quotes (4.1), the functions of quotes (4.2), and the process of quoting (4.3). In Section 5, we focus on critical issues involved in the investigation of quotes and quoting, and in Section 6, we outline future directions of research by foregrounding the phenomenon of *socio-quoting*. We conclude by briefly characterising quotes and quoting overall in Section 7.

2 DEFINITIONS

The term *media* is seen by many scholars as a generic term used to identify the technical means (such as print, radio, television, or the Internet) by which semiotic entities are communicated to others (see Ehrensperger, Perrin & Zampa, this volume, Chapter IV.4). In light of this characterization, the concept of intertextuality becomes fundamental: In journalistic media, and especially in modern days, the role of intertextuality is emphasized, since such media tell us as much about what someone *has said* has happened as about what has actually happened (Bell 1991: 52–53; Nylund 2009: 7). In this chapter, we focus on a distinctive type of intertextuality called *direct quotes* (hereafter referred to simply as *quotes*), which includes both *written quotes* and (*spoken*) *sound bite quotes*.

Quotes are generally easily identifiable by their formal markings. The most unequivocal way to identify a quote in a media environment is in the written media where quotes are distinguished from the surrounding

text with visual cues like quotation marks. In audio-visually broadcasted media, sound bite quotes can be expelled from the surrounding item either auditorily as in radio, or audio-visually as in television, where the audience may also see the quoted person speaking or the quoted written text as a highlighted part in a visually reproduced document.

In journalistic guidebooks (e.g., Brooks et al. 2002; Goldstein 2009) as well as in ethical guidelines (see EthicNet 2008), the quote is mostly defined – if defined at all – as being as verbatim as possible a rendering of an original utterance, and even if the linguistic form of the utterances need slight modifications, its meaning must remain the same.

Expanding upon these well-established characterizations, we conceptualize the process of making quotes, of quoting, as certain kind of *recontextualization* (Linell 1998). In recontextualization, a selected stretch of discourse is first extracted from one context, for example, a journalistic interview, a press conference, or a press release (Jacobs 1999) and then embedded into another context, that is a media item, and marked as a quote in a proper way.

An interesting issue for research is the fact that recontextualization changes the quoted discourse. Before it can be published in written media, oral discourse is converted into a written format. This change impacts auditory factors such as intonation, stresses, and pauses, which do not have any conventional, let alone exact, counterpart in written form. In terms of situated meaning, both written and sound bite quotes can hardly retain the same meaning in all respects when transferred from one context to another. Moreover, research has shown that, due to the change of context, a quote often undergoes more extensive a modification than intuitively expected. The extent of the changes illustrates that quoting is by no means a mechanical transfer, but rather is a deliberate process affected by numerous factors in a continuum from tiny layout-related requirements to individual preferences and ideological goals.

Although the bulk of the research deals with quotes and quoting in journalism, due to the media convergence of citizen journalism, social media, and the Internet 2.0, definitions of quoting have been revisited and expanded variants have been offered. For example, Johansson has considered political videos (2012) and tweets (forthcoming) embedded in web news, as well as videos linked into video press reviews (2013) as quotes. In addition, Schmieder (2015) has argued that amateur photos published in touch with news are exploited by journalists in the same way as written quotes. Furthermore, media content sharing as an emergent form of quoting is facilitated by the platform architecture of social media and is available for anyone with access to the Internet (Section 6).

3 DISCIPLINARY PERSPECTIVES

There is a wealth of research about quotes in general. In this literature, media texts are sometimes used as examples of contemporary language use. In the present chapter, however, we focus on research dealing particularly with quotes and quoting in the media.

Since media linguistic research addresses real-life problems, researchers prefer to draw on real-life data. In the case of quote and quoting, data sets have to provide access to intertextual layers of the final products and to text production processes respectively. Research on quotes and quoting is therefore closely related to the development of text production research (e.g., Jakobs & Perrin, 2014).

Based on classifications in text production research, we distinguish three research strands in the field: First, there is research on the **structure** of quotes which addresses characteristics such as their length, linguistic

outcome, and to whom the quote is attributed. Second, there is a large body of literature concerning the **functions** of quotes in the media. However, since the question of *why there are quotes* is not often the main objective of these studies, this perspective is not systematic let alone exhaustive. Third, there are studies which aim at taking a look “behind the scenes” and analyse the **process** of quoting.

The data corpora used to illustrate key findings about both product and process aspects of quotes and quoting in this chapter are drawn from the production processes of Swiss television news (Perrin 2013) and Finnish written publications (Haapanen 2016a).

4 CURRENT CONTRIBUTIONS AND RESEARCH

In this section, we review the state of the research on quotes and quoting following the three disciplinary perspectives outlined above: the structure of quotes (4.1), the functions of quotes (4.2), and the process of quoting (4.3).

4.1 The structure of quotes

The reporting of what other people have said has long been an essential practice in written journalism. However, as Ekström (2006) has found by studying two dominating Swedish newspapers throughout the 20th century, only in the last half of the century have quotes developed as visually discernible from the rest of the news text. Before visual demarcation, the switches from the reporter’s voice to that of the quoted source were not always clearly marked. The clear separation of quotes from other forms of explicitly recontextualized discourses (e.g. indirectly reported speech) and unattributed information enabled the establishment of a set of distinctive linguistic features typical for quotes, the most salient of which can be found on the levels of

- **lexis** (e.g. “*Hey you idiot, shut up now*”, *he said*. – the anchor point for deictic terms [*you, now*] is the original context),
- **syntax** (e.g. as in the above example, the reported and framing clause are syntactically autonomous in regard to each other),
- **discourse** (e.g. as above, dialogic phenomena such as vocatives [*hey*] and imperatives [*shut up*] can be reproduced in recontextualized discourse only due to the main clausal nature of a quote).
- **register** (e.g. as above, the word “idiot” would not be proper in the desirable register of the media discourse, so it must be marked as recontextualized from another discourse. Similarly, within indirect quoting, this very word would need quotation marks around it to explicitly mark it as recontextualized discourse (i.e. partial quotation). (The list builds on Waugh 1995: 139–141.)

The common trend is that the length of quotes has shrunk while their number has increased. For example, in a series of studies on television news coverage of U.S. elections, the average length of sound bite quotes by presidential candidates decreased from 43 seconds in 1968 to 7.7 seconds in 2004 (Hallin 1992; Bucy and Grabe 2007; Zeh and Hopmann 2013 for similar developments in Germany and Denmark). Ryfe and Kimmelmeier (2011) termed a “transition to modern news” (ibid. 23) what they observed in their study on the front-page news of five American newspapers from 1876 to 1916: The number of these front-page articles containing written quotes grew, as did the average number of quotes per article. At the same time, the median size of quotes shrunk. However, it is worth taking into account that the quality and quantity of quotes

has cultural and format-related variations (e.g., Kroon Lundell & Eriksson 2010; Kroon Lundell & Ekström 2010).

In audio-visually broadcasted quotes, the audience hears the interviewee's original voice and wording, although there are also technical means for editing this recording (Section 4.3). In written journalism, in contrast, the oral channel needs to be converted into a written one. In the conversion process, utterances are normally shifted from their original register to a more formal register. This holds true even in languages where there is a direct one-to-one relationship between spelling and sound (such as Finnish) and where special pronunciations can be mimicked in detail. For example *mä*, *mää*, *mnää* and *mie* are transcripts of dialectal variations for the Finnish standard language pronoun *minä* – 'I'. As Makkonen-Craig (1999) has shown, such phonological cues appear to be less used in written quotes than morphological, lexical, and syntactic cues. However, all in all, standard Finnish tends to serve as default variant even in quotes where vernacular features appear.

Despite these trends in number, length, and layout of quotes, some features of quoting seem to be stable: in terms of presence and the authority of narrative roles in media items, Western elite males are most often quoted at expense of women (Caldas-Coulthard 1993), minority ethnic groups (Banda and Mawadza 2015), immigrants (Alonso Belmonte et al. 2010), and economically challenged people such as the homeless (Schneider 2011). This biased practice continues today, as Artwick has demonstrated (2014) in her research on the gender-balance in the Twitter use of journalists. There, she argues that “despite the promise of diversity offered through Twitter” (ibid. 1112), this technology reconstructs and perpetuates dominant hegemonic structures.

4.2 The function of quotes

Quotes are intrinsically multi-functional. In this section, we distinguish between two sets of functions: On the one hand, quotes are used to attract audiences, on the other they are meant to add credibility.

Attracting audiences: Because quotes are visually distinctive elements and often mark some kind of a narrative shift in the storyline – e.g. from objective to subjective, from general to particular, from description to evaluation (Nylund 2003b: 849) – they animate the text and provide an airy reading/watching experience. Furthermore, quotes involving vernacular features are effective means for characterizing the quoted person – or leaving it for the audiences to draw their own conclusions. Vernacular features, together with deictic elements – like in the trumped-up line “*Hey dude, that’s my house over there.*” – can also create and intensify (the illusion of) a physical environment as well as the social relation between the interviewer and quoted person (e.g., Haapanen 2011; Rahtu 2016).

Adding credibility: Quotes suggest that they show ostensibly exactly what the person quoted has said. Additionally, by exploiting quotes attributed to, for example, experts or authorities, journalists can confirm the essence and newsworthiness of the issue under discussion and verify the facts and claims presented in the item (e.g., Bell 1991: 207–209; Ekström 2006; Nylund 2006b). Moreover, unique quotes are what differentiate one article from another – “it’s not your story unless you [as reporter] provide a fresh quote”, as Cotter (2010: 149) has quoted an experienced journalist’s comment.

In addition, quotes play a crucial role in the analysis of media as a part of public discourse. Media items are increasingly oriented towards establishing arenas for public discourse (Hallin 1992; Wagner 1977; Ekström 2006. See Eriksson 2011 for a discussion of change in news journalism, from mediating politicians’ quotes in 1978 to scrutinizing them in 2003). In other words, instead of “merely” mediating information to the

audience, media stakeholders actively select and define topical issues to be discussed and then create a public arena where the relevant societal forces can conduct their discussions. This point will be demonstrated in Example 1, where the editorial team of Téléjournal, a program by Télévision Suisse Romande, decided to discuss a potential smoking ban in Swiss restaurants. It was a topical issue especially because at the time GastroSuisse, the umbrella organization of Swiss Restaurateurs, was holding a media conference to present their ideas for legislation. The editorial team, together with the journalist assigned to the story, are shown to have identified the most relevant societal forces engaged in this issue as well as the key agents representing these forces. After identification, the agents were interviewed before the resulting news item was scripted, cut, and finally broadcasted.

Table 1. Example 1 (Perrin 2013)

Speaker	Visuals	Translated text (orig. in French)	Narrative role
Anchor	[insert picture 1.1 here]	GastroSuisse, the restaurateurs' umbrella organization wants pragmatic legislation about cigarettes. It agrees that public spaces are in principle non-smoking areas. But they also want exceptions: Smoking corners and even establishments reserved for smokers. Explanations by O(...) T(...) and C(...) S(...).	Opening (introduction of the topic)
Voiceover: Journalist	[insert picture 1.2 here]	In this restaurant the co-existence of smokers and non-smokers works rather well. The owner has found a very simple solution that for the moment satisfies everyone.	Transition
Quote: Restaurateur	[insert picture 1.3 here]	We have a smoker's room. It's right there. And another one that is just behind me, there to the right. And then, right here, it's non-smoking. So, let's say three-quarters of the restaurant is non-smoking, one quarter is for smokers.	People concerned
Voiceover: Journalist	[insert picture 1.4 here]	But the influence of anti-tobacco legislation in Italy and France is making itself felt.	Transition
		GastroSuisse thinks that a law will be imposed in our country. To the unsatisfying measures the association demands a special federal law. It foresees that a majority of the restaurant will become non-smoking although with several exceptions.	Expert (satisfied) (paraphrased by the journalist)
Quote: Representative of GastroSuisse	[insert picture 1.5 here]	One assumes, in principle, here too, that thirty percent of our clients are smokers. We do not have two classes of customers. It is the owner who should be able to decide whether the smokers still have their place.	Expert (satisfied)

Voiceover: Journalist	[insert picture 1.6 here]	In Bern, Mr. Anti-Tobacco welcomes the change but is not yet satisfied.	Transition
Quote: “Mr. Anti-Tobacco”	[insert picture 1.7 here]	The proposition still does not regulate the protection of employers and employees satisfactorily. So a solution still needs to be found.	Expert and legislator (unsatisfied)
Voiceover: Journalist	[insert picture 1.8 here]	So, strict legislation or not: Consumers have different opinions.	Transition
Quote: Client 1	[insert picture 1.9 here]	Me, I am a non-smoker but I think that what is happening in France nowadays, I think that it is a bit excessive and I would prefer things to happen in a more informal way and that everybody can chill out without necessarily having overly strict regulations.	People concerned (contra regulations)
Quote: Client 2	[insert picture 1.10 here]	I am happy if smoke is forbidden in restaurants. I find this very important because I think it is no longer a question of liberty but a question of health.	People concerned (pro regulations)
Voiceover: Journalist	[insert picture 1.11 here]	Lighting up one last cigarette in a restaurant. A gesture that might soon be punished by law.	Closing

As becomes clear from the transcript of the broadcasted news item, the storyline leans almost exclusively on quotes: All of the insightful and ideological material is presented in quotes, whereas the voiceover of the journalist merely creates transitions between them. The other typical narrative role for a journalist would be to act as a narrator who brings in indisputable facts as background information (Perrin 2015: 148–150), but in this example, the journalist preferred as diverse an array of narrative roles as possible within the strict time limit set for the news item. While gathering this data, in the cue-based retrospective verbal protocol conducted right after the production process, the journalist explained that providing such diversity was not easy. She explained that Mr. Anti-Tobacco (i.e. an expert in social and preventive medicine and a member of the Swiss parliament) “doesn’t speak very well” and therefore it was difficult to isolate a useful bit from his lengthy statements. Despite that difficulty, the journalist decided – against her superior’s suggestion to complete the item without this interview – to drop one of the three clients she originally had in her manuscript and instead incorporate a short quote from the expert on the justification that “the item is more complete when we have him in”.

As we saw in Example 1, the journalist and the media whom s/he represents are powerful stakeholders in selecting which voices and discourses are brought to the fore and which ones are muted. In other words, journalists quote people not only to clarify the interplay of societal forces, but also to intentionally arrange and control this interplay. For example, quoting can actively reflect and support the underlying ideology of the journalist and/or publisher, as the analysis of the selection of modes, speakers, and contents of quotes in two ideologically opposed Taiwan newspapers has demonstrated (Kuo 2007; see also Davis 1985; Roeh and Nir 1990; Satoh 2001; Tuchman 1978). By analysing the significance of quotes in this role of gatekeeper and moderator of public discourse, research has shown that direct quotes exert greater influence on readers’

perceptions of issues than indirect quotes and that readers tend to adopt the quoted position more than the paraphrased one (e.g., Gibson and Zillmann 1998).

To conclude so far, from the audience’s point of view quotes are discursive devices that repeat the original speaker’s utterances with minimum control enforced by media stakeholders. From the media stakeholder’s point of view, however, quotes are discursive devices that enable them to control public discourse while maintaining an ostensible impartiality. This means that in the use of quotes, objectivity and subjectivity clash. The clash is accentuated when research shifts its focus from the products to the process of recontextualization.

4.3 The process of quoting

The basic purpose of quoting is to exactly repeat original words and meanings. However, recent ethnographic research has revealed a more complex nature of the relationship between the gathering and the publishing of quotes.

First of all, one can argue that the concrete act of recontextualization is not actually the starting point of the quoting process because it is influenced by several antecedent tasks. For example, journalists together with their editorial teams, select the subject matter and its focus, which naturally affects the choice of sources and further quoting (e.g., Velthuis 2016). Especially in television and radio, the search for interviewees is a central and time-consuming part of production. It often includes several pre-interviews. A pre-interview is a process during which a journalist contacts prospective interviewees, listens to what they know, and assesses if they are capable of delivering compact and smooth quotes. Then, the interview conducted in front of the camera or microphone tends to repeat the selected pre-interview questions and answers, which reduces unexpected and/or incoherent communication. (Nylund 2011: 483.)

During the interviews for both broadcasted and written items, the journalist’s role of setting the agenda, steering the interaction, and eliciting certain answers in the interview is evident. However, recent research has revealed that the journalist’s power to influence the outcome is considerable. In terms of television news production, nowadays there are advanced techniques for editing the filmed answer in a video editing room where distracting pauses and expletives can be removed and even the order of utterances can be changed in a way that the audience does not notice (Kroon Lundell and Ekström 2010: 485). The most striking part of this practice might be the routinized removal of the journalist’s questions, which can change the meaning of the interviewee’s quoted answers. Ekström (2001) has analysed four strategies that involve the recontextualization of interview answers by removing the preceding question.

Table 2. Four recontextualization strategies in television political news (Ekström 2001)

Strategy	Description
1) The reporter’s voice reformulates the question which ostensibly elicited the answer.	An answer may present different kinds of acts. By replacing the original question with other text, the journalist can affect the answer’s character.
2) The reporter describes what the politician is feeling, thinking and/or doing when giving the answer.	Journalists precede the quote with a description of the politician’s frame of mind or activity at the time of the answer and then use the quote as an illustration of this description. On its own, the quoted utterance would hardly express the same character and behaviour.

3) Generalizations and simplifications	Generalization and simplification are key characteristics of news as a genre. The interview answers of politicians are fitted into simplified, schematic representations of reality.
4) Answers are put together to form an imaginary dialogue.	Altering the context in which an answer originally occurred by placing it directly after another answer constructs an imaginary dialogue or debate.

Exploited instances of these strategies can be seen in Example 1. There, all of the quotes are presented without the journalist’s original or reformulated questions (Strategy 1). However, notably, the “Mr. Anti-tobacco” quote is preceded by the journalist’s description of the interviewee’s feelings and the quotes from clients are placed in the context of an imaginary debate (Strategies 2 and 4). Finally, one can hardly handle any controversial issue extensively in a news item of 108 seconds (Strategy 3), especially when having to include five talking heads for dramaturgy and impartiality.

The four recontextualization strategies presented above also apply to written media contributions. However, compared to television interviews, the relationship between the interview conducted for a written article and the article based on it often seems to be more complex (e.g., Haapanen 2016a; 2016b). We argue that this is due to a kind of chicken and egg situation. Since editing written text is semiotically unlimited – that is to say that there are no material restrictions for modification – there is no need for strict formal requirements over the course of an interview. The journalistic interview therefore can be – and often is – quite unstructured, informal, and spontaneous. Then, discourse selected to be quoted from such an interview needs a lot of editing to meet the formal requirements of the written media item (that were presented in the subsection 3.1, “The structure of quotes”).

Drawing on the recordings of original journalistic interviews and the articles based on these interviews, Haapanen (2016a; in press a) has shown that there are rare instances in which the interview discourse has been recontextualized in the quote without changes in the linguistic form. Even then, due to the nature of the oral and written modalities, many aspects of spoken delivery cannot be reproduced in writing. It is far more common that the discourse is modified with deletions, insertions, and revisions, and that two or more stretches of discourse from different parts of an interview are merged into one quotation. In terms of meaning, the same heterogeneity applies: It is not unusual that quotations-to-be change their meaning in the process of recontextualization.

We will now illustrate these observations by comparing an article published in a Finnish business magazine with the preceding journalistic interview (Example 2). The article tells the career of a Chinese immigrant to Finland. Both the interview and the article were originally in Finnish. Square brackets between adjacent lines in row 5 denote the beginning of overlapping turns.

Table 3. Example 2 (orig. in Finnish, see Haapanen 2016b)

	Journalistic interview (transcript)	Published article (excerpt)
1	<p><i>The interviewee tells about her education, about which the journalist asks a follow-up question:</i> JO: Where did you study? <i>The interviewee answers in a verbose way and then verbally meanders to ponder the importance of language skills and local education for immigrants on her own</i></p>	

	<i>initiative, without any question from the journalist. This section takes about 1 min 50 sec.</i>	
2		In midsummer 1994, Wang’s life changed completely when she arrived to a deserted Helsinki with her husband.
3	IN: although I was so good (.) I can say that I was a diploma engineer and everything (.) education and career and (.) at the peak [of my career] in China that time JO: yeah	“In China I was a successful diploma engineer [orig. <i>diplomi-insinööri</i> , ‘Master of Science in Technology’],
4	IN: but when I came here I am (.) a zero (.)	here I was nothing.
5	JO: was [it a hard situation to [accept IN: [if you cannot- [yes yes it was JO: okay	It was hard to accept.”

As can be seen from the transcript, there were no initial questions to which the quoted answer would have been a response. In fact, the most recent question by the journalist (see row 1) was presented nearly two minutes earlier, afterwards the interviewee meanders from one topic to another. During this meandering the journalist presents only minor dialogue particles to let the interviewee continue her turn. Such a loosening from a strict question-answer structure is common for journalistic interviews conducted for written outputs and distinguishes them from interviews conducted for television (however, television “pre-interviews” as discussed above (Section 4.3) also might be more informal since they are not filmed).

The quotation and its surrounding co-text do not offer much in the way of clues regarding how the original discourse has progressed. The only thing that might raise slight suspicion on the word-for-word recontextualization of the original discourse is the fact that the quotation is written in a flawless standard language (here in English, originally in Finnish), even though Finnish is not the mother tongue of the interviewee. By examining behind the scenes, however, we will see that there are various deviations between the excerpt of the published article and the section of the journalistic interview it is based on.

In the interview, the section from which the quotation was later pulled is preceded by a mutual reflection on the importance of language skills and local education for immigrants (row 1). Hence, the rhetorical function of the to-be-quoted section (the left side of rows 3–5) can be perceived as an EXAMPLE for the preceding co-text (an answer for a hypothetical question like *can you give an example why these skills are important?*). However, in the article there is a paragraph leading to the quotation “In midsummer 1994, Wang’s life changed completely when she arrived to a deserted Helsinki with her husband” (row 2). This leading paragraph is a primary and obvious frame in which the reader will interpret the function of the quotation. Thus, the quotation that follows (the right side of rows 3–5) functions as an illustrative EXPLANATION for this “change” and answers a hypothetical question like *what does it mean that your life “changed completely”?* Thus, due to the new context, the function of the quoted discourse has changed.

Next, we will look at the quoted passage in detail. In terms of the intrinsic meaning of the quote (as distinct from its function or purpose in language use) the quote more or less paraphrases the stretch of the interview discussion on which it is based (the left vs. right side of rows 3–5). However, the exact wording is mainly new. Contrary to rows 3 and 4, the latter sentence of the quotation (the right side of row 5) is actually not based on the interviewee’s utterances at all (the left side of row 5). Instead, the sentence is modified after the journalist’s sympathetic question (*was it hard to accept?*), which prompted the interviewee to elaborate on the topic and which got an affirmative answer from the interviewee (*yes yes it was*). Without this cue, the interviewee might not have raised this issue of acceptance; when the journalist asked the question, she was

just about to begin her own new speaking turn (*if you cannot-*), which she then interrupted to answer the journalist’s question instead.

In addition to the particular modifications in form and meaning of the quote, a thorough change in terms of interaction has occurred. During the process of recontextualization, the interactive turn exchange between the journalist and the interviewee(s) is simplified in several respects – and sometimes totally concealed – in the article. This is conducted, above all, by obscuring the involvement and the influence that the journalist has had in the interaction of the original spoken discourse. Thus, the quote is presented as the interviewee’s unprompted and continuous speech, though in written form. This has seminal consequences for the interpretation of the quotations (Haapanen 2016b). Haapanen has named this typical aspect of recontextualization in written media *monologization*. Similar phenomena have been observed in audio-visually broadcasted media (e.g., Ekström 2001, Nylund 2006a).

In sum, quoting is by no means a straightforward process. Therefore, process-focused research has recently turned to address the practices that govern the intertextual chain from an interview to the article and its quotes. Haapanen (in press b) has designed a research framework to reconstruct journalistic decision-making related to quoting. Following Linell (1998), Haapanen has divided the recontextualization process into three functional phases: decontextualization, contextualization, and textualization. Using the method of stimulated recall, researchers can reconstruct the decision-making process along the three phases. For example, the journalist in Example 2 expressed that she selected (decontextualization) this particular stretch of discourse for quotation because “here the interviewee presents opinions and also emotional matters, which she was allowed to say herself in the story”. Then she moved (contextualization) this selected utterance into the article “so that the text proceeds smoothly” and modified the text (textualization), “because quotes should be in proper standard language – readable and smooth, not kinda clunky”. By coding and categorising the stimulated recall data according to principles of Grounded Theory, Haapanen (in press b) abstracted the following list of central quoting practices.

Table 4. Quoting practices in written journalism (Haapanen in press b)

Decontextualization. A journalist extracts selected stretches from the interview discourse.	
1 Constructing the persona of the interviewee	Journalists tend to quote utterances that show how an interviewee feels, speaks, and thinks – utterances that open a window into interviewees’ minds.
2 Disclaiming responsibility	Journalists quote utterances on subject matters that cannot be easily verified in order to protect themselves: Thus, they shift the responsibility for the factual content to the interviewee.
3 Adding plausibility to the article	A quote that is attributed to an expert-interviewee raises the plausibility and credibility of the facts covered in the article.
Contextualization. A journalist positions the selected stretches into the emerging article.	
4 Constructing the narration	Journalistic articles are independent text entities. Journalists place the quoted content in a way that best fits and contributes to the predetermined storyline and the overall dramaturgy of the article.
5 Pacing the structure	The quotes and their surrounding co-text need to alternate and complement each other in a smooth and natural way.
Textualization. A journalist modifies the linguistic form and meaning of the selected stretches by performing deletions, changes, and insertions in the quoted material.	
6 Standardising the linguistic form	Quotes are modified into standard language. This requires both deleting the gaps and breaks caused by the on-line nature of spoken language and clarifying clause structures that reflect the oral origin in their fragmental shape.

7 Including vernacular aspects	Deviations from universal standardization are acceptable as a flavour, but these deviations need to serve rhetoric functions in the storyline.
8 Clarifying the original message	Due to space and time limitations in mediatized public discourse as well as due to style preferences, modifications are made to clarify and condense the interviewee's original message.
9 Shaping the function of the quotation	Essentially, the modifications both in content and linguistic form are made so that the quotes fulfil their function in the (more or less predefined) storyline.

In sum, research has shown that journalists primarily aim at producing a good story with good quotes, not to quote verbatim in order to maintain the exact meaning of the original utterance (Haapanen in press b). Similar findings have also been made in regards to sound bite quoting in television news production. There, both the interviews as well as the editing of the raw film material are principally guided by the journalist's preliminary idea of what the emerging story should and could look like (Clayman 1995; Nylund 2003a; 2006a). Hallin (1992) has connected this practice with the decrease of television quotes and the emergence of modern news journalism. Put simply, in the 1960's journalists broadcasted what a politician had to say, whereas two decades later they exploited the words of politicians merely as raw material for storylines they had masterminded. The objectives of these masterminded media items in the making do not appear out of thin air, but derive from factors such as the publishers' ideological values and purposes, the needs and interests of the audience and, furthermore, the current societal context in which the publishing takes place (Haapanen in press a). Of course, once interviewees are aware of such practices, they are tempted to mastermind the interview, e.g. by providing easily quotable utterances where they want to be quoted and to be lengthy and dramaturgically unattractive where they prefer to remain unquoted (Rintel et al. 2016; Velthuis 2016).

Finally, Kroon Lundell and Ekström (2010) have opened an interesting new area of research by examining how quotes and quoting are integrated in every major aspect of television news production as well as in the presentation of news items. They propose that the "interview bite" – their term for a quote – operates on three levels. First, an interview bite is a format because it is literally used to describe short utterances from interviews. This format decides which journalistic options are possible and which are not. Second, an interview bite is a mental representation in that the reporters envision potential interview bites and from this decide who to approach as a potential interviewee. Third, once collected, the interview bite becomes an artefact, a concrete semiotic stretch that can be worked with in the editing studio with few restrictions regarding how it can be used.

Kroon Lundell and Ekström argue that these three dimensions of the interview bite interact and work collectively as powerful motivations for the choices made by the reporters throughout the news production process. Their conclusion challenges a monodirectional view in which the journalist's predefined preliminary idea of the emerging media item drives the process of quoting:

In interview bite-oriented journalism, utterances from interviews are not necessarily gathered exclusively, or even primarily, to fit into an evolving narrative. Rather, the storyline can equally be created from the interview bites available. This means that the outcome of the interview bite-gathering process decides the angle instead of the reverse. However, of course, it is also a two-way street where pre-conceived angles are reinforced, adjusted and discarded depending on the interview bites available. (Ibid. 488.)

This "two-way street" is exhibited in Example 1 discussing a potential smoking ban in Swiss restaurants. On the one hand, the editorial team first identified the key societal forces dealing with the issue and then interviewed representatives of these forces. On the other hand, the storyline emerged and evolved from the selected quotes.

5 CRITICAL ISSUES AND TOPICS

In the existing literature on quotes and quoting in the media, gaps are obvious: News journalism, especially the political, has attracted the main focus – but what about quoting in magazines and documentaries? The Internet has blurred national and lingual boundaries; how does this affect quoting? Journalists tend to be aware that they struggle between ideals and real-life constraints in their everyday work including quoting, but what about the interviewees and the audience? Furthermore, the field of media beyond journalism has remained largely unexplored.

Regardless of such white spots, the existing research does prove that the structure, function, and production of quotes varies greatly between domains, environments, and situations. To understand this variation, one must take into account the numerous contextual resources affecting the quoting process. The “lack of attention to the news production process is bound to generate weak hypotheses” (NewsTalk&Text Research Group 2011: 5–6). For example, the much cited insight that “the higher the status of the speaker, the more direct the presentation” (Davis 1985: 47) lives on (Bell 1991: 205; Satoh 2001; Dai and Xu 2014) although when scrutinized from data consisting of different stages of production and by innovative methods to reconstruct journalistic decision-making, this interplay appears to be much more complex (Haapanen in press a). What follows is that more empirically grounded research on quoting processes, in contrast to the prevalent product-focused perspective, is needed. This, in turn, calls for innovative, albeit laborious, methodology where the extended progression analysis (Perrin 2013) as a state-of-the-art combination of methods might be a good starting point for situational refinements.

To conclude, we recommend two perspectives for future research: narrowing and widening its focus. By narrowing it, specific features of quoting can be reconstructed, such as the key properties of quoting in a specific interviewee across media, of quoting in a specific media genre such as women’s magazines, of quoting as a practice within specific media production processes such as sub-editing (Vandendaele et al. 2015) and blogger-reader interaction (Gallagher 2015), or of quoting in interaction with linguistic practices such as argumentation (Smirnova 2012).

The opposite perspective widens the focus. Today’s convergent mediascape calls for an integrative description of quoting practices that reaches beyond the previous medium-focused approaches. This second perspective will be outlined in the next section.

6 FUTURE DIRECTIONS

In this section, we develop an integrative description of quoting in public discourse – transgressing mass and social media. As a theoretical starting point, our description reflects the Mediated Social Communication (MSC) approach. The MSC approach perceives mass communication as an interactional process. As such, the audience are not regarded as passive consumers, but as members of social groups that are involved in communication through their spokespeople and mediated by journalists operating as kinds of forum leaders (e.g. Fürst, Schönhagen and Bosshart 2015, drawing on key concepts of Wagner 1977). In other words, modern societies contain space for competing forces to publicly negotiate socially relevant topics in mass and social media.

On this foundation, and based on empirical research (e.g., Perrin 2013), we have defined the process of quoting in media to be the *purpose-oriented recontextualization of a stretch of prior discourse while marking it in an appropriate way as a quote*. Furthermore, we have conceptualized the recontextualization process as consisting of three sub-processes:

Topicalizing: Journalists on editorial teams decide to address a topical issue and identify the key societal forces pertaining to that issue. By doing so, they often draw on their knowledge about statements that have been presented in former public discourse. This means that quotes, or their mental representations, already play a key role at that early stage of news production, as research into editorial meetings has demonstrated.

Personalizing: Journalists identify agents as representatives of these social forces and include these agents on the virtual panel discussion of the emerging media item. Agents are often chosen based on journalists' previous experiences with them as well as on the basis of pre-interviews (Section 4.3). One of the decisive factors for their selection is the agent's capability of delivering good quotes.

Quoting: Journalists quote these agents to enhance credibility, characterize the quoted person, and attract the audience. Additionally, journalists can clarify the interplay of the societal forces that are represented in the media item through narrative roles such as "people concerned," "decision makers," as well as "experts for and against" the issue.

These three sub-processes seem to be a prerequisite for the publication of modern media contributions. This is to say that a proper contribution cannot merely present competing forces, but has to explicitly identify the key agents as well as embed some quotes from these agents. Therefore, quoting practices thoroughly influence mass media production processes.

With the emergence of social media, the concept of quoting has further evolved (Section 1). Social media contributions also often require the sub-processes of topicalizing, personalising and quoting, albeit hidden, maybe parallel and mostly in a non-collaborative way. However, research has suggested that quoting in social media also serves new kind of discursive functions. Social media users exploit media items and their quotes in order to socialize, display their staged identity, and connect to other social media users. In other words, through emergent forms of quoting that will be described below, "quoting has taken on a broader role, emphasizing phatic and sociocommunicative aspects in addition to argumentative and information needs [that are predominant in mass media and introduced in Section 4.2 of this chapter]" (Puschmann 2015: 36). We have named such processes *socio-quoting* and further divided this concept into two, namely *paradigmatic* and *syntagmatic* socio-quoting.

Paradigmatic socio-quoting: Through comment sections attached to corresponding media items, audiences can introduce their opinions on the issue(s). Their posts are in a paradigmatic relation to the quotes presented in media items. This means that, in their posts, the commenting audience appear in narrative roles that parallel those displayed in the item itself.

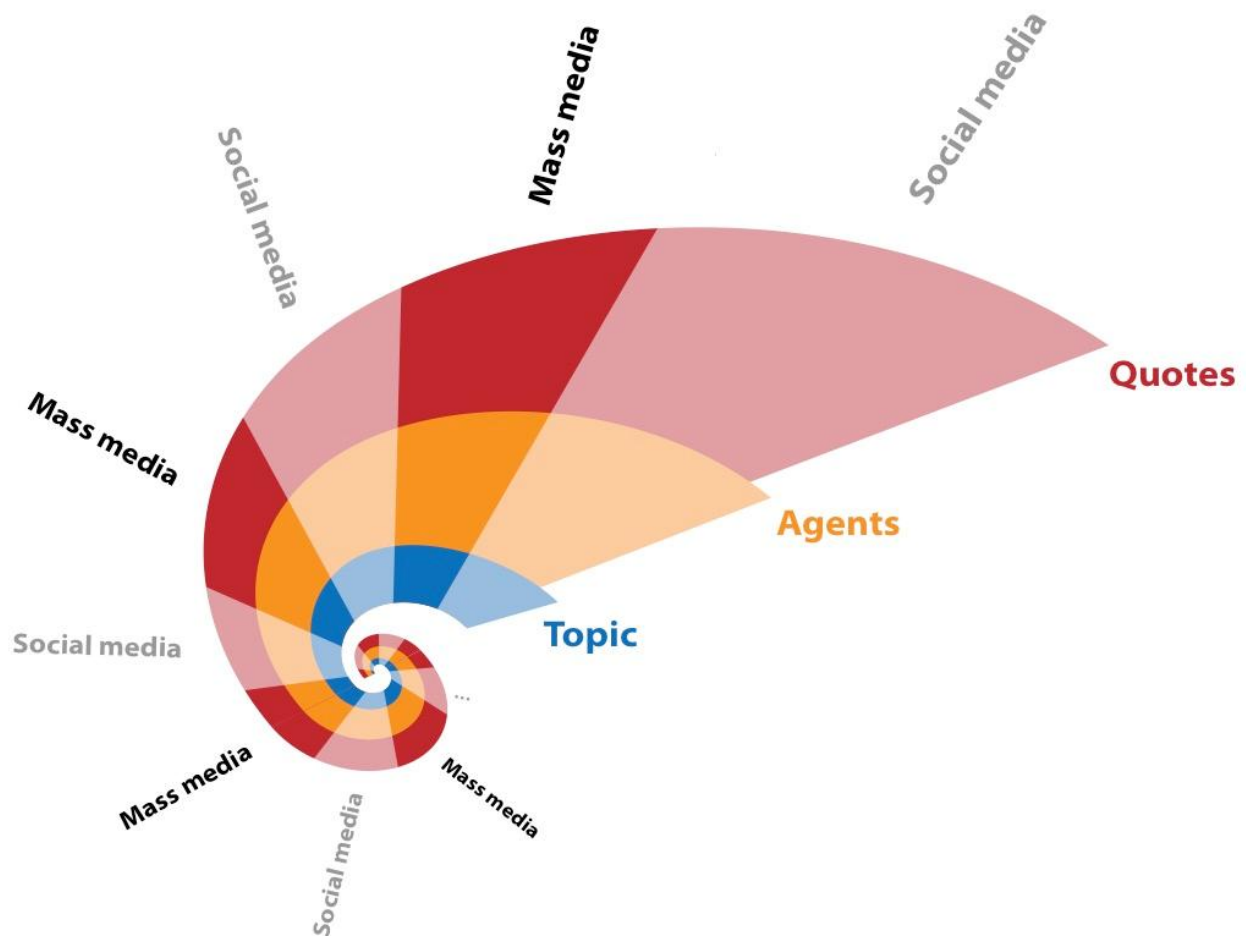
Syntagmatic socio-quoting: An audience can take up the media item in social media and discuss it. This is what basically used to occur during so called "coffee table conversations" but now without the restrictions of time and place.

Aside from journalists and mass media producers, laypeople can also have an effect on public discourse, for example, if societal forces and their key players become influenced by social media posts. This effect can then loop back to the mass media by initiating updates of existing media items or triggering a production process for additional items. At the same time, vital intertextuality between social and mass media could offer numerous advantages from the point of view of journalists' daily work. Based on our research review

(e.g., Fürst et al. 2015: 329 and its references), we argue that this potential is not yet fully exploited, although this conclusion might partly derive from methodological deficiencies in identifying and conceptualizing these novel practices.

All said, we assume that based on both process-oriented methods such as progression analysis, and integrative models such as the one explained above and illustrated in Figure 1, best practices and rich points of the mutual dynamics between traditional, journalistic quoting and socio-quoting can be identified. Furthermore, an integrative view on, and a comprehensive categorization of, quotes and quoting practices will allow researchers to better understand the role that the highly complex and co-adaptive dynamics of quoting plays in public discourse.

Figure 1. Cyclic nature of recontextualization of utterances in public discourse



7 CONCLUSION

Reporting what people have said by means of direct quoting is an essential practice in written as well as audio and audio-visually broadcasted media. In this chapter, we have examined mediallyinguistic research on quoting, especially in journalistic media.

In this domain, quotes are distinctive elements that add credibility to the story and at the same time enhance vividness, thus attracting the audience. Readers, listeners, and viewers are put directly in touch with the interviewee. From the audience's point of view, quotes are thought of as reproductions of what has been originally uttered in the interview. However, when exploring below the surface, the conflicting nature of quotes appears.

Ethnographic research has shown that journalists primarily want to produce a good story with good quotes rather than quoting their sources verbatim or leaving material unedited. By doing so, they mastermind the process of quoting when they select, recontextualize and reformulate their source's statements. However, the Internet 2.0 has transgressed such mass-media based perceptions of quoting by allowing for the development of some new ways to quote, such as posting comments and sharing links and thus loosening the traditional media's exclusive role as the gatekeeper of public discourse.

To summarize, quotes play a key role in both storytelling and storyselling especially because they appear to be word-for-word, or at least meaning-for-meaning, testimonies. In reality, however, quotes are selected and adjusted by gatekeepers, be it mass or social media. Thus, a clash between objectivity and subjectivity emerges when closely investigating the phenomenon of quoting, making quoting a rich point of public discourse. Investigating quoting practices takes researchers to an exciting dive in the mixed waters of public discourse in mass and social media.

FURTHER READING

M. Ekström, Å. Kroon and M. Nylund (eds), 2006, News from the Interview Society, Göteborg: Nordicom.

Haapanen, L., in press a. Directly from interview to quotations? Quoting practices in written journalism. In R. Laury, M. Etelämäki and E. Couper-Kuhlen, eds. Combining clauses and actions in social interaction. Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura.

These two contributions offer a visit "behind the scenes" of quoting in written journalism and television news. Their lists of references also lead the reader to the central literature of the subject matter.

Kroon Lundell, Å. and Ekström, M, 2010. "Interview bites" in television news production and presentation. Journalism Practice 4(4): 476–91.

This article demonstrates that quotes and quoting are integrated in every major aspect of the news production process as well as in the presentation of news items.

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