PROJECTION IN NEWS DISCOURSE: SPEECH RESPONSIBILITY AND ATTITUDE

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ABSTRACT

In this paper I attempt to tackle the problem of allocating the strategy of directness and indirectness of discourse in newswriting. In news writing the reporter represents her/his own views through a number of strategic devices many of which have to do with grammatical structures such as projection of speech and thought. (Halliday 1985; Martin 1992). Several issues are involved here like factual and non factual utterances, as well as direct quotation and indirect report. I provide several examples of news writing about the Chechnya war published in a very short span of time. The news writers are committed not only to the truth of the events but also to the correct interpretation of the meanings reported and the words quoted.

1. INTRODUCTION

Grammar is a potential resource for making meaning, and as such it can be modelled as sets of possibilities. They are formalized through the notion of linguistic system. Choosing a particular feature of the system of a language means what it does in contrast with the features that were not chosen but could in fact have been chosen. In that sense grammar is also a system of more likely or less likely choices, a system of probabilities therefore.[1]

In the ensuing discussion I shall focus upon the data provided by several newspaper articles written on a common topic, the War of Chechnya, during the few crucial days in early December before the Russian "final attack" on the capital Grozny. More specifically, my concern here is with a central issue in the use of language in media

discourse, namely, "projection" in M.A.K. Halliday's functional grammar. A frequent term of reference for this phenomenon among discourse analysts is "speech presentation" in the form of direct or indirect report and quotation.

Press news can broadly be seen as ephemeral texts about real ocurrences that are written rapidly to be eventually consumed rapidly by numerous readers at roughly the same hours of the same day. This fact is important enough in itself to make that type of discourse relevant and worth being discussed at some length. In one of the numerous monographies devoted to this topic, Allan Bell makes this remark:

> The language of news media is prominent and pervasive in society, and it is
> worth understanding how that language works, how it affects our perceptions
> of others and ourselves, how it is produced, how it is shaped by values.[2]

News is then a social and cultural product and a value. As a product, it undergoes quite an elaborated process starting by the selection of the news, standardly at any rate, by a human group lurking behind the well-publicized trade name of a particular Press Managing Board or an International News Agency. Then the news goes through a further process of technical manipulation and transformation when it is allocated in a particular space and with a particular typeset, headline etc. of the daily issue. Furthermore, once out in the street, the news becomes a trade product which competes in the market as many other industrial products with an exchange value. The manufacture of value laden news must take into account the varying relations of the news media and other local, national and international political organizations.

All these major contextual factors should be borne in mind when one attempts to critically assess all kinds of information contained in the news media. This does not mean, however, that our attitude should be one of claiming that we are bound to encounter everywhere subtle, deceiving "propaganda" messages aimed at brainwashing the defenseless reader. Rather, I agree with R. Fowler when he notes that far from envisaging a "conspiracy theory" where the cunning of the journalists is downright abusive, we can safely maintain that "the practices of news selection and presentation are habitual and conventional as much as they are deliberate and controlled."[3]

Socially constructed realities, to be sure, are understandable only in terms of ideological variation. Such variation, far from being text "givens" encoded in fixed formal structures —like direct or indirect speech in our particular case— should be best understood as "dynamic" meanings to be determined by readers. Quite in the same line as Fowler, G. Kress in his analysis of news reports put forward the thesis that mass media process materials so as "to integrate them into consistent ideological systems (...) in an attempt to shape and influence ideological structure of the society in which they act."[4] This critical position would sound to many as perhaps too radical, since it would be very difficult to convincingly prove, with the tools provided by the linguistic code, the presumed one-to-one correspondence between linguistic meaning and ideological system. Indeed Kress's further contention that "linguistic and ideological processes do not exist as distinct phenomena, they are undistinguishable, they are one and the same in substantial terms"[5] strikes me as an utter simplification of otherwise complex facts.

In conclusion, it seems reasonable to claim firstly that a functional approach to discourse which accounts for the interplay of language and context is the most rel-

evant one; secondly that the analysis of any kind of text of a natural language implies a dynamic activity concerned with language as an interactive process, not as a static product; thirdly that language is an interpenetration of system and process, the latter "coming into existence by virtue of a system's being present behind it," as Hjemslev aptly put it.

Now consider the following extract of a news report:

> (1) Last month Moscow announced that it planned to flatten Grozny and create a new capital in Chechnya's second city, Gudermes. But one general said the warning was not an ultimatum but "an act of humanity" aimed at avoiding civilian deaths.
>
> (*The Guardian Weekly*, 8.12.99)[6]

Two facts stand out before the eyes of the reader: first, the fact that the reporter harks back to the previous month when dealing with a current event that unfolds rapidly before our eyes; second, the subject of the projecting clauses are vague and unspecific (Moscow, a general). The "plan" in Moscow's mouth has the rhetorical force of serious "warning" for the victims, rather than the stressed "an act of humanity," which is the only remarkable piece of literal information the newsmaker remembers as relevant. Here only the gist of the whole antecedents is given in indirect report, whereas the "scare quotes" of direct style emphasize the literal, ironic remark which gives an accurate picture of the Russian's attitude at the time.

As a result, this view should enable us to see the meanings functionally realized by systems and processes not as frozen linguistic entities existing in an ideal world, but rather as meaningful resources used by real people in real situations. Hence the concept of function here should be understood in the broad, semiotic sense given to it by M.A.K. Halliday who argues:

> Function is used as an explanatory concept, following the general principle that if some phenomenon has evolved along certain lines is "because of" (i.e. in the context of) what it does. Here function becomes technicalised at a more abstract level, as a property of the linguistic system: above and beyond the extrinsic functions of this or that utterance event are the intrinsic, systemic functions shared by all utterances.[7]

In sum, in the analysis of texts some sort of flexible adjustment or compromise is actively sought after, and analogies based both on form and on function are likely to be involved. It follows then that the grammatical systems of a language evolved the way they are because they are resources for meaning which come to fulfill the communicative needs of the language users. It is in this sense that we should understand the general functional criteria where analyses must be concerned not solely in what language says but in what language does in human interaction. Under scrutiny here is the system of projection, which has developed its various forms through time so as to meet the speaker's demands of representing the speech attributed to others. It is then an obvious exponent of a second-order discourse inset within the first-order discourse, or otherwise put, a kind of embedding metalinguistic level.

2. NEWS DISCOURSE: KNOWLEDGE AND INFORMATION

In the following lines Halliday emphasizes what I believe is a moot point in his functional views of language:

> The language of daily life, which shapes our unconscious understanding of ourselves and our environment, is a language of complementarities, a rheomode —a dynamic open system (...) We behave as if the metaredundancy —the reali- zation of meanings in lexicogrammar— is simply an automatic coding. If asked to reflect on the wording, we focus on the lexical end of the spectrum: the words, or rather the lexical items —since this is the edge that is nearest the domain of conscious attention.[8]

It seems clear then that the grammatical area of meaning is the hardest to bring to conscious reflection, and the most slippery for the analyst when she wishes to make general statements about it, unless one has some training in dissecting the implicated meanings that lie at a deeper level —cryptotypic region, *pace* Whorf.[9]

Now the grammar of news discourse is a case in point. Media discourse, to be sure, is concerned with the expression of statements that, at least traditionally, are supposed to fall into a twofold division: either information or opinion. However, the grammatical paradigms of a language can hardly guarantee the sharpness of such split line of meaning optionalities at the user's disposal. As is generally acknowl- edged, the traditional neat discreteness of grammatical categories is, as suggested above, often blurred by overlapping bounderies.

As a consequence, we are in trouble when attempting to unsnarl the knot of news which consists of two widely separated things: a well knit body of statements of objective information on the one hand interspersed with statements of opinion and belief on the other. The discrete distinction often made between objective informa- tion and subjective opinion should be replaced by a relative scale of gradation where one can encounter, as we can observe below, overlapping cases that could relevantly be adscribed to one or the other categories. In fact the often invoked claim of "impartiality" in newsmaking is actually a myth that establishes an artificial unbridgeable rift between "periodismo de información y periodismo de opinión," according to Gutiérrez Palacio.[10]

E.P. Almeida argues that the factual/non-factual dichotomy often claimed for newspaper report is a too rough division which can actually be further subdivided into several subtypes:

> Within communication scholarship there are three different conceptions which have been used to construct theories of factuality: (1) the "fact" versus "opin- ion" dichotomy; (2) theories of ideology; and (3) the theory of assertions. These three notions generate different notions of what constitutes a factual statement, but they each pose problems for the study of factuality in newspaper language.[11]

Now an international bloody war like the Chechnya war is an actual event in the world, it is "a real fact," an observed reality, and therefore the expressions involved in

the information about it should also be factual statements. Such expressions are normally authored by the newswriter, unless s/he explicitly quotes someone else as source. However, we wish to argue here that far from being a mere collection of statements telling or describing "facts" interspersed with a few quoted or reported statements of "opinion," the factuality of newspaper discourse is a great deal more complex than it is generally assumed.

Straightforward as it may appear, coding both direct and indirect projection may arguably involve some degree of co-authorial responsibility. The news reports of a vast, complex "event" such as a war between two political rival groups —usually nations— is certainly not constructed by a monologic, objective voice. The sources of the language that spells out this reality is socially plural and contrastive in a dialogic way —to use Bakhtin's dialectical term. As Bakhtin himself claimed, the linguistic sign is essentially a social phenomenon and a shared construct that "cannot be separated from this social situation without relinquishing its nature as sign."[12]

Consider this Spanish extract from an authored article:

> (2) Primakov explicó que la destrucción de las bases de los wahabies de Shamil Basáyev es una necesidad porque son un foco de fanatismo islámico intolerable...Pero pide a los occidentales que no tomen medidas.
>
> (*El País*, 6.12.1999)[13]

Here Karol attempts to disclose Mr Primakov's ambiguous position: as the Russian non-communist opposition leader he is interested in the ceasefire and negotiations with Chechen nationalists and yet he opposes any intervention from abroad which would provide excuses to Russian isolationist, "megaserbist" government.

As I see it, the clause beginning with the verbal process "explicó" alludes to the causes of things/events. Here the explainer tries to convince us that the (f)actual bombardments of the bases are "una necesidad" in the circumstances. Note that the grammatical metaphor —the verbal noun "destrucción"— contributes also to the metaphorical impersonalization of "necesidad." This actually begs the question: a need for whom and why? The implication is that Primakov also agrees with the "megaserbist" government's use of weapons against the religious Islamic minority. But the "necesidad" cannot be proved but through subjective opinion. In fact, Primakov silences other arguments, namely that they happen to demand and defend independence from Russia and that violence is addressed to whole cities with thousands of refugees, rather than to a hit and run guerilla radical groups.

As a consequence, the reader would be put in a tight spot if he had to face the task of making a choice in order to determine factual from non factual utterances. A helpful landmark in news writing is the explicitation of sources. News or opinion sources become the validators of the truth of facts and as such they are often quoted by journalists. But it can be argued that quoting (*oratio recta*) and reporting (*oratio obliqua*) are not the discrete categories described in traditional school grammars that should yield clear cut meanings. To add a further complexity, the so called "weak facts" as well as subjective opinions come up under the structural clothing of declarative statements, which supposedly are not committed to the truth of the assertive utterance. Arguably, speech-act pragmatists, notably J.R. Searle, claim the function of asser-

tions is primarily "to commit the speaker to something's being the case, to the truth of the expressed proposition."[14] However, as suggested above, this has proved to be problematic since, at any rate, the notion of factuality is closely connected to our inclination judgment, ideology etc. —as readers— to believe that the speaker's statement expresses a full proposition describing an actual situation. The snag lies, it seems, in that the word "fact" suggesting an observable experience and the linguistic notion "factual statement" are often used interchangeably. Seen in a functional light, statements encode meanings which must be subjected to the acid test of context —from ideology to register. The context-bound nature of utterances makes it hard to pin down the notion of factuality of propositions. Note as an illustration the following extracts from our data:

(3) Yesterday, Mr Clinton responded to Mr Yeltsin's reference to the Russian nuclear arsenal by saying that he had an obligation to speak out on Chechnya because "I don't agree with what is going on there."

(*The Irish Times*, 10.December.99)[15]

Of course, Clinton "responded... by saying" is an assertion which describes an actual proven state of affairs (an objectively true statement), but the projected clause is a matter of personal opinion, though given in indirect speech. That he disagrees is upon his word, it is a causal assertion given in partial direct speech which is up to the reader to believe it or not. However, the clause dependent on the verbal process "saying," an interpersonal metaphor ("had an obligation" similarly non factual like "necesidad" in (2)) is, by contrast, in indirect speech. In fact there were mutual accusations and boastful challenges on the part of the two world leaders. Clinton was quoted at length by another newspaper in direct speech:

(4) Mr Clinton added, "You know, I didn't think he'd forgotten that America was a great power when he disagreed with what I did in Kosovo...Mr. Clinton concluded: Let's focus on what the country is doing Is it right or wrong? Will it work or not? What are the consequences? I don't agree with what's going on there. I think I have the obligation to say so."

(*The International Herald Tribune*, 10.12.99)[16]

As already suggested by Halliday, spoken language is characterised by grammatical intricacy. The present is a typical direct quotation where the mimetic language of orality is represented in writing. The embeddedness of the complex sentence relations takes us far into the field of non factuality.

A-projecting	B-projected		
	B-projected	C-projected	
		C-projected	D-projected
Mr C. added	I didn't think	he'd forgotten	that America was...

Fig. 1. Typical grammatical intricacy in reported speech

A further quotation will show our argument quite clearly:

> (5) Tony Blair warned that the world was watching. "The Russians know all eyes are upon them," he said. "An all-out attack on Grozny risks an appalling increase in civilian casualties."
>
> (*The Guardian Weekly*, 13.12.99)[17]

Blair's quoted utterances imply opinion rather than fact. Firstly because he issued statements with the rhetorical (illocutionary) force of a warning, so it is an unproven assertion —with the functional value of a proposal rather than a proposition; and secondly because it is a speculation about future events. However, some hypothesis like the present are based on probable and credible grounds. Part and parcel of "newspeak" is to pass as factual what is, at any event, non-factual. Authorship, as suggested by Almeida, is an important point to bear in mind, because "a statement can only be considered a factual statement if the speaker/writer accepts responsibility for it."[18] The conditions of a valid and acceptable hypothesis, a safe guide for a reporter, were stated by Welton in a classic work:

"Every hypothesis is an attempt to find meaning in observed phenomena, to constitute reality in a rational way. It follows that the fundamental condition of a valid hypothesis is that it should explain and give meaning to the facts of observation. And it can only do this if it may be considered as involving three subordinate conditions: (1) that the hypothesis be self-consistent, (2) that it furnish a basis for rigorous deductive inference of consequences, (3) that these inferred consequences be in agreement with reality."[19]

Now, since many statements are quoted paratactically by a newswriter and yet are authored by others, it is indeed difficult to know what exactly the newswriter's position is. What the newsmakers produce is often but bits and pieces of reported opinion, to some extent manipulated quoted material, so as to make it fit the Press managers' interests.

Nonfactual statements →
- assertional
  - hypotheticals
  - necessity
  - (reported)
- nonassertional
  - questions
  - imperatives
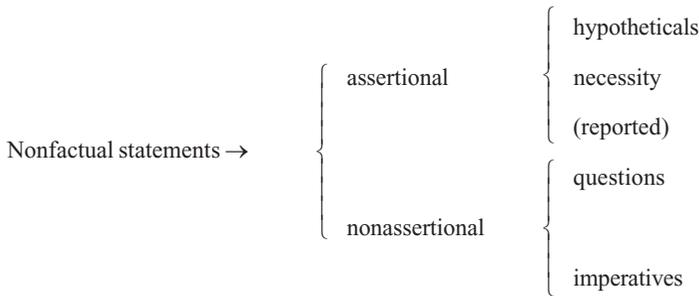
Fig. 2. Subtypes of nonfactual statements based on Almeida (1992)

3. REFERENCE, TRUTH AND PERSPECTIVE

Further, for W.O. Quine everything that we believe is a vast single interwoven web of propositions many of which are assigned true or false value.[20] Frequently, however, such values are originated not in our empirical observations of the world, but rather, in

their relation to other propositions. As a result, we can feel pressures of all kind towards revision of most superficial, temporary background assumptions while there remains life-long held beliefs about events in the world which are hard to uproot.

Quine's pragmatic ideas are of particular interest for us here, since for him the linguistic form per se would hardly tell us whether a particular statement is factual or true. Contrary to what is assumed by many semanticists, he claims in his "inextricability thesis" that it is in fact hard to draw a separating line between linguistic meaning and background knowledge. It can then be claimed that what constitutes "reality" must necessarily be filtered, as it were, through our own perceptions and assumptions of things and events. It is a value which is relative to our own perspective. Things and events as well as concepts and feelings should then be categorized as theory-laden phenomena, rather than as objective truths in the world with no regard for what people's perception and cognition of them are. It is in this sense that Stuart Hall quite rightly argues:

> In the referential approach, language was thought to be transparent to the truth of "reality itself" —merely transferring this original meaning to the receiver. The real world was both origine and warrant for the truth of any statement about it. But in the conventional or constructivist theory of language, reality came to be understood, instead, as the result or effect of how things had been signified.[21]

The adherents to an aprioristic, context-independent semantics do not problematize the notion of objective truth or factual statement. Also the adherents to a relativistic, context-independent semantics —mostly untenable interpretations of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis[22]— believe in an objective world determined by language (put in a metaphorical nutshell, they state that "language is not so much a garment as a prepared road or groove"). Neither position seem to fit a critical, ideological stand in relation to the value of statements. Surely, language as a social code has certain effects on our perception of reality, but this, as Halliday often suggests when commenting on Whorf's hypothesis, should not be carried to extreme spin-offs.

As the Glasgow University Media Group (1980) have noted, the way such terms like *terrorism, riot, black, freedom* and similar are used represent very specific visions of the world since they are not *a priori* concepts but spring from our social interpretation and our ideological categorizing of the world about us.[23]

In this connection, G. Orwell shows —in his well known essays, where he stated his influential views that thought is dependent on language— that the use politicians make of language is actually a misuse as much as an abuse. The writer is undoubtedly influenced by the atrocities that humankind had to go through during the 20th century. His pessimism and his anarchist allegiance led him to be overcritical with the role of "doubletalk" language, as he called it. In effect, the invisible threads of the network a word can establish are countless since they are the very nodes that contribute to shape our background knowledge, our vision of the world.

A long-established tradition in *Stylistics* conceives of words as having a certain kind of *aura*, widely known as "connotation," the effect of which can be metaphorically likened to the incessantly expanding waves caused by a stone thrown into a pond. Orwell was well aware of the changing *aura* of words: "Political language is

designed to make lies sound truthful and murder respectable, and to give an appearance of solidity to pure wind."[24] In today's newspaper writing one should pay due attention to "partial quotes," which often consists of just one single word, since the meaning of such word should be describing a situation through the particular world vision of the quotee.

Consider the following longer partial quotes dealing with the same affair which is "literally quoted" by several newspapers:

> (6) Yeltsin bluntly reminded President Clinton that Moscow has a vast nuclear arsenal and railed against the U.S. leader for trying to meddle in Russia's internal affairs. "He obviously must have forgotten for seconds, a minute or half a minute that Russia possesses a full arsenal of nuclear weapons."
>
> (*Los Angeles Times*, 10.12.99)[25]

> (7) Yeltsin said the U.S. president seemed to have forgotten "for a minute, for a second, for half a minute" that Russia had nuclear weapons.
>
> (*Reuters*, 10.12.99)[26]

> (8) US-Russian relations have cooled as President Yeltsin reminded President Clinton that he still has "a full arsenal of nuclear weapons."
>
> (*The Irish Times*, 10.12.99)[27]

> (9) Boris Yeltsin recordó a Bill Clinton que su pais sigue siendo una superpotencia atómica a la que hay que tratar con respeto. "No es conveniente que olvide ni un minuto ni medio segundo" señaló el líder del Kremlin, "que Rusia posee un arsenal completo de armas nucleares."
>
> (*El País*, 10.12.99)[28]

It seems as if the quoted material has been taken variously by the newswriters, although the same underlying proposition (ideational meaning) and its rhetorical force remains. The speech function in (6) is that of a statement which has been used with the force of "a threat" in the context, as the news writer quite rightly reports in the opening passage. In (7) and (8) the news makers give us only a partial quote of the threat (non verbal material). In (9) by contrast, the newspaper gives us explicit information of the threat.

The quoted material then need not always be realised by a clause with its central component, i.e by means of a verbal process. It may just as well be realised by an isolated element of an utterance which is highlighted by scarce quotes. This intentional prominence must be a citation form, a kind of echo word or phrase, and (non connotative) inverted commas originated as "held in the mind" by the newswriter. Thus the quoted material becomes an inserted fragment of a "direct speech" inside the environment of an indirect discourse. Consider the following extracts:

> (10) The statements released on Thursday stressed their mutual support for a "multipolar world" with no single pre-eminent power.
>
> (*The Herald Tribune*, 10.12.99)[29]

(11) Rusia —añadió el presidente estadounidense— tiene un "objetivo legítimo," acabar con los rebeldes chechenos.

(*La Vanguardia*, 10.12.99)[30]

(12) Some writers call the wars of the Nineties "postmodern." Others describe them as "degenerate," because of the way that national armies fighting for territorial gain have been eroded. Kaldor calls them "new wars."

(*The Guardian & Observer*, 12.12.99)[31]

The quotes seem to reflect some ideological or cultural views (often belonging to a group rather than to a single person) which are highlighted because they are either typical of some people or not shared by the writers or/and readers, or perhaps because they are only implied in their background knowledge. Irony, needless to say, is also common in this type of interpretative discourse as opposed to a descriptive discourse, as argued by some pragmaticians.[32]

4. THE READER'S CONSTRUCTION OF CHECHNYA WAR

Iniciated on 5th September 1999 the new war of Chechnya was about "to enter —in the words of Russian military men— a third phase" round 5th December. After having taken by force over half of the country, they are determined to expel the separatists from the capital, Grozny, by launching against them unending bomb attacks. The data collected from several international daily newspapers span a short period of seven days, from 6th December to 13th December. But, due to the limited scope of this paper, most references will be made here to day December 10th, when two important events came to the limelight of international scene. First, a sudden international wakening of consciousness about that bloody war in the mass media. Before, most written and spoken media from Spanish TV to BBC radio, all showed unusual lack of interest and commitment about the whole affair. And second, a sudden standstill, which was felt by most commentators as ominous, since a fierce battle for the conquest of Grozny was looming large.

The Russians, contrary to the previous attack on Chechnya in 1995 which ended in fiasco after a heavy loss of human life, were now causing a bloodshed, according to the nationalist Kazkav Press, among civilians, mostly women and children. As K.S. Karol, a French expert in Eastern Europe suggests, the Russian mighty weaponry is opposing the rebel guerrilla of a "new Afganistan," which means that the actual pirrhic battles they are waging now could prove, according to most commentators, a prelude to an unending guerrilla war in the future. The Russian Prime Minister, Vladimir Putin, has not enough room for manoeuvre in order to force an advantageous ceasefire. Ironically, Putin does not accept the present Chechnian elected President, Aslán Masjádov, while the powerful military generals have warned him that they will not make a stop at the face of an expected, retaliating victory. It seems that no one has a plan, let alone a budget, for what can happen in the aftermath. In 1996 the Russian army effectively walked away from garrisoning Chechnya, leaving the defence of Grozny to the interior ministry and a coterie of terrified, incompetent and corrupt local bureaucrats. It goes without saying that the rebels returned with ease.

On December 10th both presidents, Clinton and Yeltsin, made their own statements in an uneasy climate of mounting tension which for many were a reminder of the almost forgotten days of past "cold war" relationships.

In the meantime, statements of several other political leaders focusing on this war were issued in the international Press. It is my purpose here to concentrate on some of these projected (quoted and reported) statements, their alleged reproductive faithfulness and their likely manipulation by written media news makers.

5. PROJECTION IN NEWS: QUOTE VS REPORT

Put in simple terms, the news projection about an event can consist of two things: "Descriptions of events —what has happened, is happening or may happen— and descriptions of talk —what people have said (or sometimes haven't said) in connection with what has happened, is happening or may happen."[33]

According to Halliday[34] the basic pattern of projection would include two dimensions: taxis and semantic process. Thus,

PROJECTING PROCESS	TAXIS	
	parataxis 1 2	hypotaxis α β
verbal	wording 1 "2	
mental		meaning α 'β

Fig. 3. Halliday's subtypes of projection

Projection then can be defined as a kind of *metadiscourse*, i.e language representing the use of language. At the clause level, it means that we have two clauses: a projecting clause and a projected one. A necessary condition for that is the existence of a "projecting verb," like *say, tell, think, know, believe*, etc. The main function of the projecting clause is that of a frame where the projected one is inserted. The function of the projected clause, by contrast, represents itself a representation, which accounts for our consideration of it as a metalinguistic phenomenon. In Halliday's terms, it can be a "meaning" if it is processed only once, but "wording" if it is processed twice:

a) She thought it was raining
b) She said: "It's raining"

If the formal distinction seems striking, no less so does the semantic one: whereas the former is a first-level experience, a cognitive metaphenomenon, the latter represents a second-level experience, a verbal metaphenomenon. "A wording is, as it were, twice cooked" in Halliday's apt words.

In sum, the projecting clause is either a verbal or mental process, whereas the projected one can belong to all types of semantic representation. Punctuation is often a useful guide to access to the correct interpretation of projection, although

there are borderline cases where ambiguity inevitably settles in. Moreover, one of the virtues of a systemic study of grammatical features is that it accounts for patterns of co-selection of such features available in the system, which results in unmarked versus marked combinations of probabilities.[35] Thus, parataxis is unmarkedly co-selected with verbal choices whereas hypotaxis is done so with mental choices. Our data actually reveal the skew in categories just mentioned with slightly higher frequency of indirect report (hypotaxis) over direct quote (parataxis). Also note that there is a high percentage of what I term, for lack of a better term, "blend-taxis," which would include all those forms which stand midway between direct and indirect style or lack some of the features of any of them. They are sometimes loosely referred to as "free style," a denomination that I find misfitting.

As is expected from the nature of news, which depend on the spoken word in communication rather than on thinking, the most usual type of process by far is that of verbal or locution verbs.

$$
\text{projection} \rightarrow
\begin{cases}
\rightarrow
\begin{cases}
\text{parataxis .33} \\
\text{blend-taxis .19} \\
\text{hypotaxis .48}
\end{cases} \\[2em]
\rightarrow
\begin{cases}
\text{verbal .94} \\
\text{mental .6}
\end{cases}
\end{cases}
$$
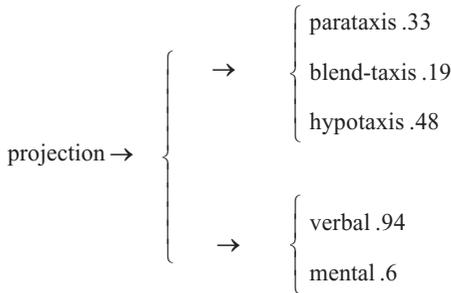
Fig. 4. Projection frequency percentage in 10 newspapers

Furthermore, various types of quoting and reporting (in the Figure, parataxis and hypotaxis) can be combined to form patterns that can be described in the data with illustrative examples:

(a) President Clinton, one of Mr Yeltsin's closest supporters, said: "Russia will pay a heavy price for those actions."

(b) "They have a goal. They want to make sure that Chechnya does not keep causing them problems" U.S. Secretary of State said to SBS.

(c) Unit Commander Gen. Malofeyev issued a stern admonition to village residents: "If even a single shot comes from any of your villages, I will retaliate."

(d) No one asked for weapons. "We just want you to make Russians stop the killing. Don't tell us. Just do it."

(e) Thousands of civilians in the besieged Chechen capital were told they had until the weekend to leave the city or die.

(f) I did not get the impression they were about to give up.

(g) The result, he says, "is as close as a conventional bomb comes to giving you the effects of a nuclear weapon."

(h) He said he was prepared to talk to Mr. Maskhadov, or even "to talk to the devil" to ensure that a safe passage was established for civilians.

> (i) Gorbachev plucked up courage to ask. "George, where is the world order you promised?" Where indeed? Few people are likely to start the new century with as much optimism as our great-grandparents started this one.

Now these model sentences, by far the most frequently used, follow the patterns:

> (a) is a paratactic quote with a VP of "verbal" meaning. By far the most common formula of direct quoting.
> (b) is a paratactic "inverted" quote with a VP of "verbal" meaning. This is also a frequent, conventional formula where the projecting clause comes at the end.
> (c) again a paratactic quote, but with a NP (grammatical metaphor) which bears a further "verbal" meaning of warning.
> (d) is a juxtaposed paratactic quote, since some feature of quotation is omitted.
> (e) is a hypotactic report with the usual verbal VP "tell."
> (f) is a hypotactic report with a VP of "cognition."
> (g) is a slight blend of hypotactic (the starting is report) and paratactic (the follow-up is a quote)
> (h) is a blend of both, as a whole quote clause is inserted into the report.
> (i) is again a blend of parts of quote inserted into an ambiguously formulated juxtaposing parataxis. But for the inverted commas, nobody would guess where the quote starts and ends.

Discourse reproduction has been traditionally referred to as direct style i.e. projection where the projected clause stands in paratactic (independent) relation with the projecting one; and, on the other hand, indirect style is the projection where the projected clause stands in hypotactic (dependent) relation to the projecting one. In our context, it seems clear that the importance of paratactic projection in political news can hardly be overrated, since quotes of politicians' words made by far-off, desk reporters serve the purpose of throwing light on current political events. Moreover, the citation of the news source, especially when the source are actual witnesses of events, is all important for the credibility of factual news. In this connection authorship is central for acceptance of responsibility. The news is more often than not signed by the reporter who has covered that information and who is both ethically and legally responsible for the content. But I will turn to this again later.

A further characteristic of projection worth commenting on is that which Quine refers to by concepts "transparent" and "opaque." Opacity is supposed to be mimetic, so it does not allow any change, not even co-referential terms, otherwise the statement is bound to face a total disruption of truth value. In turn, transparency of reference is an attribute of indirect speech, as it is easily accommodated to the speaker's perspective after screening out some elements. The old logic dichotomy has been taken by Halliday when he distinguishes between "meaning" and "wording" which is equivalent to the traditional terms "de re" (*oratio obliqua)* and "de dicto" (*oratio recta*). Now what this distinction implies is that whereas "quoted parataxis" is taken as an accurate reproduction of the verbal utterance, "reported hypotaxis" represents an integrated paraphrase. Needless to say, most scholars seem to have echoed and adhered to this arguable dichotomy.[36]

But the fact is that everyday data resist this too neat division. We may consider the extent to which the traditional thesis is followed or challenged by the data. The next batch of excerpts are from the same news as covered by different newspapers:

(13) El jefe del Estado ruso rechazó que Clinton pueda dictar al mundo cómo debe vivir y llegó a decir que "tal y como hemos convenido con el presidente Jian Zemin, somos nosotros los que vamos a dictar al mundo cómo hay que comportarse, y no él solo."
(*ABC*. 10.12.99)[37]

(14) Mr Yeltsin told Li Peng, "This (Mr Clinton's intervention) has not happenened in the past and it won't happen that he will dictate to people how to live."
(*The Times*, 10.12.99)[38]

(15) "It has never been the case, and it will never be the case that he can dictate how the whole world should work and play. No! And once again, no!"
(*L.A.Times,* 10.12.99)[39]

(16) Yeltsin dijo en presencia de Li Peng: "Ni antes ni nunca en el futuro se dará tal situación en la que sólo Clinton dicte al mundo entero como vivir, cómo trabajar o cómo divertirse."
(*El Diario Vasco*, 10.12.99)[40]

(17) "It has never been and never will be the case that he will dictate to the whole world how to live" Mr. Yeltsin said of Mr. Clinton. "A multipolar world —that is the basis for everything." "We will dictate to the world" he continued "Not him, not him alone."
(*The International Herald Tribune*, 10.12.99)[41]

(18) "Quiero decir a Clinton —declaró el presidente ruso— que no olvide en qué mundo vive. Nunca antes ni en el futuro él dictará al mundo cómo debe vivir. Nosotros —Rusia y China— dictaremos al mundo cómo vivir y no él."
(*La Vanguardia*, 10.12.99)[42]

(19) Según Jiang, Moscú y Pekín "son responsables de realizar esfuerzos para poner en marcha un mundo multipolar y mantener un equilibrio estratégico mundial," según [sic] la agencia Nueva China.
(*El País*, 10.12.99)[43]

Now references to the sources of this piece of news vary in the newspapers:

– In (13) no source reference is provided and part of the news is freely interpreted as hypotactic;
– In (14) all source reference is simply omitted in the whole report;

– In (15) there are references to the receivers, "a group of select reporters" so the news item was exclusive. Note here that there's no allusion in the rather more conversational direct quote to Russia's or China's partaking the same role of dictators to the world;

– Again in (16) there is no accurate source given: further down the Spanish newswriter makes this comment: "Yeltsin acordó ayer en Pekín colaborar con China para neutralizar el poder de EE.UU en uno de los más sonados exabruptos;"

– In (17) there is an exceptional source acknowledgement: "according to a translation by Reuters from Moscow, where Yeltsin's remarks were repeatedly shown on television." Now if so patent and public were the sources, why so much variation in the final transcription? It seems obvious that the reporters' inaccuracy is due to their different and not too trustworthy translators; apparently, Yeltsin said first "not him" and then "not him alone" in this version;

– In (18), however, the role of world dictators passes on to Russia and China; this Spanish (Catalonian) newspaper cites its sources at the beginning (Reuters, Afp y Efe) and no journalist actually signs the report;

– Lastly, in (19) we are given what is likely to be an evaluative interpretation of Jiangs's words, which actually sounds like a report projection but it is surprisingly quoted speech whose source —the Chinese agency— is also provided.

Based on the interference cline first proposed by Leech and Short, N. Fairclough[44] suggests that the categories of speech presentation in the Press can be seen in a "cline of mediation" which measures to what extent the reporter is committed to the reproduction of the actual words of her original source of information. According to this account, DD (direct discourse) is used as frequently as ID (indirect discourse), but he includes DD(S) (direct discourse (slipping)) which I call here "blend-taxis" where direct discourse partially slips (is inserted) into an indirect frame. We should hurry to note that this last type is a most interesting example of conflation of "voices," namely that of the reporter and that of the politician merged in the same linguistic structure.

M. Short[45] disagrees with Fairclough when the latter assigns the value of agreement on the part of the newswriter with her source (ID) and disagreement with it (DD), or half-and-half attitude in a free version (FID). In a more elaborated version, however, Fairclough[46] gives a convincing account of the ambiguities which are likely to crop up from the structure of projection. Contrary to Leech and Short's opinion, Fairclough interestingly concludes that he finds no meaning that could be attached to ID, being inherently ambivalent as to what it represents. In contrast, he mentions a range of various meanings for DD provided by its context of use.

Consider for instance our example (19), where the quoted discourse seems to us, in fact, an interpreted semi-literal paraphrasis, a strategy often adopted to make hypotactic report more credible and "literal."

In normal quotation the memory of the speaker is involved, of course. Nowadays this should not pose a technical problem if one takes into account modern recording devices, both visual and aural. However, we can come across remarkable contrastive variations in news writing.

In this regard it is worth mentioning again our examples (13-18) where direct discourse is supposed to be faithfully literal, but in fact it is not, in the light of the many variations undergone by the same message. Some of them, it seems apparent, even affect the referencial utterance (the full ideational meaning, as suggested by Leech and Short) thus betraying the news report dependence on second hand sources.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The language of news media has been frequently explored by linguists because it is undoubtedly the most widely read in modern society. It deserves then more detailed analyses —and a most suitable linguistic toolkit for the analyst to pursue that goal is undoubtedly Halliday's systemic functional grammar.

Projection, as we have seen, is an essential grammatical construction that is pervasive in news discourse. It is therefore a bearer of meaningful values at the disposal of news writers who happen to make profuse use of it.

Bearing this in mind, I was concerned here with pointing to some theoretical central issues involved in the discussion of mass media discourse: firstly, the identification of the factors involved in newsmaking as communicating information, like a semantic theory of factuality; secondly the presentation of the metadiscourse phenomenon of projection with its two modes, reporting and quoting, and lastly to put projection in connection with theories of truth and reference.

The examples from a small corpus I have presented throughout the paper consists of newspaper articles spanning only a few days in early December 1999. They all deal with the ongoing Chechnya war, where the credibility of the sources and authorial responsibility is put to test in the data offered from the daily news pages.

After some considerations of other analysts' opinion as published in academic papers and books, we can conclude that the main criteria that account for the meaning of paratactic and hypotactic representation of discourse are still in dispute. If we seek a clear one-to-one correspondence between form and function the structures can lead us to a blind alley at the face of actual data of news writing. This conclusion, I must add, agrees with numerous other analyses carried out with other systemic paradigms where slow changing, stubborn grammatical structures have to fit the facts of dynamically changing meanings in communication.

Nonetheless, there are general principles that discourse must follow so that we can draw unmarked, systematic features that describe represented discourse in a coherent way. The general principles that govern the system of projection, as outlined above, coincide with the ones proposed by Halliday in his grammar of text. The meaning of such system, however, decisively determined by its use in actual language in context, is elusive and somewhat slippery. What actually happens is that the borderline and overlapping cases can be seen as de-centred shifts in the possibilities offered by a system which is dynamic by nature and conveniently taylored to meet our communicative demands. In this respect Sternberg has argued:

> ...both speakers and their audiences display an awareness that reportive mimesis cannot be reduced to polar rule. Everything between the extremes of repre-

sentation is possible, much if not all of it permissible as well, in the appropriate context and to the appropriate end. Even lawyers will accept without murmur both a direct-speech paraphrase and an indirect-speech exactitude.[47]

This is in tune with the data I have brought along here, where we can notice that projection is a common cross-linguistic construction with similar elements involved.

Sternberg's thought is a good summary of the issues discussed here which are related to all the efforts made by many linguists who seek to "square things nicely" —the old sign form and function debate. The quest for meaning leads us to see that the transparent face of function can be best reflected in the opacity of form. In Martin's words:

> Conscious categories are easier to manipulate than unconscious ones...similarly specific categories are much more volatile than general ones. Changes in the lexicon are far more common and rapid than changes in morphology, with grammar lagging behind both of these.[48]

This is an outstanding overall principle which seems to be at work not only in avant-guard literary works but also in news discourse, as I hope to have shown.

Notes

[1] J.R. Martin, *English Text: System and Structure* (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1992). In this author one can find perhaps the best collection of descriptions of systems that gives an overall impression of a general functional grammar. However, projection is ironically almost absent from there. A better picture of projection appears in the also functionally oriented A. Downing and Ph. Locke, *A University Course in English Grammar* (London and New York: Prentice-Hall, 1992).

[2] Allan Bell, *The Language of News Media* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991) xiii.

[3] R. Fowler, *The Language of the News* (London: Routledge, 1991) 41.

[4] G. Kress, "Linguistic Processes Add the Mediation of "Reality: The Politics of Newspaper Language," *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 48 : 43-57.

[5] G. Kress, 45. Here Kress commits a gross overstatement of facts as he entertains the unsupported idea that ideological thought is quite straightforwardly manifested in the linguistic structures. However, quite another thing is to make serious attempt at determining ideological systems at work by conducting linguistic analyses.

[6] "Flee or Die, Chechens Warned" by Amelia Gentleman and Ian Traynor, (*The Guardian Weekly*, http://www.guardianunlimited co.uk/GWeekly/Story/0,3939,112199,00.html) 1-3.

[7] M.A.K. Halliday, "Foreword," *Functions of Language* 1.1 (1994): 2. In this introduction to the first issue of this periodical, Halliday tries to reconcile the linguist's commitment to form and function alike.

[8] M.A.K. Halliday, "Language and the Order of Nature," *The Linguistics of Writing.* Ed. N. Fabb et al. (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1987) 143.

[9] B. Lee Whorf, *Language, Thought and Reality* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT, 1964) This work was published posthumously on various accasions and is always quoted in connection with Sapir's relativistic hypothesis.

[10] J. Gutiérrez Palacio, *Periodismo de opinión* (Madrid: Paraninfo, 1984) 13-14.

[11] E.P. Almeida, "A Category System for the Analysis of Factuality in Newspaper Discourse," *Text* 12.2 (1992): 233-262.

[12] M. Bakhtin, *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language* (New York: Seminar, 1973) 37. The creation of meaning through use is his strong argument wielded against other prevailing mental approaches. For Bakhtin the meaning of a text is a matter of cooperation in the process of interaction (a dynamic movement involving both *homoglossia* —common language— and *heteroglossia* —different language). It is not transmitted then from the addresser to the addresee but is constructed between them as a kind of ideological bridge.

[13] "Lo que oculta la guerra" by K.S. Karol, (*El País*, 6.12.99), Internacional, 3-4.

[14] J.R. Searle, *Speech Acts* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1969) 12. From this point of view almost all newspaper statements are assertions. Factual statements are undertood as such by our recognition of the writer's intentions and attitude towards the actuality of the statement. So the onus is on the receiver's end of the message.

[15] "Angry Yeltsin Reminds US of Russia's Nuclear Power" from Joe Carroll, (*The Irish Times*, 10.12.99, http://www.ireland.com/newspaper/world/1999/1210/wor14.htm) 1-2.

[16] "Angry Yeltsin Rebuts Clinton on Chechnya" by Eric Eckholm, (*International Herald Tribune*, 10.12.99), Front page, 1.

[17] J.R. Martin 1.

[18] E.P. Almeida, "A Category System for the Analysis of Factuality in Newspaper Discourse," *Text* 12.2 (1992): 233-262.

[19] J. Welton, *A Manual of Logic.* Vol. II. (London: W.B. Clive, 1915), 95-6.

[20] W.O. Quine, *Word and Object* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT, 1960). What we may call contextual background knowledge are firmly rooted beliefs and assumptions that constitute the permanent social context closely related or inseparable from language as seen in a social functional perspective.

[21] S.Hall, "The Rediscovery of 'Ideology:' Return to the Repressed in Media Studies" Ed. M. Gurewitch et al. *Culture, Society, and the Media* (London: Methuen, 1982) 56-90.

[22] This is also the point maintained by M.L. Geis in *The Language of Politics* (New York: Springer-Verlag, 1987). The American ethnolinguist Edward Sapir passes as the main supporter of a long-lived relativistic theory (Humboldt is often pointed as the modern initiator of such a theory) where the formation of the conceptual categories is heavily dependent upon language categories.

[23] Glasgow University Media Group, *More Bad News* (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1980). This model of news analysis shares the social preocupations of functional linguists. The selection and elaboration of news are guided by reference to ideological stands.

[24] G. Orwell, "Politics and the English Language," *Inside the Whale and Other Essays* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1957) 157.

[25] "Yeltsin Reminds U.S. of Moscow's Nuclear Capability" by Richard C. Paddock and Anthony Kuhn, (http://www.latimes.com/news/nation/updates/la_yeltsin991210.htm, 10.12.99) 1-3.

[26] "Russian Shares End Off on Chechnya but Seen Steady" Reuters Agengy (http://live. av.com/scripts/editorial.dll?eeid=1207014&eetype=article&render=y, 10.12.99) 1-2.

[27] R. Fowler 2.

[28] "Yeltsin menciona el arsenal nuclear ruso como amenaza para frenar las críticas de Clinton" Luis Matías López, Moscú, (http://www.elpais.es/p/d/19991210/internac/yeltsin.htm, 10.12.99) 1-3.

[29] G. Kress 5.

[30] "Yeltsin responde a Clinton sobre Chechenia y le advierte que Rusia es una potencia nuclear," *Reuters, Afp, Efe,* (wysiwyg://24/http://www2.vanguardia.es/cgi-bin/hrp_ccl_new, 10.12.99) 1.

[31] "The Century That Murdered Peace" by Jonathan Steele, (wysiwyg://176/ http://www.newsunlimited.co...international/story/0,3879,113504,00.html).

[32] It is interesting, in particular, the proposals of analysis of ironical utterances made in D. Sperber and D. Wilson, *Relevance: Cognition and Communication* (Oxford: Blackwells, 1986).

[33] M.L. Geis, *The Language of Politics* (New York: Springer-Verlag, 1987) 78.

[34] M.A.K. Halliday, *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (London: Arnold, 1985). Chap.7 especially, 197-251, where he also includes several illustrative tables.

[35] C. Nesbitt & G. Plum, "Probabilities in a Systemic Functional Grammar: The Clause Complex in English," *New Developments in Systemic Linguistics,* Vol 2. Ed. R.P. Fawcett and D. Young, (London: Pinter Publisher 1988) 16-38.

[36] Among other well known exponents, A. Banfield, *Unspeakable Sentences: Narration and Representation in the Language of Fiction* (London: Routledge and K.Paul, 1982) Also a notable early work is G. Leech and M. Short, *Style in Fiction: A Linguistic Introduction to English Fictional Prose* (London: Longman, 1981), M. Short, "Speech Presentation: The Novel and the Press," W. Van Peer (ed.) *The Taming of the Text* (London & New York: Croom Helm, 1990), N. Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis* (London: Longman, 1995).

[37] "Yeltsin agita el fantasma nuclear como respuesta a las críticas sobre Chechenia" by Diego Merry del Val, Moscú (www.abc.es internacional, 10.12.99) 1-3.

[38] "China Winces as Yeltin Hits Out at the US" from Oliver August, Beijing, (www.sunday-times.co.uk...ws/pages/ti,/99/12/10) 1-3.

[39] Richard C. Paddock 1.

[40] "Yeltsin amenaza a Clinton con el arsenal nuclear si sigue la presión por Chechenia" by Rafael M. Ma_ueco, D.V. Moscú, (www.diariovasco.com101299/suscr/mundo02,10.12.99) 1-4.

[41] G. Kress 5.

[42] Reuters, Afp, Efe, 1.

[43] Luis Matías López 2.

[44] N. Fairclough, *Critical Discourse Analysis* (London: Longman, 1995). M. Short in the 1990 article quoted above criticizes Fairclough's too simplistic early position in an 1982 unpublished paper, where he seem to attach fixed values to the direct/indirect categories. However, Leech and Short's position can be criticized on the same count.

[45] M. Short, quoted in note (36), 61-81, 78.

[46] N. Fairclough, quoted in note (36), 56-57.

[47] M. Sternberg, "How Indirect Discourse Means," *Literary Pragmatics* Ed. R. Sell (London: Routledge, 1990) 62-93.

[48] J.R. Martin, "Grammatical Conspiracies in Tagalog: Family, Face and Fate," *Linguistics in a Systemic Perspective,* Ed. J.D. Benson, M.J. Cummings and W.S. Greaves (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1988) 245.