Evaluation and Stance in War News

A Linguistic Analysis of American, British and Italian Television News Reporting of the 2003 Iraqi War

EDITED BY

Louann Haarman & Linda Lombardo

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Acknowledgements

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Introduction

Louann Haarman and Linda Lombardo

This book addresses the expression of evaluation and stance in war news. It is the first extended comparative study of ongoing television news coverage of a global event – the first month of the Iraqi war, 2003 – carried out using the combined tools of corpus linguistics and discourse analysis. The cross-cultural data on which it is based comprise the evening flagship news programmes of the British and Italian public broadcasting channels BBC One and RAI Uno, and the American and Italian commercial channels CBS and Canale 5.

The data were collected in connection with an Italian inter-university research project, co-financed by the Italian University and Research Ministry,[1] titled 'Corpus and Discourse: a quantitative and qualitative linguistic analysis of political and media discourse on the conflict in Iraq in 2003' (CorDis). The project included a number of sub-projects involving analyses of parliamentary debates (Hansard and US Congressional Record transcripts); the Hutton Inquiry; White House press briefings; British and American quality and tabloid editorials and reports; and the first month of television coverage by the evening news broadcasts indicated above. In its conception and planning the CorDis project presumed an ideal sequence linking these various corpora of institutional and media discourse produced during the first year of the conflict – from legislative debate to the White House press briefings (an interface between policy and press), to coverage in press and on television, while the Hutton Inquiry represented a unique instance of institutional talk addressing important questions of press and government responsibility. Results of individual studies on the different sub-projects appear in Morley and Bayley (forthcoming).

One of the focal points of the CorDis project as a whole, and particularly of the television sub-project, was the question of evaluation, 'the expression of the speaker or writer's attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on, or feelings about the entities or propositions that he or she is talking about' (as defined by Thompson and Hunston 2000: 5). In other words, to what extent and in what manner did the data under consideration reveal implicitly or explicitly a stance with respect to the war? Clearly, in the studies dealing with parliamentary debate, the White House press briefings and the Hutton Inquiry – all adversarial contexts – the concern would be primarily with the manner, rather than the presence, of evaluation. In studies dealing with press reports and television news coverage, the concern is with both, that is, whether and how stance is expressed, for here the critical issue of

objectivity is called into question. This is a sensitive and complex issue in Western democracies, and susceptible to somewhat different interpretations. Not surprisingly, evaluation does occur in television news reports, both openly and 'covertly', as the analyses of the television data show. Indeed, the very rich cross-cultural nature of the data,[2] representing consolidated broadcasting providers with a high audience share in three countries in public and private sectors, permitted comparisons on several levels revealing a number of variables which impacted significantly on the evaluative nature of television coverage of the war.

This comparative perspective, which underlies all the chapters of this book, is an essential feature of the methodological approach of the CorDis project generally, and is supported as well by specific research on news 'frames' or schemata[3] involved in the cognitive processing of news. Such frames, Entman (1991: 7) argues,

> reside in the specific properties of the news narrative that encourage those perceiving and thinking about events to develop particular understandings of them. News frames are constructed from and embodied in the keywords, metaphors, concepts, symbols and visual images emphasized in a news narrative [...] Through repetition, placement, and reinforcing associations with each other, the words and images that comprise the frame render one basic interpretation more readily discernible, comprehensible and memorable than others.

The importance of the comparative perspective, Entman notes, lies in its ability to 'reveal the critical textual choices that framed the story but would otherwise remain submerged in an undifferentiated text'. Textual choices will seem natural and unremarkable unless confrontation with other sets of textual choices exposes their central role in helping to establish what Entman calls 'the literally "common sense" (i.e., widespread) interpretation of events' (1991: 6).

Some of the variables in the television data which emerged from the comparative analysis as influential in determining evaluative contexts were: the degree of national commitment to the war effort and the possible role of public opinion; access to embedded reporters; different broadcasting practices, technology and styles; and, in a broader perspective, different cultural presuppositions and expectations (i.e. different kinds of 'common sense') which appear to provide a sort of cultural frame or backdrop for the coverage. Indeed, the central role of television generally in reflecting and representing (or re-presenting) culture is widely recognized and has been well expressed by Corner (1999: 5–6), who regards television 'as having both a centrifugal and a centripetal action in relation to culture-at-large':

> It is centripetal in so far as it is an unprecedented device for pulling in and processing a very wide range of established and emerging cultural features [...]. It is centrifugal in so far as its own cultural reach and impact extend to the widest boundaries of the culture [...]. This repeated action of ingestion and projection provides television with an extraordinary cultural dynamics. Its scale of surveillance of what is going on in the culture is matched only by its own cultural penetration.

Television, he argues, is 'culturally constitutive, directly involved in the circulation of the meanings and values out of which a popular sense of politics and culture is made and which also then provides the interpretative resources for viewing' (*ibid.*).

The significance of this cultural component is confirmed by other recent research which has adopted a comparative perspective on coverage of the war. Ravi (2005: 45), for example, in an analysis of press reports in the US, the UK, Pakistan and India, found that his comparative data revealed – in addition to different professional practices of journalism – 'deeper influences [. . .] at work, among them national interests and concerns, the nature of elite opinion and debate over the war, and cultural and social practices'.[4] Dimitrova *et al.* reporting their content analysis of 246 international news websites downloaded on the first day of the war,[5] note that times of war and national crisis tend to favour media support of government, resulting in the 'domestication'[6] of news: 'translating the news for the local audience and framing it in ways targeted to the given culture' (2005: 24). Similarly, in a large-scale comparative content analysis aiming to 'assess and understand the dimensions of objectivity in the news during wartime', Aday *et al.* (2005: 3) found that 'the news norm of objectivity is defined in large part by culture and ideology more than events'.[7]

Indeed, the analyses reported here suggest that the strong links between the *culture* of the news providers and the *news* they produce, determine a cultural construction of the war revealing characteristic features which are both obviously and subtly retraceable to the individual cultures. This is also consistent with features of what Hallin and Mancini (2004) have identified as the Liberal Anglo-Saxon model of journalism in western Europe and North America, and the Polarized Pluralist model associated with Mediterranean countries of southern Europe. The models are based on systematic connections between media systems and political and economic systems, rooted in historical, economic and social circumstances. The Anglo-Saxon tradition of political neutrality thus evolved together with what Chalaby (1996) calls 'fact centred discursive practices' for gathering news and information in a reliable way, for example, through interviewing and reporting. This ideally involves presenting information in a more 'objective', 'neutral' way, without mixing 'facts' with personal opinions in the form of comments. In Mediterranean countries like Italy, however, where there is a tradition of partisan advocacy, the notion of politically neutral journalism is viewed as less plausible, and, in Hallin and Mancini's (2004: 131) words, 'facts are not seen as speaking for themselves, commentary is valued, and neutrality appears as inconsistency, naiveté, or opportunism.'[8]

In the following sections, the theoretical and analytical frameworks for the research reported in this volume are set out, and the methodology and corpus described. The final section reviews the organization of the book and gives an overview of the various chapters.

0.1 Theoretical and analytical framework

0.1.1 Background: on evaluation and stance

The research reported here brings to the qualitative analysis of our data insights from the work of several linguists, primarily: Hunston and Thompson in the field of evaluation; Iedema *et al.* on voice in media discourse; and Martin and White on

intersubjective positioning in media texts. These will be discussed briefly below. While the words 'evaluation' and 'stance' are used in all three approaches, each of them tends to have a preference for one term or the other. Thompson and Hunston (2000: 5) use predominantly 'evaluation', which (as mentioned above) they define as 'the broad cover term for the expression of the speaker or writer's attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on, or feelings about the entities or propositions that he or she is talking about.' They go on to specify that 'this attitude may relate to certainty or obligation or desirability or any of a number of other sets of values.'

Biber *et al.* (1999: 966–86) describe the same phenomenon in the following way: 'In addition to communicating propositional content, speakers and writers commonly express personal feelings, attitudes, value judgments, or assessments: that is, they express a "stance"'. Stance markers, or linguistic resources for expressing stance, are grouped by Biber *et al.* into three main semantic categories: epistemic (related to the status of the information in a proposition – its source, certainty or doubt); attitudinal (relating to personal attitudes or feelings); and style of speaking (presenting comments on the communication itself). On this basis, 'stance' can be seen as a competing term for 'evaluation'.

Operating within the framework of Halliday's (1994) systemic functional linguistics, Martin and White (2005: 40) speak of 'appraisal', which Martin (1995: 28) describes as involving 'resources for modalizing, amplifying, reacting emotionally (affect), judging morally (judgement) and evaluating aesthetically (appreciation)'. Martin and White (2005: 40) say that their appraisal approach is probably most closely related to the concept of stance developed by Biber and his colleagues. The category of engagement deals with devices for construing audience, alignment/ disalignment and solidarity with socially constituted communities, and Martin and White refer to this as 'intersubjective stance' (*ibid*: 97). Thus appraisal with its accompanying systems is similar to Hunston and Thompson's 'evaluation' and Biber *et al.*'s 'stance'.

With respect to the discourse of journalism, Iedema *et al.* (1994) postulate an objective/subjective continuum based on the extent to which language resources are used to signal interpretation, certainty/doubt and the presence of the speaker/ writer in the text. In their view, the 'objectivity' or 'subjectivity' of a text is construed by presenting information in certain ways and not in others, that is, as 'fact' versus opinion.

In addition to an overriding concern with what they have variously called 'evaluation', 'stance' or 'appraisal', the above researchers also have in common the conviction that all utterances are in some way evaluative, stanced or attitudinal. They agree with Stubbs (1996: 19) that 'whenever speakers (or writers) say anything, they encode their point of view towards it'. In other words, through the use of grammatical, lexical and paralinguistic devices, 'speakers/writers adopt a stance towards the value positions being referenced by the text and with respect to those they address' (Martin and White 2005: 92), whether that stance be in the 'objective' voice of the hard news reporter or the 'subjective' voice of the news analyst or commentator. In all of these approaches to evaluation, attribution of stance to the speaker/writer or to some third person can be overt (explicit) or covert (implicit). The importance of context and the interpersonal nature of evaluation are considered paramount.

While texts are held to be intrinsically ambiguous in that their interpretation depends to a large extent on the backgrounds and purposes of those who receive them, it is nevertheless recognized that they position and reposition hearers/readers in certain ways: 'Thus a text can be seen as providing for a set of possible meanings (though some will be significantly more favoured and hence more probable than others), with particular possibilities only instantiated by a given reading' (Martin and White 2005: 162–3).

0.1.2 Principal theoretical references

With this as the theoretical background to the terms 'evaluation' and 'stance' as they are used in the research reported here, it is useful to touch very briefly on the most relevant aspects of the three major theoretical areas referenced, beginning with Thompson and Hunston (2000) on evaluation. Thompson and Hunston give four different parameters along which evaluation can be enacted: good-bad, certainty, expectedness and importance. They point out that each single parameter is prioritized in different ways according to the particular text genre, which determines to some extent the degree of 'goodness' or 'badness' of the other three parameters. They stress that in the absence of obvious linguistic clues, evaluation may be accomplished by exploiting the audience's ability to recognize when something is 'good' or 'bad'. This can be construed, for example, in terms of goal achievement so that everything that happens is evaluated with reference to its movement towards an explicit or implicit goal, the social value of the goal deriving from the shared social or discourse community. Several chapters in this volume use Thompson and Hunston's work to look at a variety of indicators of explicit and implicit evaluation, with a view to identifying and examining the ways of constructing knowledge and relationships within the institutionalized discourse community of television news providers. Even evaluations of 'good' or 'bad' depend to a large extent on the news values underlying news discourse. Together with the perception of audience, these social and discursive practices determine the construction of an appropriate professional 'persona' in the three cultures under study.

The second major theoretical framework is that of Iedema *et al.*'s (1994) categorization of journalistic texts according to the way language is used and associated with three kinds of authorial voices, ranging from most objective to most subjective: 'reporter voice' and 'writer voice', the latter further subdivided into 'correspondent voice' and 'commentator voice'. With reference to authentic media texts within the Anglo-Saxon journalistic tradition, which assumes a clear separation between the reporting of 'facts' and editorializing, Iedema *et al.* are concerned with identifying the language features associated with the construal of 'objectivity' and 'subjectivity' in a text. They point out that, even in the impersonal voice of hard news reporting, there may be expressions of implicit judgement, which they call 'tokens of judgement', where the descriptions the speaker/writer constructs are presumed to be associated by hearers/readers with certain subjective responses. In the present study of television news, the degree of objectivity/subjectivity associated with the kind of voice heard in news providers' discourse, will be a useful tool for identifying evaluation and stance in the discourse of anchor/news presenter, correspondent and

embedded reporter, including the way in which they do or do not attribute what they say to other sources.

The third major theoretical framework is that of appraisal, with particular reference to resources of 'intersubjective stance' as outlined by Martin and White (2005). This theory is informed by Bakhtin's/Vološinov's notions of dialogism and heteroglossia under which

> all verbal communication, whether written or spoken, is 'dialogic' in that to speak or write is always to reveal the influence of, refer to, or to take up in some way, what has been said/written before, and simultaneously to anticipate the responses of actual, potential or imagined readers/listeners. (*ibid.*: 92)

In this dialogic perspective, of interest is the extent to which speakers/writers acknowledge prior speakers/writers and the ways in which they engage with them (i.e. whether they present themselves as agreeing or disagreeing, as being undecided or neutral with respect to them and their value positions), and also the signals speakers/writers provide about how they expect their hearers/readers to respond to the proposition and the value position it advances. The analytical tools provided by Martin and White's concept of engagement in intersubjective stance are used by several of the authors in this volume to identify and examine the explicit and implicit dialogue in the discourse of television news providers which serves to engage and convince viewers, by aligning and disaligning them in various ways with respect to the content of what is being said, and which sets up a preferred interpretation of events. Also of interest is the way in which certain events or positions are either treated as 'normal' or represented as 'problematic', and the extent to which alternative positions are entertained.

Against this immediate theoretical background, the next section describes in some detail the specific methodological approach used in the study of television news reported here, as well as the corpus itself and its preparation. It begins with a synthesis of the major approaches to media research as the general context for the present study.

0.2 Methodology

0.2.1 Background: Approaches to research on media

The media have been a prime site of inquiry for about 50 years, and, while some aspects of the early approaches to media study remain very much current even today, other competing or complementary methods emerge with advances in knowledge, social needs and/or technological tools.[9] Until very recently most work on the media has to a large extent followed one of two research traditions, one of which can be described as ideologically driven, the other as pragmatically oriented (in a sense which will be clarified). The first derives from work begun in the 1970s in Stuart Hall's Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in Birmingham. Focusing on the highly problematic nature of media communication, Hall and his collaborators aimed principally to uncover the ideological underpinnings

and impact of the media in contemporary society, and particularly the role of the media as an instrument of the dominant ideology (Hall 1980). This strong oppositional orientation to the interpretation of texts has been challenged,[10] but at the time cultural studies emerged, its radically different perspective questioned conventional assumptions about the way meaning is produced in media discourse. From the end of the 1970s, work by a series of linguists – first Fowler *et al.* (1979) – led to the development of *critical linguistics*, an analytical approach based on the conviction that all linguistic choices carry ideological meaning. These linguists drew partly on the important insights of Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar (1994), which posits a direct relationship between lexicogrammatical structures, thought and the real world. Their approach, essentially text-based, has evolved and converged with analytical frameworks of others working in discourse and media studies – principally Fairclough (e.g. 1989, 1992) and van Dijk (e.g. 1988, 1991) – in the broader analytical approach of *critical discourse analysis.*[11] Critical discourse analysis, like Hall's cultural studies school, is strongly influenced by the concern 'to discover [. . .] unequal relations of power which underlie ways of talking in a society and in particular to reveal the role of discourse in reproducing or challenging sociopolitical dominance' (Bell and Garrett 1998: 6). Fiske (1987) and Allan (1998), among many others, have drawn on this approach in the analysis of television news.

A second important orientation or perspective on media, particularly broadcast media, is represented by researchers adopting a variety of approaches which Scannell (1998: 257), contrasting these with the ideological orientations set out above, describes as 'pragmatic', in the sense of 'referring to any kind of study of broadcasting and the press that considers both the institutions and their output (programmes, newspapers) in the contexts in which and for which they exist'.[12] Such a classification would include, for example, important early work predominantly by sociologists (Gans 1966, Schlesinger 1978, Schudson 1978, Tuchman 1978, but also more recent cross-cultural studies such as Jensen 1998), as well as studies by media experts (Allan 1999, Allan and Zelizer 2004, Bell 1991, Zelizer and Allan 2002). Also qualifying as 'pragmatic' is research within a strong linguistic and/or discourse analytic framework,[13] such as analyses of the discourse of television news (Hartley 1982, Montgomery 2007, Tolson 2006), work on political interviews and talk shows using the tools of conversation analysis (e.g. Clayman 1992; Hutchby 2006; Lauerbach 2007; Thornborrow 2000, 2007) or discourse analysis (Liebes 2000; Blum Kulka *et al.* 2002; Haarman 1999a, 1999b), and studies focusing on genres and formats (Richardson and Meinhof 1999; Marriott 2000, 2007).

A third influential analytical approach whose use in media research is more recent derives directly from Systemic Functional Grammar and Appraisal systems. As mentioned in section 0.1.2 above, the principles of Halliday's theoretical model are applied to media discourse in Iedema *et al.* (1994), while White (1997, 2003) and Martin and White (2005) focus in particular on the construal of intersubjective stance and the positioning/alignment of writer/reader in media and a variety of discourse types, with findings which are particularly pertinent for the present research. The approach is often used in the analysis of political discourse (e.g. Bevitori 2007; Butt *et al.* 2004; Miller 2004, 2007).

0.2.2 *The present research*

Aspects of these orientations are to varying degrees recognizable in several of the analyses produced in this volume. The analytical approach adopted here, however, draws principally on another, rapidly developing research paradigm, corpus-assisted discourse studies (CADS). While the research orientations described briefly above conventionally involve detailed work on a small number of texts, CADS combines quantitative methods of interrogation of more extended electronic corpora, with the close reading and subjective, qualitative methods typical of classic discourse analysis. The advantages of combining quantitative and qualitative research methodologies, especially in the social sciences, are widely acknowledged[14] and increasingly so in linguistic analysis where contextual features of the data are taken into account – be they social, political, cultural or textual/generic.[15] The basis for the methodological approach was laid by Hardt-Mautner (1995) in a seminal article; subsequent work by Stubbs (1996, 2001, 2006) and Partington (1998, 2004, 2006), among others, have established its considerable scope.

Put quite simply, the CADS methodology entails the application of standard software suites to the corpus in order to identify lexical and grammatical patterns through frequency counts, concordances, collocations, clusters and keywords.[16] These operations point the way to textual features which are then explored with conventional discourse analysis, critical discourse analysis or systemic functional linguistics methods of analysis,[17] preferably in a comparative perspective, either with similar or other *ad hoc* corpora, or with larger reference corpora. At various stages of analysis and to different purposes, for example, the television news corpora were compared with each other, to the CorDis corpus of British and American quality newspaper reports, to the CorDis corpus of newspaper editorials, to a general English corpus (the British National Corpus) and a general corpus of Italian newspapers.[18] Every such operation clarified through contrast – or lack of it – characteristic aspects of the corpora being investigated. Perhaps the key feature of the methodology and its heuristics, however, is a constant movement back and forth between data in the form of concordances, collocations and clusters on the one hand, and, on the other, the contextual information (i.e. the actual texts) retrievable by the software. Earlier research on the television corpora has drawn on both deductive and inductive approaches: the former, for example, confirming hypotheses about aspects of the live exchange between news presenter and reporter (Haarman 2004). The latter, data driven, studies are often suggested by findings emerging from the quantitative data in the first stage of analysis, for example, the unexpected presence in the BBC corpus of very high frequencies of first- and second-person pronouns investigated in Haarman (2008), or the high frequencies of negatives in the Canale 5 data leading Lombardo (this volume) to identify negation as an important site of evaluation. It is difficult, however, to separate the two approaches in CADS methodology, which is fundamentally characterized by a jockeying, shifting, manoeuvring between quantitative and qualitative aspects of the corpus. Because of the intuitive and serendipitous nature of the methodology, it is not uncommon for research questions to multiply as the analysis proceeds.

0.2.3 *The data*

The cross-cultural data which make up the four corpora under investigation consist of all war-related news in the programmes recorded for one month from the first day of the war, 20 March, until the end of the week following the so-called fall of Baghdad on 9 April. Although the corpora are small compared to the other sub-projects of the CorDis research, their numbers are not unusual for studies on specialized corpora which are mono-generic, mono-thematic and 'parallel', in the sense that each television corpus consisted in the channel's evening news programme, collected over the same period of time. The number of words in each corpus is given in Table 0.1.

The discrepancies in the total number of words for each broadcaster are due to several factors. BBC One was recorded daily, but recordings were available for CBS only on weekdays (Monday through Friday). In addition, only about 20 minutes of the 30-minute news programme on CBS were dedicated to news, the rest to advertising. RAI Uno was recorded daily but a few programmes are missing due to thunderstorms and faulty equipment, the bane of empirical television research. Also, whereas Canale 5 (Monday through Saturday) tended to dedicate all but a minimal part of the news programme to war coverage, RAI Uno continued to give a more significant amount of other national and international news.

The manageable size of the corpora makes it possible not only to read the texts through, but also to return easily to the data during application of the software in order to verify the meaning of patterns across contexts. Especially in the comparison of corpora which have different cultural bases, the possibility to develop a 'feel' for the text/corpus *as a whole* is of great assistance. In this regard, Bednarek (2006b: 8), with respect to her study of evaluation in a small corpus of British quality and popular newspapers, points out that:

> the phenomenon of evaluation can only be correctly understood, interpreted and analysed when looking at its context. On the one hand, linguistic means of evaluation are highly context dependent; on the other hand, analysing the discourse semantics of evaluation shows how evaluation extends like a wave over the text and lends a specific 'evaluative prosody' to it [. . .].

In order to facilitate the actual reading of the transcriptions and permit electronic retrieval and quantification of selected aspects of the news programmes, it was necessary to devise a system of coding to indicate segments of the format, and manually insert these 'tags'. The development of this original coding system

Table 0.1 Number of words in each television corpus

BBC One	CBS	RAI Uno	Canale 5
103,806	59,045	89,808	108,330

clarified many aspects of news format and its 'grammar'.[19] The two main tagging types for the purposes of analysis were *speaker role* and *speech event*. Notation was also made of the *mode of delivery* of the verbal text. These tags were applied to the data during transcription for the first analyses with WordSmith 4.[20] Subsequently the tagged corpora were converted into four XML (eXtensible Mark-up Language) TEI (Text Encoding Initiative)-conformant corpora for use with Xaira software[21] for the purpose of comparison with the other CorDis corpora. We shall refer to the considerably more complex and complete XML annotation as 'mark-up'. Details of the conversion of the corpora and its use with Xaira software are explained in some detail in Chapter 1. The initial tags are set out in Table 0.2.

With regard to speaker roles, it was deemed essential to distinguish the institutional roles and status of the various journalists for a more precise attribution of expressions of evaluation and stance, hence tags indicating news presenter, correspondent, embedded reporter, war zone reporter, studio reporter or just plain reporter. As Montgomery (2007: 35) confirms, while the (just plain) reporter has 'no particular expertise [. . .] except his or her journalistic skills and competence', the correspondents (including embedded reporters in the present corpora) do have 'a specialised field of competence, or responsibility for a particular field'. The role of the news presenter, on the other hand, to deliver the news and 'manage the transitions into and out of reports', as well as to engage in live exchanges with journalists on location, entails a rather different set of what Montgomery (*ibid.*) calls 'discourse practices': for example, they may '"aver" or "assert" but rarely "comment" or "speculate", practices more appropriate to Correspondents or Editors'. It was assumed that these different roles, linguistic preferences and constraints, and the cline of authoritativeness that the roles reflected, would have some impact on the amount and kind of evaluation and interpretation which might be brought to the reports, hence the necessity to classify the speaker role. Similarly, it was necessary to distinguish utterances by non-newsworkers, whose comments were not bound by journalistic conventions of neutrality. In this regard three 'classes' of speakers were distinguished: 'legitimated' persons, for example, elected or nominated representatives of institutions, persons having a high professional or social status, for example, experts, celebrities, etc.; 'just plain folks' (Tuchman 1978: 123), or what we have termed *vox populi*, or Vox; and ordinary military personnel. High-ranking officers like generals were considered to be legitimated persons, speaking as representatives of their institution. Soldiers generally speak for themselves, though they *stand for* others of their kind. Finally, tagging the kind of speech event (introduction to a news item, report, live exchange, etc.) would permit the identification of recurrent sites of evaluation, or lack of it. The mode of delivery of newsworker utterances (to camera or in voiceover, in telephone or videophone links), was also tagged with a view to gathering data regarding the amount of visual coverage given to journalists themselves.[22]

Tagging proved to be more challenging than expected since, notwithstanding similarities in the major European news formats (Heinderyck 1993), significant differences emerged in some aspects of the formats which complicated the tagging operation. For example, on most Canale 5 programmes there were three news

Table 0.2 Initial tagging system for CorDis television corpus

Speaker role	NP	News presenter
	SR	Studio reporter
	ER	Embedded reporter
	WZ	War zone correspondent
	C	Correspondent (e.g. in Brussels, Washington)
	R	Reporter
	LP	Legitimated person (someone whose words are noteworthy because of his/her institutional, professional or social status, e.g. politician, high-ranking military officer, doctor, usually named)
	VOX	*Vox populi* (an ordinary person, member of public, usually not named)
	MIL	Military personnel (ordinary soldier)
Speech event	INTRO	NP introduction
	REP	Report
	EX	Live exchange between news presenter and correspondent
	Q	Reporter question
Mode of delivery	CAM	text spoken by newsworker to camera
	VO	text spoken by newsworker in voiceover
	TEL	text spoken by correspondent or embedded reporter in telephone link
	VTEL	text spoken by correspondent or embedded reporter in videophone link

presenters who interacted with each other and with the reporters; on BBC and
Canale 5 pre-recorded reports were occasionally inserted in live exchanges between
the news presenter and the correspondent; on RAI and Canale 5 pre-recorded
reports were aired in succession without the conventional news presenter introduc-
tion. The brief section of coded text which follows will give an idea of the role of
the tagging system both in facilitating an immediate visual contextualization of the
passage or news item, and in permitting retrieval of selected portions of the corpus
(e.g. by instructing the software to limit interrogation to a given speaker role or
speech event). The following is taken from the BBC tagged transcript of 21 March.
Names of speakers appear in square brackets; words which appear on the screen are
given in round brackets. Text between angle brackets is not read by the software; a
back slash indicates that the particular segment is terminated. (Speaking to camera
is the default mode for the news presenter; when the voiceover tag is not used, this
means the news presenter is speaking to camera.)

<NP INTRO> [Fiona Bruce]
Well the role of the RAF tornadoes involved in tonight's strikes on Baghdad was to
attack radar defence systems ahead of the main assault. The jets took off from the
Ali Al Salem airbase in northern Kuwait. Karen Allen watched them leave.
</NP INTRO>

<R REP>
<WZ REP>
<WZ VO> [Karen Allen] (Karen Allen, northern Kuwait)
They took off one after another after another. Tornadoes heading into Iraq. This
evening's activity here at Ali Al Salem stepped up again, a clear indication that the
air war has begun in earnest. [. . .] It's the start of a major offensive. The com-
mander on the ground warned it would be the biggest few days in the history of
Tornadoes.
</WZ VO>

<LP> [Simon Dobb] (Simon Dobb, RAF Detachment Commander)
Tonight we'll witness a, an attack on a quite massive scale, unprecedented, much
larger than we saw in for instance Desert Storm in 1991 and it will start the,
<UNCLEAR> the start of a few days of intensive operations.
</LP>

<WZ VO> [Karen Allen]
And this was the pilot moments before this landmark mission, wing commander
Derek Watson, who armed with anti-radar missiles on his jet, will have to try to
neutralize Iraqi ground-based air defences.
</WZ VO>

<MIL> [Derek Watson] (Wing Commander Derek Watson, RAF Pilot)
I'm fairly confident but I'm nervous about it, but till I've strapped the airplane to
my backside I'll be good to go and it really won't be a <UNCLEAR>
</MIL>

<WZ VO> [Karen Allen]
For everyone here, this is going to be a long and anxious night. The events of the coming days could shape the pace of the air campaign. Karen Allen, BBC News, at Ali Al Salem, in northern Iraq [*sic*].
</WZ VO>
</WZ REP>
</R REP>

In Table 0.3 the discourse represented by the various speaker roles is quantified in percentages for comparative purposes in order to illustrate important differences in the ways correspondence is constructed and the function of the news presenter or reporter/correspondent is conceived by the different broadcasters, in the different socio-cultural contexts. Some of these differences will be discussed in the various chapters. Emerging clearly from the table, for example, is the greater role of the news presenter in the commercial channels; the different weight given to embedded and war zone correspondents across the four corpora; greater referencing of legitimated persons by the public broadcasters; greater access to military personnel and ordinary persons on the English language channels, etc.[23]

Table 0.3 Percentage of words uttered according to speaker role

	BBC One	CBS	RAI Uno	Canale 5
NP/Anchor	21.7	32.1	14.8	28.3
C	21.6	19.8	19.6	20.0
ER	18.1	10.9	4.4	0
WZ	16.7	18.5	35.9	23.6
SR	7.0	0	0	0
R	2.2	2.6	14.9	25.6
LP	6.6	5.1	7.5	2.1
MIL	2.7	7.4	0.1	0.03
VOX	2.2	3.5	0.2	0.2
HD	1.2	0.1	2.6	0.2
Totals	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**

The next section aims to contextualize the 2003 war in Iraq, both at the international and at the national levels, with respect to the three countries/cultures under study.

0.3 The 2003 war on Iraq in three national contexts

Following the attacks on the Twin Towers in New York and on the Pentagon in Washington on 11 September 2001, US Republican President George W. Bush

proclaimed a 'War on Terror'. The first target in this war against a 'faceless enemy' was Afghanistan, reputed hiding place of Osama bin Laden, the self-professed leader of the al-Qaeda terrorist network held responsible for the attacks. The bombing of Afghanistan by American and British troops began on 7 October 2001, with the proclaimed objective of capturing bin Laden and destroying al-Qaeda. In September 2002, in the *National Security Strategy* document, the US government made reference to Iraq as a 'rogue state', defined as a country possessing weapons of mass destruction and having links to anti-US terrorist organizations, and declared that such countries constituted a threat to the freedom and the security of the US. The document stated that the US would act pre-emptively if necessary to prevent hostile acts by its adversaries.

Following the 1991 Gulf War, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 687 requiring Iraq to disarm itself of weapons of mass destruction. Although Saddam Hussein was known to have used chemical weapons against the Kurds and to have conducted research on biological warfare, UN inspectors failed to find evidence of the presence of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq immediately prior to the outbreak of the 2003 war. In the meantime, the US government named a number of countries that were prepared to be publicly associated with a possible US military action against Iraq, referring to these countries as 'the coalition of the willing'. On 19 March 2003, the US and Britain under Tony Blair's Labour government unilaterally declared war and invaded Iraq with coalition troops which were overwhelmingly from the US and Britain. The European Union was divided over the war; the UK actively participated, while France and Germany openly opposed the US action, and the Italian centre-right government under Premier Silvio Berlusconi supported it, without, however, sending troops.

There were significant differences in the national contexts of the three countries under study here at the outbreak of the war. In the US, public support for the war was strong, with surveys showing that the attack on Iraq was viewed by some members of the American public as reducing the likelihood of future terrorist attacks against themselves and their families. Public opinion in Britain remained deeply divided, with the majority opposing the war unless legitimated by a United Nations resolution. In Italy too, public opinion was consistently against the war, and the centre-left opposition cited Article 11 of the 1948 Italian Constitution which repudiates war as a means of resolving international controversies, and accused the government of violating the Constitution by allowing American military to fly from Italian bases to launch attacks on targets in Iraq.

Another important consideration concerns differences in the culture of news broadcasting in the US, the UK and Italy, and how these differences are reflected in the way the four broadcasters under analysis reported the war. In the US, where most broadcasting is commercial, the three traditional national commercial networks – ABC, CBS and NBC – along with the 24-hour news channel CNN, all competed for the same mass audience from a declared stance of political neutrality, while Fox News, on the network owned by Rupert Murdoch, catered for more conservative viewers.[24] Prime-time news programmes at the time of the Iraq war were headed by the so-called Big Three anchors, who enjoyed enormous prestige

and spoke to viewers with what has been called 'the voice of God' authority. This was certainly true of Dan Rather on CBS.

In Britain and in Italy, on the other hand, public television has a strong tradition but with very dissimilar practices in the two countries.[25] The British Broadcasting Corporation is characterized by a detachment from political control and is run by broadcasting professionals, which accounts for its reputation as an impartial and independent broadcaster. Radiotelevisione Italiana (RAI), on the other hand, has a system of power sharing (*lottizzazione)* in force in an attempt to ensure that all major political parties participate in the management of public television. Managerial appointments within RAI thus follow the principle of proportional representation. News programmes on the RAI channels are supposed to reflect the positions of the entire spectrum of Italian political parties. This can be seen from the typical format of Italian public television news, which is to introduce or summarize events and then to present the comments of representatives of the various political parties. The role of the journalist is circumscribed in a system which is fairly closely controlled by the political parties. The personal characteristics of news presenters are generally very understated, and they typically have none of the significance for the television audience which anchors have for the American public.

The relatively recent commercialization of Italian television news is changing the traditional scene, however. Mediaset, which includes Canale 5, Italia 1 and Rete 4, owned by media magnate Silvio Berlusconi, is considered to be on a par with the state-owned national broadcaster RAI in terms of audience, although it has the lion's share of the advertising market. Commercialization brings with it a different style of journalism with a greater focus on narrative, drama and entertainment, and there is a shift towards personalization and the tendency to privilege the point of view, experience and perspective of the ordinary citizen (a tendency well understood by the Director of Canale 5's television news Enrico Mentana, who is said to have billed his programme as 'the news programme of/for the viewers, not the institutions' – '*il giornale dei telespettatori e non di palazzo*'). It should be said that although Canale 5 is part of the Berlusconi-owned Mediaset Group, its news coverage during the war was far from rubberstamping the government's line. On the contrary, TG5 (the name of the television news programme) had a reputation for independent journalism, to a large extent in the person of its *direttore.*

What follows is a time-line of some of the major events in the first month of war reporting by the four broadcasters, mention of which will be found in the data:

20 March – Massive bombing of Baghdad begins ('Shock and Awe' Campaign)
23 March – Capture of US soldiers by Iraqis
26 March – First Baghdad market bombing
27 March – Release of pictures of British soldiers 'executed' by Iraqis
28 March – Second Baghdad market bombing
29 March – Suicide car bomb attack at US army roadblock
31 March – Civilians victims of shooting at US checkpoint
 1 April – Civilians victims of coalition bombing at Hilla
 2 April – Jessica Lynch 'rescue' from Iraqi hospital

   4 April – Saddam Hussein appears in the streets of Baghdad
   6 April – Worst 'friendly fire' incidents
   8 April – American tank fires on Palestine Hotel killing journalists
   9 April – 'Fall of Baghdad': toppling of Saddam's statue in Paradise Square
  10 April – Dramatic increase in looting, lynching and disorders involving Iraqi
              civilians

Within 3 weeks of the start of the war, coalition troops had captured Baghdad
(9 April) and by 1 May President Bush had declared an end to major combat
operations in Iraq, but at the time of writing, 5 years later, the conflict is still far
from over. Although Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein was accused by the Bush
administration of harbouring weapons of mass destruction and of having ties with
the al-Qaeda network and with other anti-US terrorists, these charges were never
successfully proved and later disappeared from official rhetoric about the causes
of the war.

   The next and final section focuses on the order of chapters in this volume
and their contents, and attempts to give an idea of the flow of the research and the
different but complementary aspects of the data under analysis by the various
members of the research team.

0.4 Organization of the book and overview of the chapters

The book begins with an explanation of the XML mark-up system which was
used for the television news corpus as a specific text genre within the framework of
the larger CorDis research project. It goes on to report studies carried out by the
various components of the television news research team, which cover the discourse
of the major speaker roles, that is, those of the key newsworkers (news presenters,
embedded reporters and correspondents), as well as the speech events (introduc-
ing, reporting, live exchange) in which they were engaged. There is a chapter
specifically devoted to the visual aspects of war reporting, and another focused on
attribution to other sources by news presenters and reporters. Quantitative
approaches are typically the starting point for then delving further into a more
detailed and context-related linguistic analysis of selected aspects of the discourse
under study.

   The first chapter, 'Mark-up and the narrative structure of television news',
by Anna Marchi and Marco Venuti, addresses the function of mark-up in a television
news corpus and the particular importance of annotation for television discourse.
Mark-up not only contains meta-textual information about the corpus, but it also
gives access to meta-linguistic information, telling part of the parallel story of the
visuals and permitting us to recuperate multimodality (non-verbal data), which are
of course essential characteristics of the television news genre. The categories
used indicate what type of event is occurring (introduction/report/exchange),
its visual syntax (on camera vs voiceover) and the agents/roles involved (e.g.
newsreader, reporter, legitimated person). In this sense it reflects a deep grammar
of television news, and the categories (elements) and relevant characteristics

(attributes) of this grammar represent a good compromise between what was relevant in terms of the level of delicacy of the categories and of what was possible in terms of resources. The authors argue that a homogeneously encoded corpus, which can be interrogated using specific software (Xaira and WordSmith) is a precious resource for research, both because such a tool enhances reliability and favours reusability, making the data easily retrievable, and because it gives access to a whole set of information that would otherwise be lost. Marchi and Venuti provide several examples of interrogation of the corpora with Xaira.

In Chapter 2, 'The news presenter as socio-cultural construct', Linda Lombardo uses the CADS approach characteristic of the research reported in this volume to look at the discourse of the television anchor/news presenter across both languages and all three cultures – American, British and Italian. Anchor/news presenter discourse is a key site for analysing stance and evaluation, since the language the anchor/news presenter uses will determine the kind of 'persona' or professional personality which is projected for the programme as a whole, one that is appropriate to a given socio-cultural context. Against the background of Hallin and Mancini's models of journalism and the Anglo-American notion of 'objectivity' based on the separation of news from opinion, it was expected that the language used by the anchor in the CBS corpus and the news presenter in the BBC corpus would be different from that of their counterparts in a Mediterranean country like Italy where commentary is valued, and this is borne out, particularly with respect to the explicitly negative evaluation of (the) war which emerges in the Canale 5 corpus.

It was also hypothesized that the way in which public or commercial television is conceived within the specific national context at the time of the war will make a difference in the way this role is structured on the four channels. Indeed, the findings point to a very different concept of public television: in Britain, as a public service with a watchdog function in challenging official sources and probing for information on behalf of the television audience; in Italy, as an institution which is considered to be a public service and thus politically neutral, attempting to represent conflicting political positions on important issues, principally by accessing key political actors directly, in order to include the entire nationwide viewing public. In American commercial television the tendency towards infotainment and tabloidization can be seen in the personalization of the war by the anchor in CBS when reporting 'human interest' stories or in the closing segment of the programme.

And finally, the national context at the time of war, the direct involvement of the US and Britain and the large anti-war element among the Italian public, was expected to have an impact on the language used. The results of the analysis of CBS show an anchor who is cautious in reporting negative war news and patriotic in his presentation of human interest stories related to Americans involved in the war effort, with what seems to be a somewhat reluctant 'hidden' agenda in collusion with the 'Information Management' strategies of the US military. On the other hand, news presenters in Canale 5 systematically mix 'fact' and 'interpretation' and construct a culturally shared master narrative of war as inevitably cruel and unjust. The news presenter in RAI Uno, while principally a vehicle for the representation

of different and conflicting voices, seems nonetheless to construe a subtle alignment with the Italian government's pro-war position. The news presenter in BBC makes a consistently greater effort towards 'neutrality' in introducing and reporting both war news and stories related to the reactions of ordinary people, typically in support of the troops; in live exchanges with correspondents s/he adopts an investigative journalism style which not infrequently challenges official sources and criticizes certain coalition actions in an approach which construes issues and events as problematic.

In the first part of the study, frequency lists, keyword checks and concordances are used to compare and contrast lexical and discourse patterns related to the institutional roles and status of the various newsworkers, the relationship with the television audience, and the representation of protagonists and the war itself. Following up on the comparatively high frequency of negation in Canale 5, the second part of the study analyses representative samples of negation across the networks as a prime site for the expression of evaluation and intersubjective stance. Analytical tools are taken mainly from Iedema *et al.*'s (1994) categorization of journalistic texts with its corresponding set of authorial voices and Martin and White's (2005) work on intersubjective stance in media texts on the one hand, and from Thompson and Hunston's (2000) definition of evaluation, specifically with regard to expressions of negativity, on the other. The audiences that are construed, the ways in which they are aligned or disaligned with the content of what is being said, and the relationship that is constructed with the anchor/news presenter show interesting differences across languages, cultures and broadcasters.

These differences are further explored in Chapter 3, 'The news presenter and the television audience: a comparative perspective of the use of *we* and *you*', by Laura Ferrarotti. Starting from the premise that speakers/writers' use of *we* and *you* forms are indicative of the way in which they conceptualize their audience and perceive their relationship with that audience and with their own discipline or profession, Ferrarotti begins with a review of the literature on the use of first- and second-person pronouns in a variety of text genres. She then goes on to identify in the four subcorpora examined by Lombardo all occurrences of *we* and *you* forms (in subject position) used by the anchor/news presenter, in particular those used in addressing the television audience. These forms are then categorized according to whether they can be considered inclusive, potentially inclusive, or clearly exclusive of the audience. Within each of the three categories, the verbs accompanying *we/you* forms in subject position are grouped (following Biber *et al.* 1999), predominantly with regard to whether they are activity, communication or mental verbs. It is hypothesized that the anchor/news presenter in the four corpora would orient their viewers in different ways through the use of these forms, as revealed by their frequency of use, their degree of inclusiveness and the function of the accompanying lexical verb, revealing significantly different patterns across languages and cultures.

Attention is paid to the extent to which the audience is 'present' in the text, also on the basis of the news presenter's decisions about what needs to be made explicit for that audience. The considerable differences that emerge point to very different perceptions of what the anchor/news presenter's role should be. The

different traditions and styles of journalism, according to the socio-cultural context and the type of network, are shown to affect the way in which the anchor/news presenter attempts to orient his or her audiences in the interpretation of news. In CBS the interaction signalled by *we* and *you* forms in anchor discourse tends to construe this audience as separate from the anchor, who provides information in a more detached way characteristic of a classical Anglo-Saxon reporting style. The only exception is their use in introducing or commenting 'soft news' stories or in the tabloid-like final segment, where they function to personalize the experience of war and align viewers with the anchor in expressing solidarity with the troops. In BBC, on the other hand, more than a third of *we* forms and all *you* forms are used by the news presenter to address a correspondent in a live exchange, the television audience being aligned with the news presenter in a role Goffman described as that of 'ratified observer'. In both the Italian corpora there is a greater use of *we* and *you* forms to address the television audience, a practice which constructs a closer relationship and consolidates a regular viewing public. The orderly and almost static pattern which emerges in RAI Uno is characteristic of a public broadcaster where the news presenter's role is primarily that of coordinating reports and accessing comments by others. In Canale 5 the relationship construed between news presenter and viewers recalls the didactic relationship of teacher-student in the classroom, complete with digressions, explanations and comments on the language being used.

The studies by Lombardo and Ferrarotti on the differences in the kind of professional persona which is created by the anchor/news presenter on each of the four channels are followed by chapters on the persona constructed by embedded reporters and war zone correspondents in the BBC and CBS corpora (Chapter 4) and differences in the final and highly evaluative segments of prepared reports by embeds and correspondents across all four broadcasters (Chapter 5). In Chapter 4, 'Wide angles and narrow views: the Iraq conflict in embed and other war zone reports', Caroline Clark looks at evaluative language in the discourse of reporters 'in theatre' in BBC and CBS, particularly in the light of the debate about reporter objectivity and the decision to assign reporters to coalition troops. Keeping in mind the journalists' creed that they should remain impartial and objective, the obvious question is whether embedded reporters' duty to seek the 'truth' is compatible with their physical position, that is, how they can balance their necessary trust in their host troops with the viewers' need for objective information. Using the more qualitative aspects of CADS methodology, Clark addresses this issue through an analysis of patterns of evaluative language, and the construction of reporter stance and voice, and therefore the message to the audience, in the reports of embeds and war zone correspondents.

She focuses on the extent to which a 'neutral' stance is linguistically constructed in reporter voice style (Iedema *et al.* 1994; Martin and White 2005) and explores the possibility of a 'coded' message being emitted to some sectors of the audience. Indeed, Clark finds that linguistic patterns involving the reporting verb *say*, the mental processes *think* and *know*, and concessives/contrastives like *but*, along with other forms of implicit evaluation and linguistic signals of the speaker in the text, constitute a canonically acceptable way for a journalist to pitch a critical message to

that part of the audience which is not in favour of coalition intervention. She uses Hunston's (2000: 79) concept of a 'hypothetical debating partner' to identify that part of the audience which may feel reassured by concessions portraying the coalition in a favourable light, while another part, primed by previous and continuing readings, will feel that their anti-intervention views are reinforced by the negative evaluation which follows. Ways of flagging concession, such as *although* and *however*, also constitute a strategy for reporters to add greater or more accurate detail which is largely for the benefit of those questioning the merits of the intervention. A closer analysis of concordances with the supposedly 'neutral' reporting verb *say* suggests that the reporter's choice of attributing certain propositions to the coalition actually functions as a kind of distancing strategy which may signal to some parts of the audience that this information is the sole responsibility of coalition sources, thus calling it into question in some way. It also allows the reporter to qualify or counter the attributed proposition by following it with a contrastive *yet*, *still* or *but*. In concluding, Clark stresses the way in which the persona of the BBC and CBS embedded reporters and war zone correspondents which is created is one of a detached professional who reports both the 'good' and the 'bad' news in an apparently 'balanced' approach to reporting, in keeping with network guidelines and the general practices of Western journalism, though there may also be an underlying discourse which is highly evaluative.

In Chapter 5, 'Decoding codas: evaluation in reporter and correspondent news talk', Louann Haarman looks at the linguistic and discursive features of the final segment ('coda') of reporter and correspondent prepared, pre-recorded reports across languages and networks. A previous study by Haarman of this final segment in BBC showed it to be particularly dense in linguistic elements associated with evaluation and stance. In comparing each of the coda subcorpora in English with a reference corpus of British and American newspaper reports or editorials on the Iraq war, Haarman finds several linguistic features associated with evaluation which make the codas, especially the BBC codas, more similar to editorials than to reporting: for example, the frequent use of *will*, characteristic of projection and prediction; of *is/are* as evidence of a generalizing and assertive function; of contrastive pairs signalled by *but*, *although*, *though* and *however*, recalling Clark's findings on the evaluative force of concessives and the recurrent pattern 'positive p *but* negative p'; of *but* to flag conflicting expectations, an argumentative technique that assumes a common ground of shared values and culture, and recalls some of Lombardo's findings on negation.

The final segment is most frequently evaluative in the English language channels but there are also differences. The typical BBC coda, often somewhat ominous and rich in irony and allusion, shows a density of future tenses and modality, and makes frequent use of contrastive linkers and various rhetorical devices, showing some clear similarities with closing paragraphs of print editorials and comment articles. As for specific stylistic features, CBS final segments have some characteristics in common with the British codas, while the Italian data show a significantly different structure, tending to terminate abruptly with the statement of the news, without 'rounding off' the item with the 'well-turned phrase' typical of most BBC and some

CBS segments. A tentative explanation of some of the differences between the English language and the Italian language data is advanced.

Haarman's findings are consistent with those of Lombardo, Ferrarotti and Piazza regarding the anti-war stance assumed by Canale 5 news presenters and reporters as compared with a more 'controlled' approach taken by RAI Uno, also through the latter's greater attribution of information to sources. In the final segment in CBS there is more attribution than in BBC, where the correspondent tends to assert information in an authoritative voice. And while in CBS codas correspondents never question the war effort *per se*, in BBC codas an implicit negative stance towards the war is expressed, through carefully constructed, often allusive verbal texts as well as through intonation and the juxtaposition of verbal and visual texts.

In Chapter 6, '"If it wasn't rolling, it never happened": the role of visual elements in television news', Maxine Lipson focuses specifically on the role of visual elements in constructing meaning and in consolidating, contrasting or colouring viewers' understanding of the verbal text. She points out that just as grammatical patterning may construct many of our unconscious orientations to people and events reported, images and patterns of images construct meanings and patterns of meaning. Her study aims at identifying these patterns and the meanings they construct through a detailed analysis of the images of human participants in the war during specific periods of the recorded BBC and CBS data. The analysis of her data yields insights into the important role of camera techniques in the construction of meaning and, in particular, in the ideological representation of 'Us' and 'Them' and in the stereo-typing of gender. The study also raises the complex issue of possible conflicts of meanings resulting from discrepancies between visual and verbal texts.

Lipson reports the results of three different studies she has undertaken aimed at inventorying the kinds and frequency of images transmitted in television news coverage of the conflict. The first study, an observation of BBC on-location reports during the second week of the war, identifies machines as the most recurrent photographic subject and the main protagonists of the war, which has the effect of downplaying the role of human agency in combat. The second study is a detailed analysis of the images of the human participants in the war broadcast on both BBC and CBS with the entry of US troops into Baghdad, and includes a particular focus on the representation of gender. Using Martin's framework of appraisal systems (2000) for her analysis, Lipson finds that the images on both networks construe a positive evaluation of the coalition and Kurdish forces and a negative evaluation of the Iraqi fighters. Also with respect to ordinary Iraqis, the visual data reveal a 'strategy of polarization' (van Dijk 1998) which consists in the representa-tion of the Iraqis to a Western audience of viewers as the 'other', while images of women are consistently used to portray emotion.

In the final study, that of the images of the coalition forces in Iraq during the period 31 March to 4 April, the actions of the troops are coded according to Halliday's model for participants and processes. The patterns of images that emerge are similar on BBC and CBS, with *doing* (material Processes) the most recurrent visualization, although coalition soldiers are portrayed more frequently taking prisoners in BBC and more often caring for Iraqis in CBS. With regard to *saying*

(verbal Processes), coalition military are portrayed less talking to Iraqis and more to embedded reporters in CBS, and coalition soldiers are never represented talking to their families in BBC. There is some evidence, also from differences in camera angle, of greater personalization of the military on CBS. This reflects the findings by Lombardo and Ferrarotti of a tendency towards 'tabloidization' in parts of the war coverage on CBS, accompanied by an explicit association of US soldiers with heroic or altruistic qualities, while on BBC they are simply portrayed as professionals.

The analyses of patterns of images presented by Lipson demonstrate that, like verbal texts, visual texts play a role in constructing meaning in television news for a given audience of viewers, and that, as protagonists of the war, the British and the US networks show only minor differences in their visual representations of the two sides of the conflict and of the Western versus the Iraqi culture as a whole.

Chapter 7, 'News is reporting what was said: techniques and patterns of attribution', by Roberta Piazza, concludes the analysis of television news presented here with a predominantly qualitative investigation of the use of attribution as an expression of stance in the discourse of news presenters and reporters on the four channels. Piazza looks at patterns of attribution and specific strategies for reporting newsmakers' speech in a subcorpus of five days for each of the four broadcasters. Because of the nature of the investigation, she could rely less on purely quantitative data and concordances for initial insights, as she had to search for examples of attribution through close reading of the entire subcorpus. The core assumption under which she operates is that reported discourse is an evaluative practice involving a substantial cultural reconstruction of reality, and that speech which is relayed is appropriated by the person reporting it so that it becomes a vehicle for news presenters and reporters to express something of their own views towards the events they recount. Reported discourse is examined from a 'functional' perspective (Thompson 1996) that takes into account a number of lexical, textual-stylistic and intonational elements, and captures indirect and less evident expressions of stance in the journalists' discourse.

The study starts from a consideration of the choice of the sources credited or 'voices' reported, which is in itself an indication of stance. It then looks at the treatment of the subjects whose speech is reported and the way in which they are most frequently represented. The investigation of the reporting modalities on the four networks constitutes the central part of the chapter, which traces each one's preference for indirect versus direct discourse or for other forms, such as the use of actualities. The most frequently recurring reporting verbs on the four channels in the subcorpora and in the complete corpora are identified as a way, albeit partial, to trace the preference for neutral verbs in the reporting clauses for CBS versus the use of more evaluative verbs for the Italian Canale 5.

On the five days under study, Canale 5 is quantitatively more balanced in acknowledging various voices, while CBS predominantly represents the voice of the coalition, as does BBC although to a lesser extent. The presence of voices other than Iraq and the coalition is much more significant on the Italian channels, especially RAI Uno due to its emphasis on the national response to the war and on the so-called *dibattito politico*, the political debate between the government and the opposition. In addition to an attempt by Canale 5 news presenters and correspondents to allot

more space to Iraqi sources in their coverage of the war, a close analysis of some of the data reveals an effort to portray the actions and speech of Iraqis within their own cultural framework as well as a generic anti-war stance.

With regard to the different modalities of discourse representation, the Anglo-Saxon broadcasters rely more exclusively on modalities considered to be more 'objective' since the source is construed as external, while the Italian networks, particularly Canale 5, use to a greater extent modalities associated with greater 'subjectivity' as the source is internally construed. The fact that more information about the war from the direct protagonists is in English, and thus more immediately accessible to BBC and CBS, does not in itself account for the differences. In general, CBS and BBC reporters seem to resort less to the use of direct quotations which might have been extrapolated from speeches in English, suggesting the preference of journalism in the Anglo-Saxon tradition for direct documentation of discourse attribution via actuality. On the other hand, while RAI Uno frequently accesses the voices of important political players on the national scene, Canale 5 opts for a more interpretative rendition of events in line with a conception of the role of the journalist as commentator.

The results of the study confirm that techniques for attribution (i.e. the different modalities that a message can take) are a token of the expression of stance, and suggest that the various modalities of reported discourse on CBS, BBC, RAI and Canale 5 point to the cultural and professional differences in the way of doing journalism in the US, the UK and Italy. In this sense, the study complements Lombardo's and Ferrarotti's research on evaluation in news presenters' discourse and the work reported by Haarman and by Clark on evaluation in the discourse of reporters and correspondents. While Piazza's study does not presume to be conclusive, it does give evidence that an analysis of the patterns and modalities of the representation of other voices reveals speaker stance as well as different interpretations of the journalist's role for a given audience within a specific institutional and cultural model.

Taken together, the research presented here attempts to create a mosaic of the most significant linguistic (and visual) devices used to express evaluation and stance in television news reporting of the war in the countries and broadcasters under study. The comparative perspective reveals similarities and differences across languages and cultures, also with respect to the ways in which television news is constructed and war reporting is carried out. It is also a demonstration of the efficacy of combining the quantitative tools of corpus linguistics with the qualitative tools of discourse analysis in terms of providing greater insight into what is in effect an extremely complex linguistic phenomenon.

Notes

1. PRIN Research project 2004, protocol n. 2004105247.
2. The television subproject was the only one including Italian data.
3. Goffman (1974: 10–11), not with reference to the media, defines frames as 'the principles of organization which govern events – at least social ones – and

our subjective involvement in them'. The concept of frame in news generally and television news in particular has been widely discussed in the literature with reference to a number of different interpretative keys and schema. Tuchman (1978: 193) speaks of frames as 'enabling' journalists in their work (e.g. 'editors sought a frame that would enable them to state that there was no heat in a tenement owned by a slum landlord'). The news frame, she argues, both organizes and is 'part and parcel' of everyday reality. More recently, Cottle and Rai (2006: 169) have developed and tested an 'analytical schema of communicative frames' in a study of broadcast news in six countries (Australia, USA, UK, India, Singapore, South Africa), defining such frames as 'analytical categories designed to capture recurring and evident communicative structures of television news' and which routinely structure 'the presentation and elaboration of news stories'. Among the 12 frames are Reporting, Contest, Campaigning, Exposé, Collective interests, Mythic tales and Cultural recognition. For other perspectives on framing see also Durham (1998), Scheufele (1999), McLeod and Detenber (1999).

4. Ravi analysed press reports (from the *New York Times*, the London *Times* and *The Guardian*, *The Dawn* of Pakistan and the *Times of India*) covering Colin Powell's address to the UN Security Council on 5 February 2003; George Bush's address on 17 March giving Saddam 48 hours to leave Iraq; and seven 'critical events' in the war between 19 March and 14 April. The events included, for example, the killing of civilians by American soldiers at a checkpoint, the rescue of Jessica Lynch, the fall of Baghdad. Among his conclusions is that 'newspaper coverage seems to reflect notions, values and ideas that resonate with particular societies' and that 'national sentiment and patriotism do come into play during a war and influence coverage' (2005: 59).

5. The websites examined in this study represented 48 countries. Following previous research, for example, by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), they were coded for predefined news frames (namely, military conflict, human interest, diagnostic frame, media self-reference, responsibility frame and prognostic frame) and according to a number of variables, including country of origin, story source, tone of coverage (positive, neutral or mixed, negative), reasons cited for war, use of moral terms, dominant photo, etc.). Results showed, not surprisingly, more positive coverage on sites of members of the coalition, supporting 'general arguments that mass media are inextricably linked to the broader socio-political environment in which they operate' (Dimitrova *et al.* 2005: 35). Another finding regarded the difference in framing on American and international websites. While the military and human interest frames were predominant on the US news sites, 'international media were much more likely to discuss and analyse issues such as blame and responsibility for the war' (*ibid.*: 35). The researchers note, however, that 'using quantitative content analysis of news frames clearly relies on manifest content and thus ignores latent clues' (*ibid.*: 37).

6. Following Clausen (2004) who compared Danish and Japanese news and identified ways in which 'domestication' is achieved. Cited in Dimitrova *et al.* (2005: 24).

7. Aday *et al.* looked at 1,820 stories on ABC, CBS, NBC, CNN, Fox News and Al Jazeera. The stories were coded on a five-point scale for 'tone' which 'goes beyond mere reporting of the facts' (2005: 10): support for the US/coalition was coded 4 or 5 according to intensity; neutral was coded 3; critical of the US/coalition was coded 2 or 1. Researchers looked at loaded words (*courageous, sickening, war of occupation* and the occurrence of the first-person plural forms '*we*' and '*our*' as being indicators of lack of objectivity. The stories were also coded for topic (e.g. battle, strategy, reconstruction, Saddam, media, protest).

8. While it is true that British newspapers are politically aligned and that, as far as television news is concerned, conservative Fox News in the US was openly biased in favour of the Iraq war, this general framework still seems useful to explain overall differences in the culture of news reporting that were reflected in the data.

9. Bednarek (2006b: 11–12) has offered a useful and detailed classification of linguistic approaches to research on the media generally and newspapers in particular.

10. Paddy Scannell (1998: 253–4), for example, from a different school of thought, has lamented the fact that '[m]edia products were considered as texts to be subjected to critical readings of their ideological effectivity' and that 'the kind of analysis that developed was a mix of semiotic theory, Marxist aesthetics and literary criticism.'

11. Annabelle Lukin (2005: 539) notes that 'Critical Discourse Analysis is by no means a unitary theoretical orientation.' Following Young and Harrison (2004) she distinguishes three main strands: 'One strand includes work by e.g. Fairclough (1989), Fowler (1996), Fowler *et al.* (1979), Hodge and Kress (1979), and is firmly grounded in linguistic analysis. A second strand, in which van Dijk's work is central, focuses on "the socio-cognitive aspects of analysis" and "macro-structure of texts" (Young and Harrison 2004: 3–4). The third strand involves work by Wodak and the Vienna School, in which a "discourse-historical approach" is taken (e.g. Wodak 2002).'

12. Scannell (1998: 256–7) contrasts this approach, which presupposes a 'hermeneutics of trust', with the ideologically oriented approach, based on a 'hermeneutics of suspicion': 'The aim of media studies as ideology critique is to teach students that both media and language should not be thought of as natural phenomena but as social constructions of reality. [. . .] [Media and language] are conventional systems of representation which unreflectingly misrepresent the social reality (world) that they construct. The educative task of media studies is to deconstruct media and language; to alert students to their dangers, their slipperiness, their deceptiveness. In all these ways ideology critique mobilizes a hermeneutics of suspicion against media and language.'

13. Much of the work mentioned here emerges from the Ross Priory Seminar on Broadcast Talk.

14. For a discussion see Haarman 1997; Haarman *et al.* 2002.

15. Baker (2006), Hoey (2001, 2005), Hunston (2002), Hunston and Francis (2000), Hunston and Thompson (2000, 2006), are all examples of close linguistic analyses of discursive, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic features based on

the interrogation of corpora of varying size, using standard corpus linguistic methodology. See also McEnery and Wilson (1996) for an excellent introduction to corpus linguistics and McEnery, Xiao and Tono (2006) for theoretical approaches, influential readings, and practical advice regarding corpus-based language study.

16. Baker (2006) provides very clear and insightful accounts of techniques and suggestions for exploiting software tools to uncover and interpret linguistic patterns.

17. For a discussion of what SFL can bring to corpus linguistics and vice versa, see Thompson and Hunston (eds) 2006.

18. This last corpus includes 3 months of the entire daily online newspapers *Corriere della Sera* and *Repubblica*, collected from February to April 2007 in connection with the IntUne project (*Integrated and United? A quest for citizenship in an 'ever closer Europe'*), funded by the Sixth Framework Programme of the EU and coordinated by the University of Siena Centre for the Study of Political Change.

19. Martin Montgomery (2007) has described in detail formatting sequences in British terrestrial and in satellite 24/7 news programmes.

20. The WordSmith concordancer is available at www.lexically.net/wordsmith (versions 3 and 4) (accessed: 14 July 2007).

21. The Xaira concordancer is available at www.xaira.org (accessed: 23 June 2007).

22. At this writing the analysis of these data is not complete.

23. Headlines were not analysed in the research since the headline data were extremely partial and incomplete due to the fact that settings for automatic recording were not consistent across the channels.

24. Fox News, in fact, took an explicitly 'patriotic' stance during the Iraq war, surpassing CNN as the top-rated 24-hour news network at a time when many Americans wanted the media to 'cheer on' the US troops.

25. In 2000, the television audience share of public television in the three countries included in the present study was as follows: Italy 48%; the UK 39%; the US 2% (Hallin and Mancini 2004: 42).

1 Mark-up and the narrative structure of television news

Anna Marchi and Marco Venuti

1.1 Introduction

The CorDis television corpus is an XML (eXtensible Mark-up Language) TEI (Text Encoding Initiative)-conformant collection of texts representing a significant portion of the television news discourse on the 2003 Iraqi conflict, comprising four subcorpora, that is, the evening news broadcasts for BBC, CBS, RAI Uno and Canale 5 from 20 March to 18 April (see Introduction, this volume).[1]

The main purpose of this paper is to show the function and importance of mark-up for the retrieval of discourse-specific information in a television news corpus. In order to do so, some preliminary issues have to be addressed: (1) the role of annotation in the creation of a harmonized and consistent corpus, with specific reference to TEI mark-up of spoken discourse, and (2) an overview of the corpus composition and of the relevant categories that have been encoded. The focus will be particularly on the function of mark-up associated with television news discourse, in order to illustrate the way mark-up gives access to meta-linguistic information by telling part of the parallel story constituted by the visual text, thus permitting the recovery of non-verbal data, a fundamental characteristic of the medium (television) and of the genre (television news).

Finally, we will argue that such a homogeneously encoded corpus is a precious resource for research, both because it enhances reliability and favours reusability, making the data easily retrievable, and because it gives access to a whole set of information that would otherwise be lost.

1.2 Annotation in the television corpus

We shall begin by giving some basic information regarding annotation and its role in the creation of a corpus of spoken discourse, with specific reference to the Guidelines issued by the Text Encoding Initiative.[2] We will then present the relevant categories of a television news programme that have been marked up and will describe the process of integrating all necessary information in a coherent mark-up system.

In introducing annotation and its role, we will make reference to its use with spoken data in order to introduce some relevant issues before focusing specifically on the mark-up of news programmes. The transcription of spoken data is a selective and interpretative process. It is necessary to choose the significant information and the relevant categories continuously. Edwards describes transcription as the process of 'capturing who said what, in what manner [. . .], to whom and under what circumstances (e.g. setting, activity, participant characteristics and relationship to one another)' (Edwards 1995: 19). In order to represent all of the transcription choices for the editing of the electronic version of a text, a coding system has to be created and applied, and an adequate mark-up system has to be developed. The selection and application of the appropriate tag set does not merely play a descriptive function, it expresses a theory about the texts and/or text structure. Choosing the relevant categories that constitute the identity of a source (in the case of television news, for example, the structure of a news programme), or deciding on a unit of analysis for that source (e.g. a news item or a speaker turn) are operations that involve several degrees of selection, and therefore interpretation.

A similar emphasis on the role of annotation is expressed by Leech when he states that annotation is the 'practice of adding interpretative linguistic information to a corpus' (Leech 1997: 2). This definition underlines the extent to which mark-up entails *adding* information, and in so doing a certain amount of *interpretation* is carried out. As annotation is inserted into the text, the operation of representing, replicating or making choices explicit entails selection from a series of possibilities.

Since the annotation process implies a set of choices, it is of great importance that the chosen categories are applied in a coherent and systematic way. According to Edwards (1995: 22), three principles of category design have to be taken into consideration for the annotation system to be effective. Categories must be systematically discriminable, exhaustive and systematically contrastive. The three principles imply that for each selected event in the data, it has to be clear whether or not a specific category applies; for each particular case in the data, there must be a category (even if only 'miscellaneous'); and categories have to be mutually exclusive alternatives. The three principles will be further discussed later when the annotation scheme which has been adopted is introduced.

Following this brief outline on the role of annotation, our aim is to describe the XML-valid, TEI-conformant mark-up used in the television corpus. In doing so we want to show how annotation is not merely an accessory, but an instrument that makes the corpus usable as a complete, harmonized and coherent body of texts, as 'it serves to create physical similarity (i.e., the code or tag) which can be used in considering them jointly or in a distributional analysis' (Edwards 1995: 20).

Although it is not our aim to focus on the technical aspects of mark-up, a few general remarks on both the XML and the TEI are necessary. The data were encoded using extensible mark-up language (XML), a metalanguage that enables compilers to design their own customized mark-up conventions for different types of documents. To say that a document is XML-valid means that it must be *well-formed*, that is, it must comply with the rules of the XML syntax.[3] But well-formedness is not all annotation is concerned with. Another important concept is that of *validity* with

reference to an external reference scheme. In approaching our work we opted for the TEI Guidelines,[4] whose latest version adopted XML as its metalanguage, and more specifically the module concerning the annotation of spoken data, as our reference scheme. The Guidelines provide a 'declaration' of what mark-up is allowed and/or required under given circumstances. More precisely,

> [t]hey provide means of representing those features of a text which need to be identified explicitly in order to facilitate processing of the text by computer programs. In particular, they specify a set of markers (or *tags*) which may be inserted in the electronic representation of the text, in order to mark the text structure and other textual features of interest. (Sperberg-McQueen and Burnard 2007: 'About these guidelines', on-line)

The TEI Guidelines contain a set of rules and descriptions used to define elements, attributes and their characteristics. An element is a description unit, and each element can have a number of attributes, that is, characteristics that define the element; to each attribute is attached a series of mutually exclusive values, qualifying the attribute. A prototypical XML tag is composed as follows: <element attribute="value">.

For a list of the elements used, their attributes and attribute values see Table 1.2 below. Elements can be variously combined to form a *TEI-conformant* schema, against which documents must be validated.[5] To be TEI-conformant then, a document must be annotated using the elements that are included in the associated schema. Each TEI-conformant text must be preceded by a TEI header, containing a bibliographic description of the electronic file and its sources (in our case the name of the broadcaster, the name of the news programme and the date of broadcasting), detailed non-bibliographic information (information on participants of each television news programme), and a revision history of the electronic text.

The XML TEI-conformant annotation process has been consolidated through the use of the Xaira[6] software. Xaira is an application specifically designed to handle heavily annotated corpora by means of an 'index' that permits complex searches to be carried out in a relatively short time, as the examples in the following section will illustrate more clearly.

1.3 Corpus description

The television corpus consists of the transcriptions of the evening news programmes for BBC, CBS, RAI Uno and TG5 for 1 month beginning 20 March 2003. Table 1.1 contains a breakdown for the distribution of the total 370,409 words across the sub-corpora that compose the corpus.

The distinction between 'words spoken' and 'writing' is due to the fact that during a television news programme a certain amount of text appears written on screen as titles or captions (e.g. name and position or affiliation). Depending on the kind of analysis carried out, it may be important on the one hand to record these instances (Johansson 1995: 89), and on the other, to be able to isolate them from what is actually spoken during the news programme. In order to achieve this distinction a **writing** element was inserted before and after the transcription of the captions

Table 1.1 Word tokens in the television corpus

	BBC	CBS	RAI	TG5	Total
Words spoken	103,806	59,045	89,808	108,330	**360,989**
Writing	2,102	1,762	2,960	2,596	**9,420**
Totals	**105,908**	**60,807**	**92,768**	**110,926**	**370,409**

which would set them apart from the remaining transcript. This means that the total number of word tokens actually uttered in the corpus totals 360,989.

The explanation of the use of the element **writing** introduces us to the categories taken into consideration in the transcribing and coding process and their correspondent TEI elements, which are listed in Table 1.2 together with their attributes and specified values. The description of the elements used and the explanation of the function of annotation will show how different levels of text and context were encoded in the mark-up.[7]

Starting from the more general categories, each news programme was divided into a headline section followed by a section for each new 'news item' (a **div1** element), each 'news item' was further subdivided into subsections (**div2** elements) according to the function associated to that stretch of text within the news programme. Thus we have subsections labelled 'intro' (where the news presenter introduces a new news item), 'report', 'exchange' and 'other' (everything else which does not fit in the previous categories). The subsections are further defined by a **resp** attribute that identifies the journalist responsible for the interaction.

The use of the attribute value 'other' for a 'news item' exemplifies the three principles of category design introduced earlier. For the categorization to be effective all elements within a category (the functional units of text identified for the analysis of news programmes) have to be given a specific unique value which makes them mutually exclusive alternatives. It is important to bear in mind that these categories should not be too specific. The use of an annotation scheme that reflects too close a reading and interpretation of the text would prevent generalizations and comparisons which are one of the main aims when building and interrogating a corpus.

Each subsection is further split in speaker's turns (the **u** element). Each turn is attributed to a speaker, by means of the **who** attribute and other categories associated to the speaker: his/her sex, language (corresponding to the origin of the four subcorpora, UK, US and Italy), role (which will be further discussed in following examples), and foreign language for the cases where the interviewee speaks in his/her native language but his/her utterance is actually dubbed in the language of the news broadcast. The element **u** is also modified by an attribute **type**. This is the only attribute of the element which is not related to the speaker. On the contrary it is used to describe a feature related to a visual aspect of television news: the speaker's turn may be uttered to 'camera' or as a 'voiceover', with the speaker's voice heard over accompanying images rather than with the speaker speaking to camera. In the

Table 1.2 Main TEI elements in the television corpus

Element	Attribute	Attribute value	Number
div1	type	news item, headline	857
div2	type	report, intro, other, exchange, servizio	2,034
	resp	news presenter, war zone reporter, correspondent, reporter, embedded reporter, collaborative, studio reporter	
gap	desc	omission, other news, commercials, singing, music	214
seg	type	camera, voiceover, telephone, videophone, question	2,079
sic			108
u	who	Surname_FirstName	4,094
	sex	female, male, unclear	
	dialect	American English, British English, Italian	
	role	news presenter, correspondent, reporter, war zone reporter, embedded reporter, studio reporter, legitimated person, military, 'ordinary' person (Vox)	
	type	camera, voiceover, telephone, video-phone, question	
	flang	Arabic, American English, British English, French	
unclear			215
writing	type	caption	1,747
Total number of elements			**12,158**

case of a single speaker's turn split between 'camera' and 'voiceover' sections a **seg** element was inserted within the **u** element to encode this difference.

The element **gap** was used to indicate an omission of material in the original news programmes. Omissions are further specified by the **desc** attribute, presenting a description of the material omitted. We will here focus only on the value 'other news'. Since the television corpus is only concerned with television coverage of the Iraq 2003 conflict, only 'news items' dealing with this topic were transcribed and annotated. It was therefore necessary to signal the omission of 'other news' from the text. Within speaker's turns the element **sic** was inserted to record an apparent

speaker/author error, while the **unclear** element indicates speech that is insuffi-
ciently clear to be transcribed.

1.4 Evolution of mark-up

Having introduced the elements adopted in the annotation process, it might be
useful to show the process that, starting from the initial *raw texts*, example (1),
resulted in the final product, example (2), through a series of progressively more
refined XML-valid, TEI-conformant versions.

(1) [Fiona Bruce] Good evening. British and American troops [. . .] This is
     where today's key battles took place. [. . .]
     [Ben Brown] Relentlessly, British and American [. . .]
     [VOX] Very happy very happy to get Saddam Hussein. [. . .]
     [V. D.] (Lieutenant V. D. US Marines) There is a little bit more resistance
     than we expected. [. . .]

(2) <div1 type="newsitem">
     <div2 type="intro" resp="newspresenter">
     <u who="Bruce_Fiona" sex="f" role="newspresenter" dialect="en-GB">
     <seg type="camera"> Good evening. British and American troops
     [. . .]</seg>
     <seg type="voiceover"> This is where today's key battles took place.
     [. . .]</seg>
     </u> </div2>
     <div2 type="report" resp="reporter:embed">
     <u who="Brown_Ben" sex="m" role="reporter:embed" dialect="en-GB"
     type="voiceover"> Relentlessly British and American [. . .]</u>
     <u who="_civilian" sex="m" role="vox" flang= "ar" type="camera"> Very
     happy very happy to get Saddam Hussein. </u> [. . .]
     <u who="D_V" sex="m" role="military" dialect="en-US" type="camera">
     <writing type="subtitle"> Lieutenant V. D. US Marines </writing> There is a
     little bit more resistance than we expected. [. . .] </u> [. . .]</div2> </div1>
                              (Simplified version. Source: BBC 22 March 2003)

   The two examples show the evolution of the annotation scheme. In (1) the text
in square brackets and parentheses corresponds to the name of the speaker and
the words appearing on screen respectively. In (2) the information concerning the
speaker (sex, role, language), the relation between the words uttered and the
images (camera and voiceover), the details concerning the text organization of
the television news programme (**div2** elements identifying stretches of text accord-
ing to their function) are all identified, made explicit and encoded within the
restrictions of XML syntax and standardized according to the *Guidelines of the Text
Encoding Initiative* for spoken discourse.
   Having introduced the methodological framework for the annotation and a more
detailed description of the television corpus, we will now show the path we have
constructed through the data, focusing on the practices and the tools that have

been adopted. As we already mentioned, moving from a conceptual architecture to an operative structure implies a series of questions concerning the organization of the annotation, with specific reference to the future use(s) researchers may make of it. The annotation process will be illustrated through examples, which will help to highlight the issues more specifically related to the structure of television news.

1.5 The function of annotation in a television news corpus

The fundamental characteristic of television discourse is that meaning is conveyed by the multiplicity and co-presence of different sign systems, that is, visual images and verbal language. If, as Metz (1974: 46) states, '[g]oing from one image to two images is to go from image to language,' then in order to give an account of linguistic phenomena in television news we need to be able to access the different layers of information produced by the intrinsic multimodality of this medium.

> In all developed broadcasting systems the characteristic organisation, and therefore the characteristic experience, is one of sequence or flow. This phenomenon of planned flow is then perhaps the defining characteristic of broadcasting, simultaneously as a technology and as a cultural form. (Williams 1974: 80)

It is precisely mark-up that allows us to recuperate multimodality, rejoining the verbal flow of the text to some features of the visual flow. In the previous section of this chapter we gave a general description of the tag set that was specifically constructed in order to describe television news programmes. If we look at mark-up from the point of view of function and use we can further organize meta-textual information in two main groups, that is, information about the participants and information about the visuals. Since the XML element **u** is probably the most important and rich repository of information in the television corpus, we will focus on it, explaining its functioning by means of examples.

Some attributes of **u** provide information that would not otherwise be retrievable from the raw transcriptions if not by close reading and deduction. Television primarily vehiculates information about the speakers' identity and role and the kind of interaction that is occurring by means of images. Making this kind of information explicit through mark-up allows us to search for each and all of these characteristics using Xaira software. This greatly enhances data usability (since it becomes possible to handle larger amounts of data) and re-usability, permitting us to recall the same information for different purposes and making the same query easily and promptly replicable. Other attributes, namely the utterance **type** attribute, give visual information, telling us something about what is happening on the screen while a specific verbal interaction is occurring. This kind of information would not be available for investigation, nor would it be derivable by intuition, if it had not been manually encoded in the first place.

Van Dijk has argued that '[d]iscourse is not simply an isolated textual or dialogic structure. Rather it is a complex communicative event that also embodies a social context, featuring participants (and their properties) as well as a production and reception process' (van Dijk 1988: 2). This holistic approach to discourse particularly suits television news, where the complexity of communication models,

the ambiguity of language, the specific practices of newsmaking and 'the underpin-
ning processes of professionalization which turn men and women into television
journalists' (The Glasgow Media Group 1976: 346), constantly interact with the
complexity of the codes the medium works with. It is not our aim here to discuss in
detail the nature of television discourse; it seems nevertheless important to highlight
some of its characteristics, in order to describe the specific needs this text type has
in terms of mark-up. We argue, in fact, that marking up television texts is particularly
useful, precisely because annotation allows us to account for complexity, making it
possible to integrate multilayered information into the text and to simultaneously
keep track of multiple variables. Mark-up is thus an excellent tool for the analysis of
television news, as it facilitates the constant shunting between different levels of
investigation, modes of meaning (verbal/visual) and approaches to text analysis.

For instance, the same news item can be analysed from a variety of non-mutually
exclusive points of view, depending on the level of interaction between verbal and
visual that we want to include in our description. The following example, randomly
extracted from the corpus, shows how the same stretch of text can be represented
in many different ways, according to the different priority we give to categories.

We start with the raw text of the transcriptions, taking into consideration only
what is said by the participants. The output is a nude verbal representation of the
communicative event, as shown in example (3).

(3) Good evening. British and American troops are driving deeper into Iraq
     tonight. They've encountered fierce fighting in a number of towns and cities
     [. . .] We've a report from there in just a moment, but first Ben Brown on the
     battle for Basra and Umm Qasr.
       Relentlessly, British and American forces are rolling towards Basra, Iraq's
     second city, a major prize before the biggest of them all, Baghdad. [. . .] And
     the marines told me some Iraqi soldiers are now pretending to be civilians.
       There is a little bit more resistance than we expected. And there are also
     some er fanatics who will ar remove their uniforms and become er masquerade
     as civilians and so shoot at us. [. . .] Ben Brown, BBC News, southern Iraq.
       Since the beginning of the war, our correspondent Gavin Hewitt has been
     with the US Third Infantry Division. [. . .]
       The battle for Nasiriyah began yesterday afternoon with the Americans
     firing salvos of rockets towards Iraqi forces. [. . .]
       And Ben Brown is at the British Army field headquarters in Kuwait now.
     Ben, first of all, these towns and cities that have been reached by the troops,
     Basra and Um Qasr, can you explain to us their strategic significance?
       Well Umm Qasr where I was today is very very important to the allies
     because it is a port, a big deep water port and that's where they want to bring
     humanitarian aid supplies in starting very soon, starting in the next couple of
     days. [. . .]
                          (Simplified version. Source: BBC 22 March 2003)

The same event, instead of being represented in terms of sequences of words that
have been uttered, can be described as a sequence of different types of verbal actions
performed by the participants, and can be represented in terms of functional units.

The flow of these discursive functions reproduces the *narrative structure* of the news items and shows how news discourse is organized. We borrow the term from the structuralist tradition. Annotation superimposes on the television news texts a consensual structure that reflects the deep grammar of television news discourse. Categories (elements) and relevant characteristics (attributes), that is, the type of speech event taking place, its visual syntax and the agents (roles) involved, are adopted as elementary constituents. These units and their combination/interaction participate in the production of meaning.

The categorization adopted for the television corpus provides for three alternative narrative functions: Introduction, in which the news presenter introduces a new news item; Report, that is, the coverage of a news event by a news presenter or a reporter; and Live exchange, accounting for all the cases of live interaction between the news presenter and other journalists. The value that can be attributed to a type of speech event can therefore be 'intro', or 'report' or 'exchange'. Ignoring surface content and specific linguistic performance, the former example could be conceptualized and graphically rendered as shown in Figure 1.1.

This level of description in our corpus is encoded in the element **div2**.

Another way to approach the text would be to look at it solely from the point of view of the participants, moving from what is said to who is saying it. The discourse would in this case be represented as a sequence of interactions, where the prioritized information is, for instance, the role of the successive speakers. For our example the *role-flow* diagram would then be as shown in Figure 1.2.

We could finally represent the communicative event not only completely ignoring any consideration of the uttered words, but repositioning our focus from the verbal to the visual code. News items would then be described on the basis of whether or not the speaker is shown on screen while a series of interactions take place. In the television corpus the visual category is covered by a binary choice: the attribute **type** of the utterance can be ascribed either to the value 'camera', when the images show the speaker while s/he is performing the utterance, or the value 'voiceover', when the speaker's voice accompanies a video stream. The visual syntax of our example would be as shown in Figure 1.3.
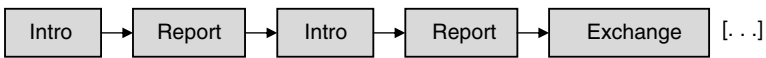
Intro → Report → Intro → Report → Exchange [. . .]

Figure 1.1 News as flow of event types.

News presenter → Embedded reporter (1) → Soldier → Embedded reporter (1) → News presenter → Embedded reporter (2) → News presenter → Embedded reporter (1) [. . .]
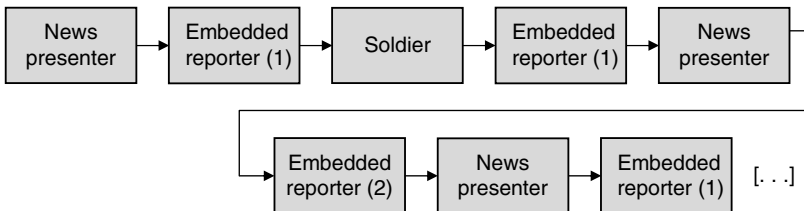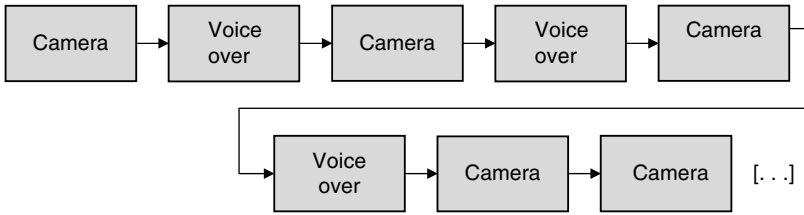
Figure 1.2 News as flow of roles.

Figure 1.3 News as flow of camera shot types.

All these representations offer an interesting perspective on the text, but most interesting would be the possibility to combine them and make the interactions among the categories available for investigation. This is exactly what mark-up does. Through XML mark-up we can encapsulate the information into the corpus and then retrieve each representation separately or in combination with another, by merging the various encoded parameters when querying the corpus with the concordance software.

In the case of the example we have previously used, the information would complete the XML architecture taking the form represented in example 4.

(4) <div1 type="newsitem">
<div2 type="intro" resp="newspresenter">
<u who="Bruce_Fiona" sex="f" role="newspresenter" dialect="en-GB">
<seg type="camera"> Good evening. British and American troops [. . .]
<div2 type="report" resp="reporter:embed">
<u who="Brown_Ben" sex="m" role="reporter:embed" dialect="en-GB" type="voiceover">Relentlessly, British and American forces are rolling towards Basra, Iraq's second city, a major prize before the biggest of them all, Baghdad. [. . .]
<u who="_soldier" sex="m" role="military" dialect="en-GB" type="camera"> There is a little bit more resistance than we were expected. [. . .]
<u who="Brown_Ben" sex="m" role="reporter:embed" dialect="en-GB" type="voiceover"> Ben Brown, BBC News, southern Iraq. [. . .]
<div1 type="newsitem">
<div2 type="intro" resp="newspresenter">
<u who="Bruce_Fiona" sex="f" role="newspresenter" dialect="en-GB" type="camera"> Since the beginning of the war, [. . .]
<div2 type="report" resp="reporter:embed">
<u who="Hewitt_GavinJames" sex="m" role="reporter:embed" dialect="en-GB" type="voiceover"> The battle for Nasiriyah [. . .]
<div2 type="exchange" resp="newspresenter">
<u who="Bruce_Fiona" sex="f" role="newspresenter" dialect="en-GB" type="camera"> And Ben Brown is at the British Army [. . .]
<u who="Brown_Ben" sex="m" role="reporter:embed" dialect="en-GB" type="camera"> Well Umm Qasr where I was today is very [. . .]
<div align="right">(Simplified version. Source: BBC 22 March 2003)</div>

The corpus architecture and the abundance of information provided by annotation offer a wide spectrum of ways we can interrogate the data. If television news discourse is a semiotic phenomenon where signifiers at different levels participate in the construction of meaning, it is then of great importance for the analyst to be able to grasp this multilayered nature of communication. Using annotation we can, to a certain extent, access various levels of sense generation and investigate different relationships among categories.

Interrelations between linguistic and extra-linguistic elements can be ignored or brought back into play with different grades of priority, making it possible to explore different combinations between elements. We can, for example, verify the relationship between the use of images and reporters' stance, by retrieving occurrences of the lemma 'I'[8] within **u** spoken by reporters either to 'camera' or in 'voiceover' and then compare concordances and collocations for the two visual parameters (see Figure 1.4).
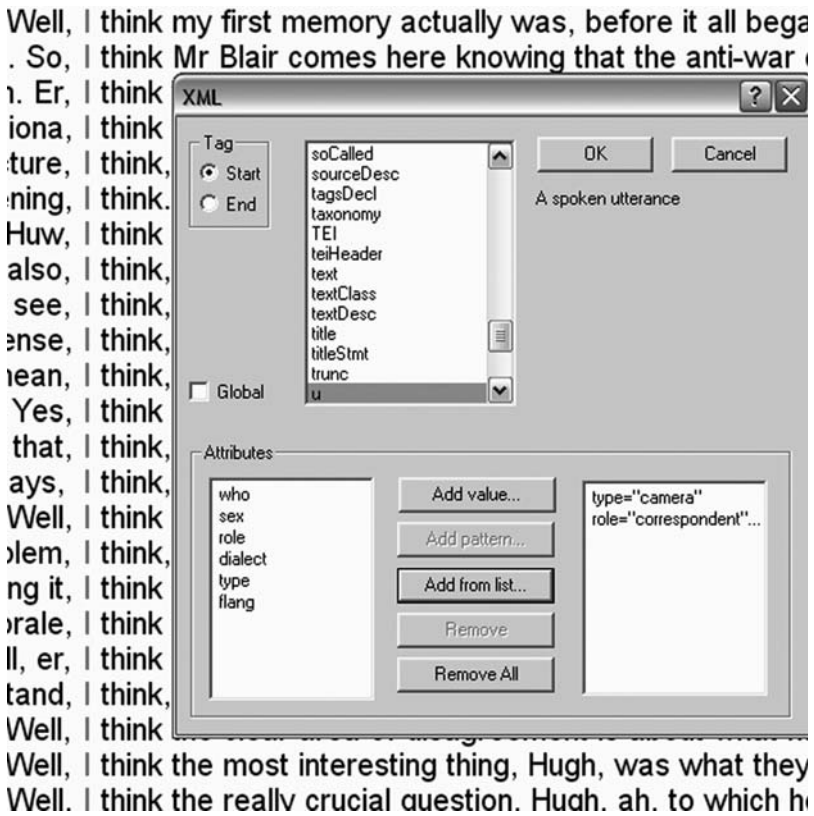
Figure 1.4 Xaira XML Query window and background concordances of 'I' within **u type="camera"**.

1.6 Managing complexity: using mark-up to ask articulated questions

Mark-up, with specific reference to the television corpus, grants greater homogeneity to a composite collection of texts that differ (and are therefore interesting to compare) for a number of variables: language (English vs Italian), origin (Great Britain vs United States vs Italy), television network (public vs private), and specific programme (RAI Uno, TG5, BBC, CBS). The option and the opportunity to access a large amount of extra-linguistic information and carry out analysis at a structural level can be particularly useful when dealing with a multilingual corpus. Abstraction from specific content and specific language permits investigation of common features at other levels of analysis (e.g. newsmaking practices and strategies), thus enhancing comparability across languages and cultures. Statistical information about the frequency of a certain category across news networks can be a stimulating starting point for research. Differences in the exploitation of format options such as preferences for reports by news presenters or reporters, for reports in voiceover or to camera, for live exchanges or studio-based reports, are choices which all potentially contribute to a network or national characterisation of television news.
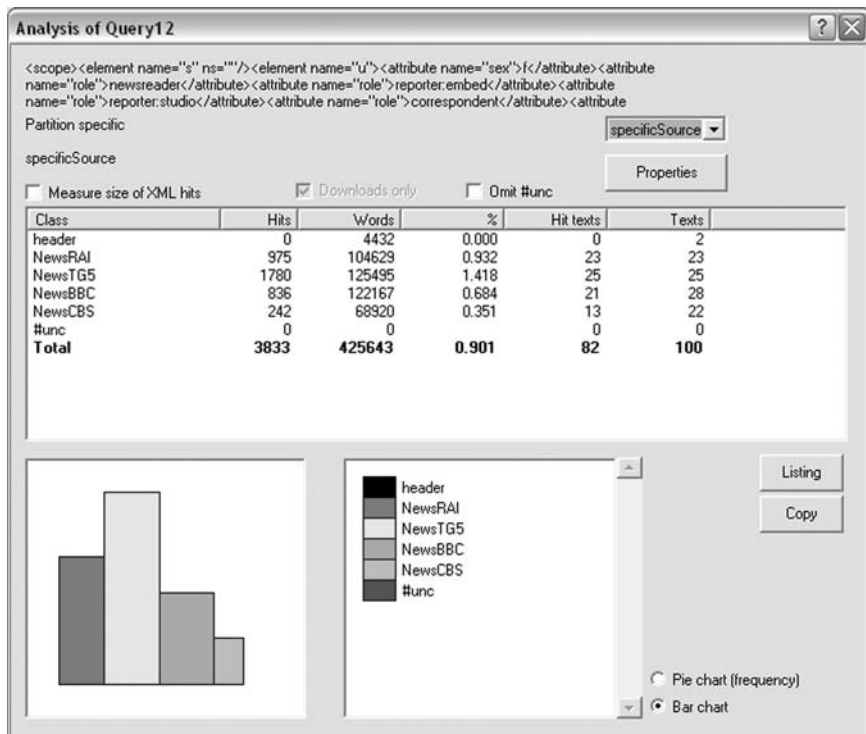
Annotation's greatest merit, in our opinion, is its *embedded creativity*, in that it enables the user to access the data from a variety of points of view and for a variety of purposes.

> Annotation often has many different purposes or applications: it is multifunctional. [. . .] People who build corpora are familiar with the idea that no one in their right mind would offer to predict the future uses of a corpus – future users are always more variable than the originator of the corpus could have imagined! (Leech 2005, on-line).

The analyst can activate multiple parameters by experimenting with the combination of different elements. Usability (in terms of availability and speed) and replicability facilitate the testing of new hypotheses that can be operationalized by exploring a new alchemy between elements.

If, for example, we are interested in the correlation between sex and professional status, we can easily retrieve from the corpus (through the software and thanks to annotation) all the utterances spoken by women journalists. Moreover, there are a number of different strategies we can adopt in order to access this kind of information. We could start by getting a general idea of the male–female discourse ratio in the corpus, either in terms of speaking turns or in terms of uttered words or sentences. We would find, not surprisingly, that there are more utterances spoken by male than by female journalists (12,134 occurrences of **s** [sentence-like items] within a **u** with attribute sex="m", combined with attribute role="newspresenter/reporter/reporter:embed/reporter:studio/reporter:war zone/correspondent", as opposed to 3,833 occurrences of **s** within a **u** sex="f", combined with the same role values[9]). If we download the solutions for the query, using Xaira client's Analysis utility we can also obtain a graphic breakdown of the results, showing the distribution of the occurrences across different news programmes (see Figure 1.5).

Figure 1.5 presents the results using as distribution criterion 'specific source', that is, the four television networks included in the television corpus. The same

Analysis of Query12

`<scope><element name="s" ns=""/><element name="u"><attribute name="sex">f</attribute><attribute name="role">newsreader</attribute><attribute name="role">reporter:embed</attribute><attribute name="role">reporter:studio</attribute><attribute name="role">correspondent</attribute><attribute`

Partition specific

specificSource

☐ Measure size of XML hits ☑ Downloads only ☐ Omit #unc

Class	Hits	Words	%	Hit texts	Texts
header	0	4432	0.000	0	2
NewsRAI	975	104629	0.932	23	23
NewsTG5	1780	125495	1.418	25	25
NewsBBC	836	122167	0.684	21	28
NewsCBS	242	68920	0.351	13	22
#unc	0	0		0	0
Total	**3833**	**425643**	**0.901**	**82**	**100**

Legend: header, NewsRAI, NewsTG5, NewsBBC, NewsCBS, #unc

Listing — Copy

○ Pie chart (frequency)
● Bar chart

Note: The width of the columns is proportional to the size of the subcorpus, thus the CBS subcorpus is the thinnest of the four.

Figure 1.5 Xaira Analysis tool. Query showing the relative amounts of speech spoken by female journalists in the sub-corpora.

query could be re-sorted on the basis of other parameters, such as language (in this case either English or Italian) or origin (UK, US and Italy). These parameters correspond to the main subcorpora into which the corpus is divided, by means of partitions; but 'it is possible to define alternative ways to classify the corpus texts. This allows the users to re-shape the data on the basis of parameters that respond to their specific research interests' (Cirillo *et al.* forthcoming). Activating the partition, that parameter becomes the pivot from which further exploration can move, that is, we can make comparisons within the corpus on the basis of the selected parameter, and the values foreseen in the partition become the categories among which to compare.

The corpus could, for example, be partitioned in two or more chunks on a temporal basis. In order to investigate whether journalistic reporting was affected by the 'friendly fire' attack on the Palestine Hotel (8 April) or by the fall of Baghdad (the following day), we could use the date as a watershed and regroup the files in two classes, in order to compare news discourse in the two periods or to isolate

a specific portion of time. The partition is created by building a query using the tag **date**, which has been encoded in the header of each file, and co-selecting all values before '8 April 2003'. The texts that match the query will be assigned to one class and those that do not, to the alternative class.

It is not our aim here to undertake any significant analysis of the data. The examples have a purely descriptive function and are created *ad hoc* in order to explain how mark-up can be used and how the software works. What seems interesting to us is the great potential that XML-valid TEI-conformant mark-up has in terms of question *generativity* (Cirillo *et al.* forthcoming). That is, the hierarchical structure of mark-up, together with the richness and the refinement of the categories established to describe television discourse, allows the users to ask more articulated and precise questions and 'spark off a whole new range of uses which would not have been practicable unless the corpus had been annotated' (Leech 2005).

Previously in this chapter we discussed the interpretative nature of all mark-up. The annotation process is an integral part of the analytical process and while annotation necessarily introduces the compilers' and the researchers' interpretations into the data, at the same time it also leaves a record of those interpretations. By making categories explicit, mark-up marks a path through the corpus printing a trace that remains 'open for scrutiny' (McEnery *et al.* 2006: 21), with great benefits in terms of (re)usability. 'Metadata plays a key role in organizing ways in which a language corpus can be meaningfully processed. It records the interpretative framework within which the components of a corpus were selected and are to be understood' (Burnard 2004, on-line).

The more we know about the data and the more we put in by adding mark-up, the more we are able to get out. This is true both in terms of the volume of information we can extract from the corpus and in terms of the multifunctionality of the corpus itself, that is, both in quantitative and in qualitative terms. Annotation, as we have seen, allows us to get deeper into the texts, asking more articulated questions, which should possibly result in getting more articulated answers, responding to a variety of analytic needs and methodological frameworks. A detailed and accurate mark-up opens possibilities to adopt a mixed approach; furthermore, a 'multimethod approach' seems to be most appropriate for media analysis which intrinsically is 'problem oriented and not dogmatically related to the one or the other linguistic theory or methodology' (Wodak and Busch 2004: 107).

This shifts our attention from mark-up functions to its functioning, or, more precisely, to how we can maximally exploit the potential of mark-up using the concordance tools. We have already presented a few examples of analysis with Xaira software; we will try now to illustrate strengths and weaknesses of a prototypical process of corpus interrogation using Xaira client. The example has no claim to exhaustiveness, nor are the findings rigorous or complete. Our sole objective here is to give an idea of the impact that annotation (the structure) can have on analysis (the process). We will start by looking at the data in a very general way, a sort of panoramic overview of the corpus, in order to get an idea of the proportions and shapes.

If we simply count the occurrences for the most general unit of analysis within the television corpus, the element **div1** (with **type** attribute 'newsitem'), we obtain
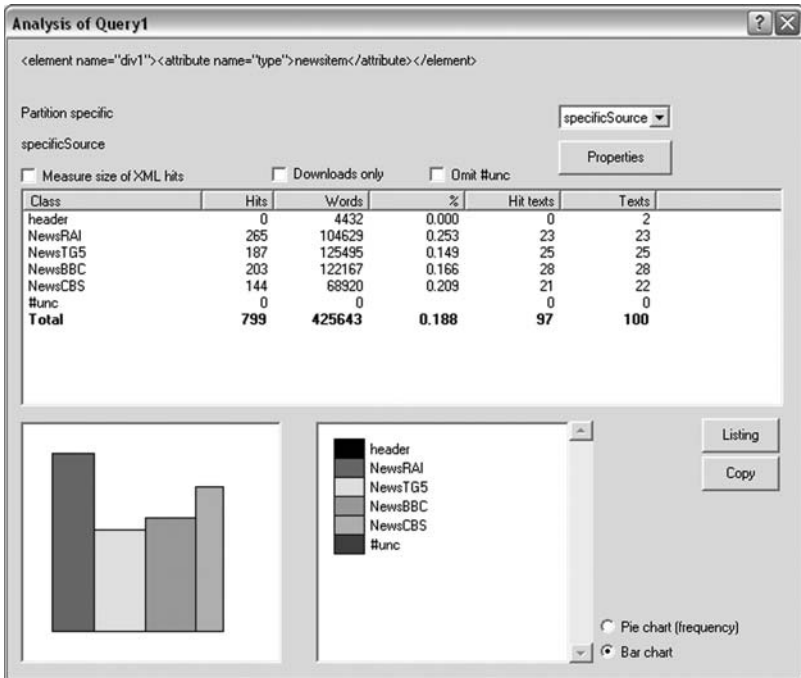
Note: The width of the columns is proportional to the size of the subcorpus, thus the CBS subcorpus is the thinnest of the four.

Figure 1.6 Distribution of **div1 type="newsitem"** across specific sources.

the number of individual pieces of news that compose the whole corpus. Downloading a set of solutions and using Xaira Analysis function we get the distribution of <**div1** type="newsitem"> across pre-defined subcorpora and we find that the number of news items in RAI news programmes is considerably higher than in other broadcasts (see Figure 1.6).

At this point, it might be assumed that RAI Uno simply had more news about the war in Iraq in the period of time included in the data collection unless there are other explanations. One research question that could arise from our quick search for a single tag is whether and how the structure of Italian public television news differs from that of British public television. We already know, from our first query, that the RAI subcorpus contains fewer files (i.e. fewer days) than the BBC one. We can easily retrieve the size of files/days in terms of tokens (by counting the occurrences of tag **v** within news items) and find out that the size is approximately the same across the two subcorpora. If one RAI file has the same amount of words as one BBC file, but a higher number of news items, it follows that a single piece of news in RAI is shorter than in BBC. Since, for the sake of our example, we are interested in structure, we can narrow down the analysis to a sub-portion of the corpus, focusing on one file for RAI and one for BBC.
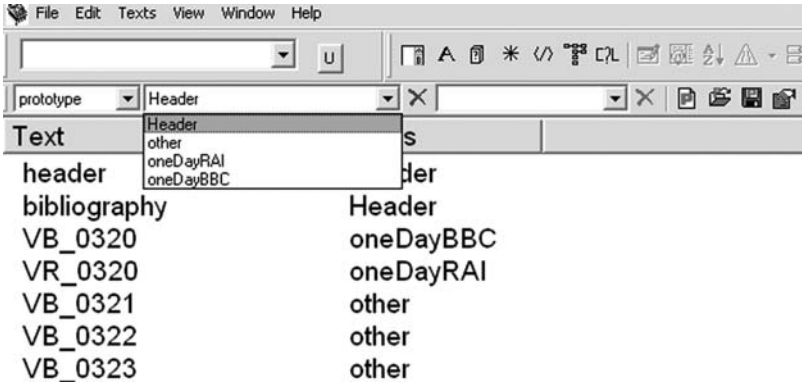
Figure 1.7 Partition menu.

An easy way to begin the investigation is by using partitions (Figure 1.7). We can create a new partition by selecting texts from the list of file-names and assigning them to a 'class', in this case one file (VB_0320) corresponding to class BBC news on 20 March, one file (VR_0320) to RAI news on the same day, and all the other files to a third class 'other'.

By activating a class we are able to funnel down our analysis to the specific portion of corpus we are interested in. If we repeat the **div1** query within the new partition, we find confirmation: the RAI file has twice as many pieces of news as the BBC file. We could now go down through the main elements of our hierarchically structured mark-up, querying for **div2** and **u**, and see where more specifically the difference lies. It is not our intention to present each step in detail. What we wish to show and highlight here is the possibility to run through the corpus horizontally, passing from the width of the whole collection to a single file, and vertically, following the files' architecture. From the recursive queries of our example, it emerged that RAI news was more fragmented than BBC news at the level of news items and type of interactions, but interestingly, at the speaker turn level BBC news had a higher alternation of different speakers. These progressive findings can become the bedrock for a new level of analysis and stimulate a whole range of new questions. For instance, since apparently on BBC news in one day there are fewer individual news items about the war in Iraq, but there are more voices speaking, we might want to look more closely at who the speakers are, what are the most recurrent roles, etc. The question our example started from was very general, but, as we have seen, it can open many avenues of inquiry.

Using mark-up to its full potential, it is fairly quick and easy to retrieve very localized and specific information. It seems plausible that the easier it is to ask questions, the more we dare to ask. The software, thanks to annotation, gives us the opportunity to combine different parameters (as well as different kinds of query[10]) and to establish different relations among them. It becomes clear then that there is a wide range of ways we can exploit mark-up to explore the corpus. This is what we mean by the annotation's *generativity,* and this is why we argue that the generative

power of a corpus represents its ultimate added value, since '[c]orpora are useful only if we can extract knowledge or information from them' (Leech 1997: 4).

1.7 Realism of categories and the beam balance work

Since images and motion probably represent the most distinctive feature of television when compared with other news media, it was essential for the researchers to have access to the visual level. In the television corpus the mark-up referring to visuals, as we have already mentioned, is limited to two main alternative values attributed to the type of utterance: 'voiceover' and 'to camera'. The binary choice might seem very basic, but it is a fundamental element for the medium (television) and for the genre (television news). As far back as 1946, at the dawn of broadcast television, Chester F. X. Burger, a graphic designer for CBS, was addressing the question: 'How can television cover the news other than showing the handsome face of a newscaster reading bulletins?' (Burger 1946: 30). The narrative power of television news, in fact, rests on its 'ability to record actual events [. . .] as an alternative to the head talking to camera' (The Glasgow Media Group 1976: 351). This provides a good reason to encode the corpus with information about the presence of a *talking head* as opposed to a stream of images, but it does not explain why other formal features, such as objects, movement, duration, colour, position, the 'vocabulary of camera angles' (*ibid.*: 339), have not been reintroduced into the text through explicit annotation. The reason is that most of the tags in the corpus are the result of a massive amount of manual work. The team that produced the first version of the television mark-up had to work patiently on the transcriptions and make parallel reference to the video recordings. This kind of operation is considerably time consuming and requires a great amount of expert work.

If an annotated corpus is a valuable repository of information and thus a precious resource, it is also a very expensive one. The level of delicacy of corpus annotation is always a negotiation between resources and needs and between different sets of desiderata, in Leech's (1993: 279) terms, the 'annotator's point of view' and the 'user's point of view'. McEnery and Wilson (1996: 34) also comment on:

> the utility of the annotation to the end user and the ease of annotation for the annotator [. . .]. In practice, most annotation schemes are a compromise between the two poles of this dichotomy and aim at the maximum potential utility, tempered by the practicalities of annotating the text.

Different requirements coexist and often clash, quality, speed and costs being the three opposite sides of a triangle.[11]

Annotation cannot be done quickly, accurately and cheaply at the same time. We have repeatedly stated that detailed metadata are a very important support for corpus analysis, but the question of 'granularity' (Leech 1997) can be problematic. On one side we have the economic aspect that has just been discussed, on the other there are also methodological issues. While acknowledging its intrinsically interpretative nature, we started from the assumption that mark-up constitutes added value and that it is especially useful when dealing with complex communicative

events, as television news programmes are. But what would be the optimal level of delicacy of annotation? It does not seem possible to tell *a priori*; the determination of a satisfying degree of description very much depends on the corpus and on its purposes. Finer-grained metadata offer a fertile ground for research but it is not necessarily true that the more detail, the better. Too much detail disperses information and it is as useful as a 1:1 map of the world. Categories, in order to be useful, need to be representative (Biber 1993). If the 'granularity' of categories can determine the depth of the descriptions and the explanations by allowing us to ask specific questions, the analysis also needs to find anchoring in numbers, that is, produce results that are generalizable. 'The categorisations used in corpus design tend to be broad rather than delicate, since what corpus designers want to do is to enable users to generalize about and compare different categories' (Aston 2001: 73). Here Aston is talking about text categories included in a corpus, but the same principle applies to the choice of categories within texts, that is, variables that are considered to be relevant in order to analyse a specific phenomenon.

Given the task-oriented nature of annotation in the television corpus, the tag set has the advantage of being highly consensual. The users agreed on what the purpose of the corpus was and on the main categories needed in order to achieve the desired level of description/explanation. The time-resources constraint tended to keep the variability within categories under control. If on the one hand this means losing potentially precious information, on the other hand it improves comparability and strengthens the efficacy of generalizations. Multiplication of categories in order to give an accurate account of events, is, nevertheless, very tempting, because a thick description can be of great importance when we are investigating complex events. It is ultimately a matter of balances, the greater the number of categories and the variance within them, the more text will be needed in order to obtain a relevant number of occurrences.

All through our examples, aiming at simplification, we have reduced the options that the actual mark-up provides. The type of utterance attribute has been said to have two main values: 'camera' and 'voiceover' certainly are the most frequent values, but the schema offers five other possible solutions (see Figure 1.8).

Again we witness the eternal struggle between contrasting needs. On the one hand the need for usability, that is, having categories that are common enough to be representative, on the other hand the need for completeness, that is, accounting for all cases that are not reducible to other labels. In this sense the detail of our categories does not only have to do with the objects/events we want to be available for retrieval, but also with what we want to be able to exclude, as it does not exactly match our main focus.[12] For instance the utterances that are spoken by telephone might not fulfil all the parameters that define either a type 'voiceover' or 'camera', and it is the researcher's interest to sharpen the classification, in order to refine the search. On the other hand with its seven occurrences, the variable 'videotelephone' seems to be *overspecific*.[13] Another problem that emerges from Figure 1.8 is the overlapping of levels, in that the **type** attribute carries mixed information. There are values describing the visual level, values concerning technical aspects and values that are specifically linguistic. This is a further manifestation of the negotiation process and of the conflation of different needs that stand behind the annotation of the corpus. The partial lack of homogeneity of the labels is due both to the natural

Figure 1.8 Values for utterance **type** attribute.

temptation of accumulation of knowledge/information, rather than its synthesis, and to the multiplicity of interests. The values in the list are 'types' of utterance, but the criteria underlying the typology are diverse. By interrogating the corpus with Xaira we can test and revise our annotation, thus improving its consistency and the coherence of categories.

Marking up a corpus is a work in progress: errors can be spotted through usage and corrected; the efficacy of the categories can be evaluated and if necessary adjusted. It becomes fairly easy to distinguish inconsistencies of various kinds, for example, tags that are used once or twice across the corpus, as happened for **soCalled**, with only two instances. Interrogating the corpus in order to solve annotation incongruence is particularly useful in the case of a heavily annotated corpus as the television corpus is. A fairly common problem, for example, was the misspelling of participants' names, but by retrieving the list of values for the attribute **who** of the utterance, it was easy to identify typos or different spellings and normalize the values. Harmonization (Leech 1991) is an essential part of corpus work and, as we have recounted in this chapter, it played an important role in the making of the television corpus, through the many passages that brought it to the XML-valid TEI-conformant final product.

1.8 Conclusions

The examples discussed show our attempt to find a balance among what has been called granularity of annotation, global consistency and a drive for generalization. Textual and contextual features, as well as more interpretative features concerning

the narrative structure of a television news programme, were encoded in a coherent annotation scheme that would allow for a thorough and detailed linguistic analysis. Simultaneously, the need for consistency of annotation, for coherence and for comparability of categories meant that mark-up had to be often general rather than specific. These two contrasting needs required us to adopt an approach that favours flexibility rather than compliance with rigid standards. 'Such a goal should be easier to attain in a flexible annotation system allowing for both hierarchies of annotation levels and degrees of delicacy in the specification of categories' (Leech 1991: 24).

The long and complex task of encoding a large amount of descriptive metadata back into the corpus stems from a need to combine 'qualitative methods of discourse and critical discourse analysis [. . .] with the more quantitative methodology of corpus linguistics' (Haarman 2006: 188). The XML TEI-conformant television corpus allows to move back and forth 'between the quantitative configurations and expressions of the data produced by the software [. . .] and more traditional qualitative readings of the data in its original, textual form' (*ibid.*). The possibility of shifting from the more quantitative reading of wordlists, concordances and collocates to the more qualitative analysis of discourse makes the corpus a valuable tool within the field of corpus-assisted discourse studies (CADS) (Partington 2004), precisely because features pertaining to the discourse rather then the text organization are encoded in the annotation scheme. Harmonization and consistency of annotation also have the added value of making interpretative choices explicit.

In recent years a number of publications have focused on the possibility of combining corpus linguistics and (critical) discourse analysis (Partington 2003, Baker 2006, Morley and Bayley forthcoming). The use of corpora in discourse analysis has been encouraged because it may help reduce researcher bias: 'at least with a corpus, we are starting (hopefully) from a position whereby the data itself has not been selected in order to confirm existing conscious (or subconscious) biases' (Baker 2006: 12). We believe the television corpus, with its detailed, coherent TEI mark-up is a valuable example of the possibilities offered by the use of corpora to achieve a better understanding of the ways in which media discourse is structured and construed.

Notes

1. In this chapter we shall refer to the television *corpus*, composed of four subcorpora, since the marked up television news corpus represents an integrated part of the entire CorDis project (with subcorpora of Parliamentary debates, the Hutton Inquiry, newspapers, White House press briefings and television news). In the other chapters reference is made to the four individual television news *corpora*.

2. The Text Encoding Initiative (TEI) is an international Consortium, whose chief deliverable has been the TEI Guidelines. They represent an international and interdisciplinary standard that enables libraries, museums, publishers and individual scholars to represent a variety of literary and linguistic texts. www. tei-c.org/ (accessed: 23 June 2007).

3. Well-formed documents require every normal element to be preceded by a start-tag and followed by an end-tag (<u> and </u> in the following example),

and all possible attribute values expressed in quotes. The typical structure of an XML element is illustrated by means of the following example taken randomly from the CBS subcorpus: <u who="Rather_Dan" sex="m" role="newspresenter" dialect="en-US" type="camera">[. . .]</u> [Source: CBS 31 March 2003].

The element **u** (utterance) is specified by the attributes **who**, **sex**, **role**, **dialect** and **type**, which are in turn assigned the values indicated in quotes.

4. The latest version, which we have followed in the annotation process, is the P5 (Sperberg-McQueen and Burnard 2007). www.tei-c.org/Guidelines/P5/ (accessed: 23 June 2007).

5. For the television corpus we have used a customized RELAX NG schema (cf. http://relaxng.org/ (accessed: 23 June 2007)). A schema is a reference file containing the rules to be followed while encoding an XML file. It provides a blueprint for the necessary annotation, guiding annotators through their choices while simultaneously providing a check against allowed parameters. Validation is precisely the check for conformity of the annotation against this schema.

6. Xaira (XML Aware Indexing and Retrieval Architecture, developed by Lou Burnard and Tony Dodd, Oxford University Computing Services).

7. The categories used in the annotation were developed during a previous research project on media language (results reported in Haarman 2004) and further refined for the present analysis. As indicated in the Introduction to this volume (section 0.2.3), the tags originally employed were not XML TEI-conformant and a major part of our work focused on adapting and preserving the necessary information within the constraints of the TEI syntax.

8. For the English part of the corpus it is possible to retrieve this information also by using part of speech tagging. The British and American television texts have been lemmatized, POS and C7 tagged using CLAWS7, a software developed by UCREL at Lancaster University (www.comp.lancs.ac.uk/computing/users/eiamjw/claws/claws7.html (accessed: 23 June 2007)).

9. Query text expressed in Xaira's CQL query language: <scope><element name="s" ns=""/><element name="u"><attribute name="sex">f</attribute><attribute name="role">newspresenter</attribute><attribute name="role">reporter:embed</attribute><attribute name="role">reporter:studio</attribute> <attribute name="role">correspondent</attribute><attribute name="role">reporter: warzone</attribute><attribute name="role">reporter</attribute></element></scope>

10. Word/Phrase, Pattern, XML and Part of speech queries can be combined using *Xaira* Query builder.

11. The time–cost–quality triangle is a concept often used in business in order to picture the management of a project: a compromise by which quality, cost and time are traded against each other in order to achieve the optimum outcome.

12. As mentioned in the Introduction, the Headline tag was unusable because settings for automatic recording were not consistent across the channels, resulting in incomplete data collection.

13. 'An *overspecific* variable is a variable declared using a type that is not at the highest abstraction appropriate for its actual use.' (Halloran and Scherlis 2002: 3).

2 The news presenter as socio-cultural construct

Linda Lombardo

2.1 Introduction

This chapter looks at the discourse of television news presenters in the CorDis television corpus across two languages and three cultures. The role the news presenter plays and the language s/he uses determine the kind of persona or professional personality which is projected for the programme as a whole, one that is appropriate to a given socio-cultural context (see Introduction, this volume). It is an important site for analysing stance and evaluation, since the news presenter creates the appearance of more or less 'objective' reporting/introducing of reports through language in a variety of ways and sets up a more or less 'detached' relationship with the television audience, positioning them in different ways with respect to the content of what is being said.

Three factors appear to be critical in the cross-cultural analysis of the construction of the news presenter/differentiation of news presenters' roles. First, against the background of Hallin and Mancini's (2004) models of journalism as set out in the Introduction, it may be expected that the Anglo-American notion of 'objectivity', will result in a different use of language by the news presenters in Britain and the US from that by their counterparts in a Mediterranean country like Italy, where commentary is valued and the notion of politically neutral journalism is viewed as less plausible. Secondly, the way in which public or commercial television is conceived and structured within the national context may determine significant differences in both style of delivery and perspective on the news. Finally, in the immediate context of the war, the direct involvement of the US and Britain in the conflict, public opinion within the country at the time, and, in the US at least, the social atmosphere and the relationship between government and the media post 9/11 are all expected to have an impact on the way the war is reported.[1]

This chapter will address these factors in the analysis of news presenter discourse in the various social and cultural contexts.

2.2 Corpus and methodological approach

The subcorpora under study here are composed of all the words spoken by the news presenters in a month of news programmes on four broadcasters: BBC (22,437

words, 22% of all discourse), CBS (18,965 words, 32% of all discourse), RAI Uno (13,269 words, 15% of all discourse) and TG5 (30,617 words, 28% of all discourse). Thus, if the importance of the news presenter's role is related to the proportion of all words/air space s/he occupies, then the anchor in CBS has the highest status, followed by the three news presenters together in the studio in TG5,[2] the news presenter in BBC and the news presenter in RAI Uno, who occupies significantly less of the programme.

In the first part of this study, frequency lists, keyword checks and concordances are the starting point for exploring differences and similarities across programmes, particularly for comparing same-language programmes, that is, BBC with CBS and RAI Uno with TG5. The differences revealed through the analysis of frequency lists and keywords identify salient features of each of the subcorpora, which are then subjected to a full comparative analysis, taking all four subcorpora into account. In the second part of the study, there is a focus on the use of negation as a prime site for evaluation through a comparison of representative examples across subcorpora. A combination of analytical tools has been applied in analysing the data: the 'objectivity'/'subjectivity' continuum as formulated by Iedema *et al.* (1994); Martin and White's (2005) appraisal systems with respect to intersubjective stance in a dialogic perspective of text; and work by a number of linguists (e.g. Martin and White 2005, Pagano 1994, and Hunston and Thompson 2000) on the evaluative and interactional functions of negation.

2.3 A quantitative and qualitative analysis

2.3.1 Keyword analysis in CBS and BBC

The first step in the quantitative analysis of the data was that of making frequency lists for the words in all four subcorpora. Then keyword lists were generated by means of WordSmith tools,[3] which automatically carries out loglikelihood tests of statistical significance, in this case, to compare the two subcorpora in English (anchor in CBS vs news presenter in BBC) and the two subcorpora in Italian (news presenter in RAI Uno vs news presenter in TG5) to see which words are significantly more frequent in one subcorpus than in the other. In each case, the larger subcorpus (i.e. BBC and TG5) was used as the reference corpus and its keywords were expressed as negative keywords for the smaller subcorpus. An analysis of lexical keywords (eliminating names of the news team, the programme and places, and the verbs *be* and *have*) shows some interesting differences between CBS and BBC. In CBS these keywords are: *US*, *reporting*, *live*, *war* and *one*; in BBC they are: *British*, *American*, *talk*, *very*, *much* and *well*. The positive keywords in BBC are negative keywords in CBS, in that they occur significantly less frequently there. The generation of concordances with these words made it possible to examine each one in context in order to verify comparability of use. Discussion of these keywords follows.

The keyness of the lexeme *US* in CBS anchor discourse is related to its use as a modifier of military terms, such as *army*, *forces*, *marine(s)*, *military*, *troops*, *officials*, *commanders*, *soldiers*, etc. In CBS anchor talk they are indeed the main protagonists. The

negative keyness of the lexemes *British* and *American* in CBS is a result of the greater preference given to these words in BBC news presenter discourse. The lexeme *reporting* is used significantly more frequently in CBS, typically to signal the end of a report by a reporter (*Mark Phillips reporting live from Kuwait City*), including the anchor himself when he anchors and reports from the war zone after 7 April; but it also occurs in the closing frame (*Dan Rather reporting for the CBS Evening News*) since the anchor's prestigious name is closely identified with the news programme itself (*The CBS Evening News with Dan Rather*). The lexeme *live* (as in *reporting live*) is used in CBS to underline the fact that news is being brought live to viewers in real time: *(reporting) live from the Pentagon/Northern Iraq/Kuwait/Fort Bliss Texas/at the White House/ with the first marine division/ on television.* In BBC news presenter discourse, the live exchanges between news presenter and correspondents, which are a characteristic of BBC coverage, make it unnecessary to signal the live link explicitly in the verbal text.

Very is a negative keyword in CBS, where it is used mainly (10 out of 16 occurrences) to modify an adjective. A keyword in BBC, in the majority of occurrences (62 out of 77) it is used to signal the closing of the exchange with a correspondent (*thank you/thanks very much*), and so it performs the same function as *reporting* (rigorously third person) in CBS. In the same way, the keyness of *talk* in BBC is related to the high frequency of news presenter–reporter exchanges, which consist of talk and which are frequently introduced as such: *Let's talk to Andrew Maar, in Downing Street; We can talk now to Ben Brown in Baghdad.* The frequency of initial *well* in BBC accounts for its keyness; it serves to mark transition to a new news item or to a new correspondent, as in *Well the Royal Marines are at the forefront of tonight's move into Iraq* or *Well, Ben, how would you analyze specifically the British dilemma in all of this?*[4] This function of *well* is missing in CBS, which contributes to the overall impression of less spontaneity in speech and a more controlled, 'prepared' style of presentation.

The keyness of *one* in CBS is related to its frequent use in reporting the number of troop movements and casualties and in references to specific US military units, such as, *the one hundred and seventy-third Airborne Brigade.* This is probably also indicative of the greater amount of information reported directly by the anchor on CBS, as compared to the BBC news presenter, whose major role is 'coordinating' reports and 'probing' the information provided by correspondents. It is interesting to note that *our* is also a negative keyword in CBS (−45.34) and is used in BBC mainly (90 out of 110 occurrences) to introduce the exchange with correspondents (*our correspondent*), which has the effect of potentially 'including' the television audience on whose behalf the news presenter speaks; at the same time, in more than half of these instances *our* is followed by a title indicating the specific expertise of the correspondent, which seems to justify the news presenter's practice of pushing them beyond simply reporting information and asking for further explanations, interpretations and predictions based on their own specific knowledge and experience: *our special correspondent, our Washington correspondent, our political editor, our economic editor, our diplomatic correspondent, our Europe correspondent, our world affairs editor, our social affairs editor.* There are few near equivalents to these titles in CBS (all without potentially audience-inclusive *our*): (*at/from the Pentagon) CBS (News) national security correspondent, White House correspondent* and *CBS combat/war correspondent* (used twice for

embedded reporters); typically reports are introduced with *CBS news correspondent* followed by the reporter's name. This difference in usage marks a different construction of correspondence and positioning of viewers in the two subcorpora, as 'silent participants' in BBC[5] and as 'passive recipients' in CBS.

The last keyword in CBS examined here is *war*, which has a significantly higher frequency than in BBC. In a context of frequent commercial breaks such as that of CBS Evening News, greater repetition is required both as a signposting and cohesive device and as a technique for ensuring that the audience will stay tuned. However, the significantly more frequent use of the lexeme *war* in CBS also seems to be part of a concerted effort to keep the war in Iraq and its coverage, and indeed the very concept of war and of the nation at war, at the centre of attention. Notice how in the standard, recurrent frames in examples (1) and (2), which typically appear right after the opening of the programme, coverage of the war becomes part of the text in CBS:

(1) CBS News correspondents [. . .] to bring you solid/accurate and comprehensive/clear/steady clear accurate *war* coverage

(2) And we begin by taking you to the Pentagon for an overview of the *war*/CBS's David Martin at the Pentagon has the big picture of the *war* in general

Other illustrations of the reflection on war reporting and the virtual experience of war are examples (3) and (4).

(3) No people in history have ever seen a *war* the way we are seeing this one. (28 March, CBS)

(4) We try this night to put the *war* in context for you as best we can. (4 April, CBS)

Another distinguishing feature of CBS anchor discourse, as compared with that of the news presenter in BBC, is a tendency towards rhetoric and personalization with respect to war and the Iraq war when introducing 'human interest' stories (example 5) or in concluding the programme[6] (example 6). This is in keeping with Martin and White's (2005: 169) grouping of 'human interest' coverage along with 'analysis' and 'commentary' under 'writer voice', because of its more explicitly evaluative style.

(5) Just ahead on the CBS evening news, ties that bind: fathers and sons, duty, honour, country and *war*. (1 April, CBS)

(6) When President Bush sent American servicemen and women to *war*, the entire nation went with them. (4 April, CBS)

In these more personalized uses, *war* has a positive semantic (Sinclair 1991) or discourse prosody (Stubbs 2001), in that it has a pattern of association with words of positive social value, expressing bravery, patriotism and family ties. Taken together, these words create a relationship between the word *war* and anchor/viewers which

conveys an attitude of evaluation that is positive and even respectful of war (and its 'inevitability'), and they position the television audience with the troops and their families, construing empathy and solidarity.

In the same way, in reporting war news the anchor in CBS constructs over time an American war for a good cause through his (unattributed) representation of the war as a war which is against Saddam and in favour of the Iraqi people (also through the use of war-related words)[7] as can be seen in examples (7) to (11).

(7)   the US-led *war* to disarm Saddam Hussein and liberate Iraq (20 March, CBS)

(8)   *Operation* Iraqi Freedom (20 March, CBS)

(9)   The US *war* to disarm Iraq and oust Saddam Hussein (24 March, CBS)

(10) Besides ridding Iraq of chemical and other outlawed weapons, main goals of the *war* include bringing Iraqis freedom and food (24 March, CBS)

(11) their [US ground forces] *war* against Saddam Hussein (1 April, CBS)

Polls, also in Italy, seemed to indicate public consensus on the undesirability of Saddam's regime so that his removal could be viewed by all as a positive effect of the war, although not necessarily sufficient motivation for it. This identification of the war with positive goals is also connected with its being a *US war* (examples 7, 9 and 11) and through the use of the Pentagon's term for it[8] (example 8). In addition, the explicitly evaluative word *liberate* (example 7), and the expression *freedom and food* and the backgrounded *ridding Iraq of chemical and other outlawed weapons* (example 10), present positive motivations for the war as taken for granted in 'bare or categorical assertions' (i.e. propositions that are presented as 'known facts'; see Martin and White 2005: 98–9).

In BBC news presenter discourse, on the other hand, the most frequent representation of the war is with neutral post-modification, and the only occurrence of *the war against Saddam Hussein* is attributed to *Britain and America*. A close reading of the transcripts showed that the only unattributed representation of the war at all comparable to those just cited in CBS occurs on the first day of war reporting: *The massive military operation to topple Saddam Hussein* (20 March). This phrase is not used again by the BBC news presenter and the only similar phrasing appears a few days later in a clear attribution: *Mr. Blair and President Bush have underlined their determination to topple Saddam Hussein* (27 March).[9] The reserve with which the word *war* is used by the news presenter in BBC compared with the anchor in CBS may also be related to the greater strength and visibility of the anti-war movement in the UK, which would have made a more descriptive or evaluative use of the term controversial.

Interestingly enough, there are also two occurrences in BBC of *holy war or jihad*, both attributed to Saddam Hussein. There are no examples of 'war rhetoric' comparable to those in CBS, and the only metaphorical use is a single occurrence of the phrase *a PR war*, used by the news presenter in an exchange with the correspondent in Baghdad: *This is very much a PR war, isn't it?* (5 April). So while in CBS

attention is drawn to the news team's responsible coverage of the war, to the positive motivations for the war and to the virtual experience of war shared with viewers, in BBC, in this last instance at least, there is the suggestion that both sides of the conflict are on a par in the sense of each trying to present itself in the most favourable light possible.

Although there is coverage in BBC of ordinary people in the UK and their reactions to the war (which tends to show a very divided public), it is introduced by the news presenter in a 'neutral' reporter voice (Iedema *et al.* 1994), as are reporters' stories of casualties, family mourning or celebrations for returning soldiers. Compare the texts reporting the death of a war reporter in CBS in example (12) and in BBC in example (13), in both cases involving a reporter who was not a member of the news team.

(12) We dedicate this broadcast to our fellow Americans who have died fighting in the *war* so far, and especially this night to David Bloom, the great young NBC news correspondent who died here at the weekend covering the *war*. (7 April, CBS)

(13) Tributes have been paid tonight to ITN's veteran television news correspondent, Terry Lloyd, who's believed to have died in Iraq. ITN says it appears he was killed after his car came under fire from coalition forces outside Basra yesterday. (23 March, BBC)

In CBS the presence of the speaker as part of the news team is signalled in the text by the first-person pronoun *we* (see Ferrarotti, this volume) and the verb *dedicate* expresses positive evaluation for which the speaker takes full responsibility; in the cotext the rhetorical language *our fellow Americans* and *died fighting* construct a public who identify with the troops, and the repetition of the word *war* is significant, equating those who risk their lives fighting with those who risk their lives reporting. In BBC the passive construction makes the language used impersonal with no speaker investment, and *tributes have been paid* and *veteran television news correspondent*, while expressing positive attitude, are stock phrases in a typical 'reporter voice' style.[10]

To sum up, the analysis of the use of lexical keywords has identified some very different patterns in anchor/news presenter discourse in the two English-language subcorpora. One has to do with the construction of correspondence, which in BBC is centred around news presenter–reporter live exchanges, while in CBS it consists mainly of what appear to be pre-packaged reports and in any case with no real interaction between anchor and reporter. The other is related to a positive discourse prosody for (the) war in CBS, which is created through systematic association with a semantic set of words connoting patriotism and through the use of evaluative language in unattributed assertions associating the US with democratic and humanitarian values.

2.3.2 Keyword analysis in RAI Uno and TG5

In carrying out a keyword analysis for the two Italian-language subcorpora in the same manner, it was decided to include function words since there are a number

of these with very different frequencies while there are relatively few differences for lexical words. Here too, the generation of concordances made it possible to examine each of these words in context in order to verify comparability of use.

In RAI Uno, public television and the so-called government channel, the news presenter's language tends to follow certain set patterns, for example, in introducing reporters' reports and in connecting live with correspondents. This accounts for the significantly higher use of the words *sentiamo* (*let's/we listen to/hear from*), *colleghiamoci* and *con* (*let's connect with*), *corrispondente* and *inviato* (*correspondent*). While news presenters in both Italian subcorpora use frequent *we* forms such as *sentiamo* and *vediamo* (*let's/we look at/see*), in RAI Uno *sentiamo* accounts for a much larger proportion of these forms as does *colleghiamoci con*. TG5 presents a significantly more frequent use of *vediamo* and in general a broader range of lexical verbs used with *we* forms (see Ferrarotti, this volume). In fact, in RAI Uno the *sentiamo* of the news presenter is used almost exclusively for signalling that a reporter's report will follow and there is typically no real exchange between news presenter and correspondent even when on a live link. In the same way, the greeting *buonasera* (*good evening*) is used in RAI Uno not only in addressing the television audience at the opening of each programme but also to greet a correspondent on a live link, to whom the news presenter typically asks a single opening question with no follow-up, as in example (14).

(14)   Buonasera. Sappiamo *quali* sono stati gli obiettivi colpiti oggi? (27 March, RAI Uno)
([to the correspondent in Baghdad] Good evening. Do we know *what* targets have been hit today?)

In TG5 *buonasera* is used almost exclusively in addressing viewers at the opening of the programme. The greater informality and variety in the language used by the three TG5 news presenters, present in the studio at the same time, is also in keeping with their 'talk show' style of delivery in which they collaborate in jointly reporting news, introducing reports and engaging in live exchanges with correspondents.

The principal use of *fra*, another keyword in RAI Uno, is in the sense of *between/among* and it serves mainly to structure the discourse of agreement/disagreement or, more often, that of division, controversy or conflict, as a way of introducing a reporter's report on a problematic issue, as in examples (15) and (16).

(15)   E ora a Bruxelles [. . .] Obbiettivi del premier ricucire le divisioni *fra* i paesi europei e lo strappo *fra* Europa e Stati Uniti. (20 March, RAI Uno)
(And now to Brussels [. . .] Objectives of the premier, to heal the divisions *among* European countries and the break *between* Europe and the United States.)

(16)   E il dibattito politico *fra* opposizione e maggioranza oggi si è soffermato proprio sul problema dei profughi iracheni. Vediamo. (29 March, RAI Uno)
(And the political debate *between* opposition and government majority today focused on the problem of Iraqi refugees. Let's see.)

This is in keeping with the role of the news presenter on the government network, whose main job is to introduce and connect other voices, and particularly those (typically in conflict) of the party in power and the opposition (see Introduction, this volume). The last keyword in RAI Uno, *quali* (*which/what*), is also part of a 'formulaic' language pattern, in this case, an interrogative word which serves to formulate a question that the reporter's report will address. In this sense, it sets the audience up for the report and focuses them on the main information as we saw in example (14).

Negative keywords for RAI Uno, those used with significantly more frequency in TG5, are typically related to the greater linguistic complexity of news presenter discourse in TG5 and to a greater tendency to comment the news, including comments on the language that is used by the news presenters themselves (examples 17 and 18): *se* (*if/whether*), *quello* (*the one/that*), *quello che* (*that which/what*), *che* (*that/which*), as *che cosa* (*what*), and *perché* (*because*).

(17) Ma l'altro dato, *quello* laico se volete, è che Saddam Hussein non è apparso personalmente in televisione per questo importantissimo proclama e quindi in queste ore si discute ancora (1 April, TG5)
([after reporting the words of Saddam Hussein inciting all Arabs to wage a holy war against the infedels] But the other piece of information, *that which* is non-religious, if you like, is that Saddam Hussein did not appear personally on television for this very important proclamation and so now everyone is debating again)

(18) questa volta almeno, la propaganda c'entra poco *perché* almeno in uno di questi casi a Hilla la Croce Rossa internazionale ha potuto visitare l'ospedale dove sono ricoverati tanti feriti e dove ha potuto vedere dove i funzionari della Croce Rossa hanno potuto vedere con i loro occhi decine di corpi straziati. (1 April, TG5)
(This time at least, propaganda has little to do with it *because* in at least one of these cases at Hilla, the international Red Cross has been able to visit the hospital where many of those injured have been taken and where the Red Cross workers could see, could see with their own eyes dozens of mangled bodies.)

The negative keyness of *non* (*not*) due to the significantly higher frequency with which it is used in TG5 seems to point to its use by the TG5 news presenters in an evaluative way, which is part of what they seem to view as their role in reporting and commenting the news. Research by Biber *et al.* (1999: 159) shows a very high frequency of *not*-negation in spoken discourse, because in general 'conversation is interactive and invites both agreement and disagreement'. Both the closer news presenter/television audience relationship and the greater spontaneity of language in TG5 suggest a more 'interactive' and evaluative mode.

The last keyword preferred in TG5 is *appunto* (whose dictionary definition is *just/exactly/precisely*), used as a relevance marker to emphasize the importance of what is being said and at the same time connecting it with what was said before. This word also has an interactional function in that it signals the presence of the speaker in the

text, suggesting commitment to the content. Finally, it is a kind of filler which serves to maintain speaker fluency in longer stretches of language or in rapid turntaking such as that characteristic of the collaborative mode adopted by news presenters in TG5. Example (19) is typical of the way it punctuates the discourse of news presenters in TG5.

(19) Chiamiamo [the correspondent in Amman] che *appunto* per tanti per tanto tempo è stato in Israele dove sappiamo che *appunto* che gli attacchi suicidi e gli attacchi kamikaze sono diventati purtroppo una agghiacciante consuetudine in quel paese. (4 April, TG5)
([following the story of two women involved in a suicide attack in Baghdad] Let's call [the correspondent in Amman], who *appunto* for such a long time was in Israel where we know that *appunto* that suicide attacks have become unfortunately an appalling practice in that country.)

To conclude, quantitatively and qualitatively, news presenters in TG5 play a greater role than their counterparts in RAI Uno – they talk more, they do more news reporting, they actively engage in exchanges with correspondents, and they interpret and comment news. They use more connecting words (such as *if, that* and *because*) and evaluative language (such as, *not* constructions and the emphasizer *appunto*), and they are more present in the text through the use of *we* forms (see Ferrarotti, this volume). The news presenter in RAI Uno, in keeping with her/his traditional role, lets reporters do the reporting and experts and political figures speak for themselves, and plays the more limited role of introducing and connecting what others have to say. Traditionally, s/he is concerned with construing *il dibattito politico*, a set phrase to indicate the 'political debate' between government and opposition parties with regard to both national and international events and issues.

2.3.3 Comparing lexical frequencies across broadcasters

The next step in the quantitative/qualitative approach to the data was an attempt to make a direct comparison of news presenter discourse across all four subcorpora. This was done by means of the frequency lists generated by WordSmith for each subcorpus. The results are displayed in Table 2.1. The word or lemma (in small caps) appears in the first column, and the frequency in the second for each of the four subcorpora. The words are listed in order of frequency.

One obvious similarity is that news presenters in all four subcorpora talk very frequently about Baghdad, Iraq and the war (although with lower relative frequency for *war* in BBC). They also refer frequently to the protagonists of the war, with *American(s)* the preferred term, the only exception being CBS where *US* is more frequent (although *American(s)* is also used frequently); only in BBC is the use of *British* high frequency, also because *Anglo-American(s)* is preferred in RAI Uno and TG5, where however it is used much less frequently than *American(s)*. There are also frequent references to the Iraqis, and to Saddam in all four subcorpora, but he is mentioned with the highest relative frequency in TG5, which also gives the most

Table 2.1 The 15 most frequent lexical (and discourse structuring) words/lemmas in news presenter discourse

CBS		BBC		RAI Uno		TG5	
US	219	BAGHDAD	203	IRAQ	109	Bagdad	213
WAR	175	Now	171	Bagdad	99	guerra	194
BAGHDAD	166	IRAQI	193	guerra	84	immagini	128
IRAQ	148	IRAQ	182	AMERICAN	81	Saddam	125
IRAQI	120	AMERICAN	166	IRACHEN	77	IRACHEN	122
now	111	TONIGHT	129	sentiamo	76	appunto	103
TODAY	107	TODAY	129	oggi	62	oggi	103
SADDAM	91	forces	114	grazie	54	AMERICAN	91
AMERICAN	77	WAR	110	buonasera	52	Hussein	84
forces	73	troops	108	Saddam	48	IRAQ	82
TONIGHT	69	well	108	detto	43	vediamo	79
CITY	66	US	95	inviato	40	ecco	73
troops	56	British	94	truppe	38	fatto	68
MARINE	64	CITY	93	adesso	36	grazie	66
new	51	SADDAM	84	diretta	34	visto	59

importance to his complete name *Saddam Hussein*. Not surprisingly, news presenters in all four subcorpora frequently employ words to show time and timeliness: *today/ oggi, tonight, now/ adesso* (these last two are also used as discourse structuring devices, as is *ecco* in TG5, similar in function to initial *well* in BBC).

Focusing on some of the differences, as we have seen, the CBS anchor's frequent use of *US* is connected with its collocation with words like *forces* and *troops*, both high frequency in CBS and BBC, less in RAI Uno and even less in TG5. As we have seen, the RAI Uno news presenter shows a preference for *sentiamo* (*let's/we listen to/hear)*, while TG5 news presenters use *vediamo* (*let's/we see/look at*) more frequently, and in fact *immagini* (*images*) is the third most frequent lexical word; correspondingly, the past participle form of *say* (*detto*) and of *see* (*visto*) are relatively more frequent in RAI Uno and TG5 respectively. More frequent reference to the images in the actualities in TG5 seems to be associated with the greater tendency towards interpretation and comment by the news presenters.

Looking in greater detail at the representation of the 'attackers' in news presenter discourse in the four subcorpora, the data show further differences: *coalition* is used with most frequency in BBC (71 occurrences), relatively infrequently in RAI Uno (11 occurrences) and almost never in CBS and TG5 (1 occurrence

each); *allied/allies* are not used very often and in about the same proportions in CBS (14 occurrences), RAI Uno (10 occurrences) and TG5 (18 occurrences), while they are practically never used in BBC (only 3 occurrences); almost half of the CBS occurrences do not include the US in the word *allied*, as in *US and allied forces*. So while the anchor in CBS highlights the fact that the war is US-led, the news presenter in BBC gives the British a higher profile, both separately and as part of the coalition. In addition to *American(s)*, news presenters in both RAI Uno and TG5 also use *Anglo-American(s)* (18 and 40 occurrences respectively).

Although *war* is not a keyword in TG5 in comparison with RAI Uno, for comparative purposes it is instructive to examine the differences in the ways in which (the) war is portrayed in news presenter discourse in the two Italian subcorpora. As in BBC, in RAI Uno representation of the war is with neutral post-modification. There is also one occurrence of *guerra mediatica* (*media war*) and two of *guerra santa* (*holy war*). In TG5, the most frequent representation is *la guerra in Iraq* (*the war in Iraq*), and there are single occurrences of a variety of longer nominalizations which are more or less neutral. There are also 7 occurrences of *guerra santa* (*holy war*). As in the BBC and the RAI Uno subcorpora, explicit reference is made to war propaganda – *la guerra delle parole* (*the war of words*) and *la guerra delle false voci* (*the war of false voices*); as in CBS, there is reference to media coverage – *una guerra in diretta televisiva* (*a war live on television*). In addition, there a number of highly evaluative descriptions of (the) war as illustrated in examples (20) to (23).

(20) E certo nome di *guerra* non poteva essere meno metaforico, 'colpisci e terrorizza' è davvero no una un'azione davvero durissima di colpire e terrorizzare. (21 March, TG5)
(And certainly the name of a *war* couldn't be less metaphorical, 'strike and terrorize'[11] is really, isn't it, a really harsh action of striking and terrorizing.)

(21) La *guerra*, sappiamo, è morte, lutti, dolori, abbiamo visto, nei giorni scorsi, anche tante bare, funerali, cerimonie funebri. (29 March, TG5)
(*War* we know is death, mourning, pain, we've also seen in the last few days so many coffins, funerals, funeral ceremonies.)

(22) sempre di *guerra* si tratta ma una *guerra* che segna anche la pietà. (1 April, TG5)
([introducing a reporter's report of US military doctors giving medical assistance to Iraqi civilians] it's still *war* but a *war* that is also marked by compassion.)

(23) Allora la *guerra*, l'abbiamo detto tante volte a prescindere se sia giusta, ingiusta, legittima o illegittima è sempre terribile, ancor più atroce è la *guerra* quando colpisce i civili e li colpisce per sbaglio, come è avvenuto in Iraq nelle ultime 24 ore più volte (1 April, TG5)
(So *war*, we've said so many times, regardless of whether it's just or unjust, legitimate or illegitimate, is always terrible, and still more atrocious is *war* when it hits civilians and it hits them by mistake, as has happened several times in Iraq in the last 24 hours)

Here war has a very different kind of semantic or discourse prosody from the one we have seen in CBS, associated as it is with words like *terrorize, harsh* and *terrorizing* (example 20) and *terrible* and *atrocious* (example 23), implying highly negative judgement in a context of civilian deaths caused by military error. The metaphor (example 21) equating war with *death, mourning, pain, coffins* and *funerals* is strikingly different from the patriotic associations in CBS. Even in example (22), a positive concession (*marked by compassion*) contrasts with a negatively loaded concept of war (*it's still war*).

2.3.4 Analysing negation as a prime site for evaluation: theoretical background

The next part of the analysis was triggered by keywords in TG5 frequently associated with evaluation of some kind: *se* (*if/whether*), *perché* (*because*) and *non* (*not*). A number of linguists working in English consider logical connectors resources for expressing point of view since they indicate the speaker's view of the connection between two linguistic units (e.g. Labov 1972; Quirk *et al.* 1985; Stubbs 1986; Thompson and Hunston 2000).

There is also considerable agreement on the evaluative function of the negative. In his study of personal narrative, Labov (1972: 378) lists negatives as comparators and part of evaluation since 'departures from the basic narrative syntax have a marked evaluative force'. In Thompson and Hunston's (2000: 13) words 'evaluation consists of anything which is compared to or contrasts with the norm' and the negative 'compares what is not with what might be'. With reference to Jordan (1998), Thompson (2001: 76) puts it this way: 'It is generally accepted that negatives typically deny a positive proposition that is somehow "on the table" – often because it is assumed that someone else, potentially the reader, believes it.' Among the reasons a speaker/writer may have for denying propositions that are not explicit in the text are the following: to correct mistaken assumptions/expectations the speaker/writer thinks the hearer/reader may have; to eliminate any erroneous inferences that might be made from the text; to express an unfulfilled expectation of which the speaker/writer makes the hearer/reader co-participant; to compare/contrast two or more items with the assumption that the hearer/reader has the same expectations (Pagano 1994). The specific reason depends on the kind of interlocutor that is imagined by the producer of the text: 'For a writer to deny a belief or an expectation s/he has to have some reason to think that the reader(s) may hold that belief or expectation' (*ibid.*: 254). The example given is 'The bride wasn't wearing a white dress', which matches a culture-specific schema creating expectations for a wedding and which implies a world where brides are normally dressed in white. In this sense, negation is a way of bringing in 'the voice-of-the-reader-in-the-text' (Thompson 2001: 76).

In appraisal theory (Martin and White 2005: 118; see Introduction, this volume), negation is seen as both expressing author stance and negotiating a virtual interlocutor position. In their research on evaluative key in journalistic discourse, Martin and White found that certain language elements were more closely associated with the voices of news, analysis or commentary. No significant differences were found with respect to what Martin and White term 'values of counter' when realized as a

logical connection (e.g. by conjunctions like *however, although, yet, but*), however 'counter-expectational particles' (comparators like *only, still, just, even*) were found less in reporter voice, more in correspondent voice, and most in commentator voice. Denials (in unattributed contexts) were less frequent in reporter voice and most frequent in commentator voice.

In order to follow up on the differences between news presenter discourse in TG5 and RAI Uno which suggested a stronger evaluative frame in the former, the CBS and BBC subcorpora were compared with a larger corpus of US and UK newspaper OpEd articles and editorials that included coverage immediately before and during the war in Iraq.[12]

Among the words closely associated with evaluation which were negative keywords in the two television news subcorpora in English, are the following, in increasing order of negative keyness: in CBS anchor discourse, *or, even, only, could, must, will, if, should, not, would*; in BBC news presenter discourse, *because, must, or, no, only, should, may, would, even, if, will, not. Not* had a negative keyness in CBS of –52.46 and in BBC of –117.38, while *no* had a negative keyness in the latter of –39.38.

Logically then, if these linguistic elements are indicative of evaluation and have a high frequency in opinion articles and editorials, identifying them in the texts under study should reveal some of the prime evaluative sites. It was thus decided to focus on the uses of negation in news presenter discourse across the four subcorpora. Since *not*-negation was shown to have very different frequencies in the two Italian subcorpora (a significantly higher frequency in TG5 and a corresponding significantly lower frequency in RAI Uno), a comparison was made of negativity in the two English language subcorpora. Frequency lists were used to identify the occurrences of the words under analysis (*not, no, neither, nor* and *never)* and concordances were generated to check their use in each specific context. In BBC, 71 occurrences (0.003 phw[13]) of *not,* 17 occurrences of *no,* and 1 occurrence of *nor* were identified, compared with 79 occurrences of *not* (0.004 phw), 28 occurrences of *no,* and 3 of *never* in CBS. The overall pattern of frequency for negativity does not appear very different although there is a slightly higher proportion of *not* in CBS anchor discourse and a slightly higher preference for *no.*[14]

2.3.5 Negation across subcorpora

Examples from the four subcorpora under study here will illustrate the various uses of negation and identify differences in news presenter stance and in the construal and positioning of the television audience along three different parameters: reporting the progress of the war, the treatment of civilian casualties, and the representation of coalition and Iraqi behaviour.

2.3.5.1 Reporting the progress of the war

With regard to the representation of how the war is progressing, we expect a more critical stance in BBC than in CBS, and this is borne out by the data, as illustrated in examples (24) and (25).

(24) Well, the coalition *isn't just* being slowed down in the big cities. Fierce clashes in some of the smaller towns are also hampering progress. (27 March, BBC)

As Martin and White (2005: 118) put it, 'the negative necessarily carries with it the positive', and is dialogic in that it invokes and presents itself as responding to alternative claims or beliefs. In example (24) what is denied is the unstated assertion that resistance to coalition forces is limited to the concentration of Saddam loyalists to be found in the big cities. This contradiction is further flagged and reinforced by the use of the comparative *just*, which also indicates that heavy resistance has been encountered in unexpected places.

(25) Well, troops turning back to secure towns they'd already passed was *not* part of the original American strategy for war, *nor* was the *failure* of so many Iraqi troops to surrender when the war began. (31 March, BBC)

Previous assertions, particularly by the Pentagon, that the original war plan was adequate, are denied through the use of three different kinds of negation: *not*, *nor* and lexical negation (*failure*). The two lengthy noun phrases (*troops turning back [. . .]* and *the failure of so many Iraqi troops [. . .]*) present the information contained in them as common knowledge to speaker and hearer. The tone is ironic and seems to imply that the Pentagon's insistence on projecting a positive image of the war's progress may have little credibility. In both examples, negation serves to correct any wrong idea viewers may have received from the coalition bulletins which are regularly reported.

Also in example (26) the official US military interpretation of events is contested.

(26) The White House said today's events showed a thirst for freedom across Iraq. That's *not* the view across the Arab world *of course* where there's *still* massive resentment at the American and British invasion. (9 April, BBC)

The use of an adjunct (*of course*) casts the discourse in overtly interpersonal terms, and to use Bakhtin's (1986: 93) terminology, gives it 'dialogic overtones', as here the news presenter seems to be responding to actual or imagined utterances from others, in particular, from the television audience. *Of course* projects onto viewers an expectation (which concurs with that of the news presenter) that has been fulfilled. Indeed, the increasing hostility of Arab countries (including Iraq) as a consequence of the attack had been anticipated. The counter-expectational particle *still* dispels any illusions about the so-called fall of Baghdad (on 9 April) having ended that animosity.

Compare this with the representation of the progress of the war in CBS in examples (27) and (28).

(27) Good evening. It's just about one-day old now the US-led war to disarm Saddam Hussein and liberate Iraq. *Though* the massive part of the air and

ground invasion we've been expecting *still* has *not* begun, here's some of the latest. (20 March, CBS)

Here, the subordinate clause headed by *though* backgrounds the unfulfilled expectation of anchor and viewers expressed in the clause and reinforced by the comparator *still*. What follows in the independent clause is asserted and thus carries greater informational weight (Thompson and Zhou 2000). The cotext presents the positive representation of the war (*to disarm Saddam Hussein and liberate Iraq*) as common ground, and the focus is on *the latest news.*

(28) Facts on the ground indicate that, by any objective analysis, in many important ways, militarily the war goes well, but *not* in all ways and there are legitimate concerns. (28 March, CBS)

On the day of the second marketplace bombing in Baghdad, the anchor contrasts overall clear military progress with vague, generic unfavourable aspects of the war, in a *but* construction in which both assertions are presented as true. The anchor proclaims and endorses the first assertion (*facts on the ground indicate*). The positive evaluation (*the war goes well*) is motivated in several ways (*by any objective analysis, in many important ways, militarily*) and is only partially contrasted by the ambiguity in the negative second assertion (*not in all ways* and *legitimate concerns*). This seems to be the anchor's way of alluding to the civilian deaths reported earlier and, in fact, in closing the programme on that day, immediately following a very brief account of the market bombing from a *New York Times* correspondent in Baghdad, he says, *Reality, much of it harsh, is setting in.* Here the anchor 'readjusts' viewers' potentially overly optimistic assessment, without being openly critical as is the news presenter in BBC.

In the RAI Uno news presenter subcorpus, as we have seen, *not* is a negative keyword compared with TG5: there are only 44 occurrences as opposed to 208 in TG5 for a negative keyness of –24.33. In fact, there are relatively few unattributed negations of any kind (*not, no, neither, nor, never*). This would seem to suggest less evaluative language in RAI Uno, and certainly less evaluation through the use of negation. The news presenter tends to limit her/himself to reporting the evaluations of others, but in example (29) there is a tentative assessment (*don't seem to have succeeded*) with the negative evaluation limited to the reaction of loyalist troops.

(29) i bombardamenti aerei sempre più intensi *non sembrano* essere ancora riusciti a fiaccare in molte parti dell'Iraq la resistenza dei fedeli di Saddam Hussein. (24 March, RAI Uno)
(the aerial bombings, more and more intense, *don't seem* to have succeeded in many parts of Iraq in weakening the resistance of Saddam Hussein's loyalists.)

In TG5, as expected, comment is more open and critical, and the ironic tone seems to echo that of the news presenter in BBC (example 30).

(30) Allora, sul campo continua certamente l'avanzata delle divisioni anglo-americane che sono arrivate oggi a 80 chilometri da Baghdad, *ma non* è *certo* un'avanzata trionfale (25 March, TG5)

(So, in the field the advance of the Anglo-American divisions certainly continues and today they are 80 kilometres from Baghdad, *but* it is *certainly not* a triumphal advance)

Here the first assertion (*the advance [. . .] continues*) is diminished by the second (*certainly not a triumphal advance*); the complete success of the Anglo-Americans was predicted on the grounds of their superior military might, and their presentation of the war as one of liberation would also have led viewers to expect less resistance on the part of Iraqis. Any wrong assessment viewers might have made on the basis of the first assertion (or any previous knowledge) is corrected by the second. The use of *certainly* and the choice of the word *triumphal* signal the presence of the speaker in the text.

Related to reporting the general progress of the war is the theme of Saddam's expected capture, which is treated differently across the four subcorpora. In BBC (example 31) a *but* construction is used to concede a positive development only to contrast it immediately with an even more significant failure.

(31) Er John they've found Abu Abbas but they *don't* seem any nearer finding their key targets, *not least* Saddam Hussein. (16 April, BBC)

Indeed, the concession made in the first assertion (*they've found Abu Abbas*) appears to be outweighed by the negative assertion (hedged somewhat by the modal *seem*) which follows *but*, and the evaluative word *key* and the comparative *not least* underline this difference in importance. Viewers, in their role of participant observers, are positioned with the news presenter who is querying a veteran war correspondent on this issue.

In CBS (example 32), the potentially negative information is presented as uncertain and its importance is backgrounded.

(32) Whether he is alive *or not*, Saddam Hussein's Iraqi regime has ignited oil fires in Baghdad, hoping that the smoke will keep allied pilots from seeing their targets. (2 April, CBS)

The *or* construction codes possible alternative interpretations, and the focus is on the negative action of Saddam's troops.

In RAI Uno (example 33) the treatment of this theme is more explicit, however it contrasts with the way this news is presented in BBC (example 31).

(33) Saddam *non* è stato ancora catturato, *ma* si è consegnato uno dei suoi più stretti collaboratori. (12 April, RAI Uno)

(Saddam has *not* yet been captured, *but* one of his closest collaborators has turned himself in.)

While the unfavourable evaluation in the *not*-clause is conceded, it seems to be counterbalanced by the positive information in the *but* clause, which is given the same weight. This is a way of contrasting and reducing the effect of the denial. In BBC (example 31) the coalition's failure to capture Saddam is highlighted. So viewers on the two channels are being positioned to interpret the same information in very different ways.

In TG5, as we have seen, Saddam is given more coverage as a news maker: his messages are read out in translation and much is made of his appearances both on Iraqi television and in the streets of Baghdad (example 34).

(34) Scusa, ma che cosa si dice a Washington del fatto che Saddam, ammesso che fosse lui, abbia deciso di ricompa– di di apparire in pubblico in mezzo alla strada così, senza alcun timore, *evidentemente non* ha paura *né* dei satelliti, *né* delle eventuali spie che– Che cosa si dice di questo? (TG5, April 4)
([to the correspondent at the White House] Excuse me, but what do they say in Washington about the fact that Saddam, if it was him, decided to appear in public in the middle of the street like that, without any fear, *clearly* he is *not* afraid, *neither* of satellites, *nor* of possible spies. What did they say about this?)

Not negation is used to counter the implicit expectation that Saddam would be afraid to appear in public at this point, and that denial is repeated two more times (*neither of satellites, nor of possible spies*). There are possible implications here, not only for certain aspects of Saddam's character (potentially positive) but also for the actual progress of the war (potentially negative) The news presenter speaks to the Washington correspondent on behalf of the television audience, as s/he does in BBC.

2.3.5.2 Reporting civilian casualties

As regards the way in which civilian casualties are reported, we can notice some remarkable differences in the four subcorpora. In BBC, the whole question of civilian victims of the war is construed as a problematic issue. In example (35) what is highlighted through negation is the coalition's failure to assume or reject responsibility for the bombing.

(35) Local people are blaming an American Cruise missile. An Iraqi doctor said he counted 55 bodies at one of the city hospitals. There's been *no* comment *so far* on the explosion from coalition central command. (28 March, BBC)

Here the expectation that responsibility for civilian deaths will be assigned has not been met. This omission is further emphasized by the testimonies of eye witnesses which precede it. The viewing audience construed is one which, along with the news presenter, is used to being informed about this.

In CBS any admission of coalition responsibility for civilian casualties seems to require some kind of hedging, as can be seen in example (36).

> (36) The smoke has had little if any impact on the accuracy of the bombardment, *however*, it may be that *not* every strike is precise. (2 April, CBS)

The assertion in the first clause is reinforced by the indicative verb and the downgrading expression *little if any*. In the contrastive clause following *however*, the modal *may* is used which indicates a lack of commitment to the proposition being true (Thompson and Zhou 2000: 136); it is further weakened by the negative phrase *not every*. If conjuncts like *but*, *and*, and *however* code the speaker's view of the connection between two linguistic units (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 631–2), viewers are left to interpret the meaning of the contrast between these two assertions, both of which are presented as true, in the immediate context of a report of the bombing of a Baghdad hospital (e.g. that the bombing was the result of coalition 'error' unrelated to the problem of smoke). This kind of treatment is coherent with the tendency in CBS to portray civilian deaths in a more abstract and agentless way (e.g. civilians are 'caught in the crossfire' and innocent victims become 'the price to pay'; see also Lombardo 2007a).

In RAI Uno news presenter discourse there are no examples of negation used in reporting civilian victims, in sharp contrast with the negative war rhetoric of the news presenters in TG5 (example 37).

> (37) Una guerra porta sempre con se danni collaterali e stragi tra la popolazione civile, *non* era lecito illudersi che questa fosse diversa, *ma evidentemente* questa strage del mercato nel centro di Baghdad porterà la discussione in tutte le capitali interessate (26 March, TG5)
>
> (A war always brings with it collateral damage and civilian massacres, it *wasn't* right to illude ourselves that this one would be different, *but obviously* this massacre in the market in the centre of Baghdad will carry the discussion to all the capitals involved)

Here the principal news presenter proclaims the 'truth' about war, any war, (*war always brings with it collateral damage and civilian massacres*); the juxtaposition of the military euphemism (*collateral damage*) and a terse paraphrase (*civilian massacres*) makes the statement even more dramatic. *Not* negation (*it wasn't right to illude ourselves*) rejects an implicit expectation encouraged at various times by coalition information sources (particularly the Pentagon), that this war would be a 'surgical operation' to remove an evil dictator. Viewers are disaligned from a belief in the possibility of a 'clean' war, however comforting, and positioned with the news presenter (*ourselves*). The concurring adjunct *obviously* construes the audience as sharing the same assessment of the consequences of the bombing as the news presenter, that it will create more discussion and debate; what is contrasted through *but* is the difference between knowing that civilian deaths are a tragic and inevitable part of war (negative evaluation) and having this fact come to the fore as the focus of attention (positive expectation of achieving a goal). In fact, in TG5 the issue of civilian deaths is consistently raised and presented as a shared concern of the news team and the television audience.

2.3.5.3 The representation of coalition and Iraqi behaviour

We will close this brief analysis of negation with a few examples of the way in which members of the coalition and the Iraqis themselves are portrayed across subcorpora. The news presenter in BBC, like his/her counterpart in TG5, is insistent about presenting military errors as a problematic issue, although the style of contestation is very different, as illustrated in example (38).

> (38) There is *still no* explanation tonight why an American pilot opened fire on a clearly marked British convoy near Basra killing a soldier. He's the fifth victim of so-called friendly fire in the current conflict. One of the dead man's colleagues described the American pilot as a cowboy. (31 March, BBC)

Here the unsatisfied expectation of an explanation for the American pilot's behaviour is foregrounded as a problem (*there is still no explanation*) and, along with the mention of the repetitiveness of such events (*the fifth victim*) and the inappropriateness of the term being used (*so-called friendly fire*), the news presenter seems to entertain as a possibility the only explanation offered, that attributed to the dead man's colleague that the American pilot was 'trigger-happy'. This is part of what appears to be a concerted effort in BBC to focus on the interrelated issues of civilian deaths or injuries and military error or incompetence, along with the general reluctance of military authorities to provide the public with information that presents the war in an unfavourable light (example 39).

> (39) In Baghdad, Iraqi police officers, backed up by US Marines, have been patrolling the streets, in an effort to restore law and order. But there is growing anger that water and power supplies *still haven't* been re-connected. (15 April, BBC)

The first proposition concedes that efforts are being made to restore law and order, while the assertion in the *but* clause offers a negative assessment (*there is growing anger*), also through an embedded *not* negation reinforced by the comparator *still* (*still haven't been re-connected*), implying that a commonly held and therefore legitimate expectation of the Iraqi people (potentially shared by viewers) has not been satisfied.

In CBS, the same situation is presented very differently (example 40).

> (40) [following a US military officer's positive reading of the situation] *Still* the US military has taken on an enormous job in trying to get Iraq up and running again, *and* men trained to be riflemen *don't* easily become repair men. (16 April, CBS)

The previous positive assessment of the situation by someone else is contrasted through the use of *still*; *and* indicates continuity with the evaluation of great difficulty preceding it (*an enormous job*), while the use of *not*-negation stresses the incongruity of expecting fighting troops to be used in other and incompatible ways

(*don't easily become repair men*); here it seems to be used by the anchor to provide a justification for coalition soldiers' failure to resolve problems unrelated to combat.

In CBS, US soldiers are frequently represented as engaging in actions with a positive social value (see also Lipson, this volume) (example 41).

> (41) American soldiers and marines like this one running off to give medical attention to a wounded man. *Not* an American, *but* an Iraqi civilian named Nasser, who had stayed by his store to protect it from looters. (11 April, CBS)

The negative followed by contrastive *but* (*not an American but an Iraqi civilian*) counters the commonly held expectation that in time of war soldiers will only help their own, and in fact it is in keeping with the coalition representation of the conflict as a war of liberation, with Americans fighting on behalf of the Iraqi people.

On the other hand, Iraqis are frequently portrayed as 'other' (see Lipson, this volume), and their behaviour often remains inscrutable or at least unpredictable in Western eyes (example 42).

> (42) The city's mostly Shiite Muslim residents were expected to welcome allied troops as liberators *but* it *didn't* happen and for whatever reason it *still hasn't* (31 March, CBS)

The expectation expressed in the first assertion seems to be given greater legitimacy through the use of the passive construction (*were expected to*), while the counter-expectational assertion is presented as unexplained, suggesting that there is no reasonable cause (*for whatever reason*). On the whole, this utterance seems to imply a criticism of the Muslims in question.

In RAI Uno, there seems to be an attempt to present a 'balanced' or 'neutral' view of potentially problematic coalition behaviour (example 43).

> (43) le truppe anglo-americane sono ancora impegnate nell'eliminare le ultime sacche di resistenza, *anche se* corrono ai ripari, *non* sono *ancora* in grado di garantire l'ordine nelle città (4 April, RAI Uno)
> (the Anglo-American troops are still engaged in eliminating the last vestiges of resistance, *even though* they try to remedy the situation, they are *not yet* able to guarantee order in the cities)

A concession is made (*they try to remedy*) and contrasted with the negative result obtained (*they are not able to guarantee order*). The British and American forces are presented as operating on two fronts in an objectively difficult situation. There seems to be an implication that once the fighting is over order will be restored.

In TG5, as we said before, news presenters seem to use *not* as a way of foregrounding information related to criticism but also to explanation, both of which are part of what they see as their role in reporting and commenting the news (example 44).

(44) tra le reazioni di Washington c'è anche quella di accusare Saddam sostanzialmente per gli errori, per i danni collaterali e questo *non* per giustificare per la verità ma per spiegare meglio cosa sta accadendo laggiù, è anche vero che la reazione dei militari spesso è improntata alla paura, al timore, per *non* dire l'incubo di trovarsi di fronte i kamikaze. (1 April, TG5)
(one of Washington's reactions is to accuse Saddam of the errors, of the collateral damage, and this *not* to justify really but to explain better what's happening over there, it's also true that the reaction of the soldiers is often dictated by the fear, the dread, *not* to say the nightmare, of finding themselves in front of a kamikaze.)

By means of *not* negation the news presenter clarifies his role as news purveyor in presenting both sides of the question, and proceeds to 'instruct' viewers as to how to interpret this particular news item by reminding them of the atmosphere of fear in which the often young and inexperienced US soldiers are operating.

TG5 news presenters go to some lengths to represent the Iraqi side of the conflict and Arabs in general as well (example 45).

(45) ancora sulle migliaia di giovani arabi, *non* tutti *ovviamente* sono kamikaze, molti saranno *semplicemente* dei volontari che combatteranno a viso aperto, diciamo così (31 March, TG5)
([speaking to the correspondent in Baghdad] getting back to the thousands of young Arabs, *obviously not* all of them are kamikazes, many will *simply* be volunteers who will fight without covering their faces, let's put it that way)

What is denied is the commonly held belief that all young Arab recruits for the war in Iraq are kamikazes (negative value), from which viewers are disaligned. It is pointed out that many of these young people will only be voluntary fighters (positive value). This is presented as information shared with the Baghdad correspondent (and possibly with some of the television audience) through the use of the comment/interpersonal disjunct *obviously*.

A similar concern with what is happening in the Arab world is evident in BBC (example 46), where worsening relations between the US and Arab countries are repeatedly presented as problematic.

(46) [speaking to the correspondent at the White House] Er, these comments by, er, Mr Rumsfeld, very outspoken attack on Syria. This is going to cause some ruptures, *isn't* it, in the Arab world? (28 March, BBC)

The negative tag question *isn't it* suggests that the correspondent with political expertise will agree with the unfavourable assessment which is made, construing Rumsfeld's verbal attack on Syria as having a negative outcome (*cause some ruptures in the Arab world*). According to Hoey (2000), expressing something as a problem is already an evaluative stance, and this approach to reporting the war is a consistent tendency in BBC.

As a final consideration, both RAI Uno and TG5 use negative constructions to report anti-war demonstrations (examples 47 and 48).

(47) Giorno dopo giorno *non* si ferma la protesta contro la guerra, folle immense di pacifisti continuano a sfilare in ogni parte del mondo (23 March, RAI Uno)

(Day after day the anti-war protest does *not* let up, enormous crowds of pacifists continue to demonstrate in every part of the world)

(48) *non* passa giorno senza che in tutte le capitali del Medio Oriente *non* ci sia una manifestazione di massa contro l'America e a sostegno della causa araba in Iraq. (25 March, TG5)

(in all the capital cities of the Middle East *not* a day goes by that there is *not* a mass demonstration against America and in support of the Arab cause in Iraq.)

These negative assertions seem to contest an implicit expectation that protests would diminish once the threat of war became reality, with the *not*-negation flagging the continuing strength and regularity of the anti-war action. In a country with a divided public opinion like Italy, viewers will hardly feel alienated by the strength of such assertions, as they only seem to confirm what many people already know and expect.

2.4 Conclusions

Through a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the data presented here, this study reveals some significant differences in the war reporting in the four subcorpora during the first month of the Iraqi conflict. It has identified a pattern of positive association with (the) war in CBS. Although the anchor in CBS overall adopts an apparently 'objective' reporter voice style, at times he personalizes events and expresses an explicitly evaluative 'patriotic' stance. He tends to represent problems as 'objective', not as the direct result of coalition actions or errors. US soldiers are represented in a favourable light, while the Iraqis are most frequently portrayed as beneficiaries of American actions or as acting in unexplainable ways.[15] He relies heavily on official sources and, unlike BBC, there are no instances where coalition reports or statements are directly challenged or countered. He tends to make only abstract allusions to the negative social value of war, although in the context of civilian casualties his words and tone of voice suggest a grimness which sparked accusations by conservatives of 'a dour drumbeat' (McMormack *et al.* 2006: 2). He seems to be trying to strike a difficult balance between reporting the 'good' news and the 'bad' news out of Iraq, and to suggest a reason for the latter which does not reflect negatively on the coalition. The caution and vagueness with which some problematic themes are treated seem to exemplify what Cunningham (2003) refers to as the 'hypersensitivity' of US media to possible charges of 'liberal bias' or, worse, of undermining the war effort.

The news presenter in BBC seems to adopt a style of reporting typical of investigative journalism which tends to challenge official sources and which

construes events as problematic. 'Dialogic overtones' can be heard in the news presenter's monologue addressed to television viewers and s/he negotiates actively in a meaning-making process with correspondents on behalf of the television audience. The expertise of the various correspondents is called into play as they are asked to analyse competing claims, to explain the underlying assumptions of these claims and to make predictions. There is an effort to represent the response of the Arab world and an assumption of viewer interest in it. The overall impression is that of a broadcaster concerned with its status as an 'impartial' news provider. As in TG5, there are clear traces of the judgements made by the news presenter about what viewers need to know in order to understand what is happening.

News presenters in TG5 construe a more explicit and closer personal relationship with viewers than is the case on the other broadcasters, and express an explicit negative stance towards war in general and a critical attitude towards the war in progress. TG5 news presenter talk is also 'didactic' in more or less explicitly explaining the significance of events and instructing viewers on how to interpret them, from time to time positioning themselves, with respect to the audience, as separate (*we have to tell you about*) or as a part of it (*to illude ourselves*). The voice of the news presenters is consistently heard in the text. On 21 March the principal news presenter addresses the television audience saying, *Non è ancora il momento dei commenti (It's not yet time for comments)*, apparently in response to viewers' expectation of explanations and evaluations. There is an even greater concern than in BBC with representing the Arab world, and a special effort is made to present Iraqi viewpoints, and even Saddam Hussein himself, in ways that are 'fair' and understandable to the television audience. Coalition sources are sometimes challenged, and the viewer is construed as expecting conflicting versions of events so that dissent is 'naturalized' as news presenters consistently represent war happenings in terms of their problematic aspects and as requiring 'comment'.

As expected, in RAI Uno news presenter discourse reflects its traditional role in introducing conflicting positions and controversy in a 'balanced' way and allowing newsmakers to speak for themselves or be represented in reporters' reports (although the actual coverage of stories and the space allotted to the newsmakers themselves may not be so 'balanced'). Evaluation is more implicit than explicit, and the virtual viewer is part of a public which may be divided over the war and can align with one of the political positions which are represented. The relationship with the television audience is not particularly evident (but see Ferrarotti, this volume).

In all four subcorpora, the news presenter creates a socially acceptable persona, one that is different for Anglo-Saxon and Italian news programmes, and one which reflects the way in which public or commercial television news is constructed in the specific country. The immediate context of the war in each of the three countries has also been shown to play a crucial role in the representation of the conflict. The following chapter analyses in greater detail the construction of the news presenter/ television audience relationship.

Notes

1. See Lombardo (2007a, 2007b, 2007c and forthcoming) for related studies.
2. The decision to have three news presenters in the television studio at the same time on TG5, beginning with the second day of war reporting, reflects the importance given to coverage of the war as well as to the key role of the news presenter.
3. See Baker (2006: 121–49) for a clear explanation of keyness and of the keyword function in WordSmith.
4. See Haarman (2004) for a detailed treatment of initial *well* in BBC news presenter–reporter exchanges.
5. In Goffman's (1981) terminology 'ratified observers'.
6. See Lombardo (2007a) for a study of the lexeme *war* in all news provider discourse in CBS in the first three weeks of war reporting. See Haarman (2005) on the tabloidization of news in CBS.
7. See also Lombardo forthcoming.
8. Although this term is only used on the first day of reporting.
9. See Haarman, this volume, for a treatment of *this war* vs *(the) war* used by correspondents in BBC and CBS respectively in the final segments of pre-recorded reports.
10. For evidence of a pattern of more systematic attribution of war news by the news presenter in BBC as compared with the anchor in CBS, see Lombardo forthcoming.
11. This is the news presenter's rendition in Italian of the expression 'shock and awe'.
12. The corpus was compiled by John Morley as part of the CorDis research project and consisted of US and UK newspaper reports (550,165 tokens) and US and UK newspaper OpEd articles and editorials (880,427 tokens).
13. *Phw* means per hundred words of text. This kind of calculation makes it possible to compare word frequencies across texts of different sizes.
14. Research by Biber *et al.* (1999) shows that *no*-negation is used less in conversation and more in written monologue, which is in keeping with the absence of any real dialogue between anchor and correspondents in CBS.
15. See Lipson, this volume, for a related discussion of the images accompanying the verbal text.

3 The news presenter and the television audience: a comparative perspective of the use of *we* and *you*

Laura Ferrarotti

3.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to analyse the way television news presenters in the CBS, BBC, RAI Uno and TG5 subcorpora construe and position their respective audiences through the use of *we* and *you* forms, and the influence these forms have on the creation of a professional persona connected to their roles as journalists in the US, UK and Italian cultures and on public and private (commercial) television. Many scholars have studied the use of first- and second-person pronouns, in a variety of texts, as an indicator of how speakers/writers conceptualize their audience and perceive their relationship with that audience and with their own profession. In developing his concept of 'engagement', Hyland (1998, 2002, 2004) stresses that the ways writers of academic texts bring readers into the discourse are important in negotiating claims, expressing solidarity and presenting a credible disciplinary persona. Indeed, writers need to consider the reactions of their expected audience, based on what they think it already knows, its interests and values, possible objections or processing problems it may have, and its expectations with respect to the interpersonal conventions that hold between itself and a professionally acceptable persona. Considerable work on interactive discourse markers in university lectures (see, for example, Crawford Camiciottoli 2004a, 2004b, 2005; Fortanet 2004; Rounds 1985, 1987; Walsh 2004) shows how *we* and *you* function to involve listeners in and to steer them through the discourse, thus enhancing understanding. Of course, the use made of personal pronouns to involve the reader/listener depends to a great extent on the different disciplines and text genres and on the choices of the individual speakers/writers, that is, on whether or not they want to enhance audience involvement in the text. Santulli (2005) discusses the uses of the pronoun *we* in the speeches of Italian political leaders, principally to encourage the audience's identification with a given political viewpoint. Wilson (1990) describes the use of inclusive *we* in political discourse as a strategy for expressing solidarity, while the use of exclusive *we* is a tool for sharing responsibility.

What most of these authors underline, however, is the lack of a clear-cut and univocal function connected to pronoun uses and their referents. Rounds found, in fact, multiple referents of *we* in university lectures (*we* referring only to the

speaker, to the speaker and the students, to the speaker and the community of scholars), which could be interpreted only through a clear understanding of the specific context. Even so, in the words of Biber *et al.* (1999: 329), 'the intended referent may vary in the same context. For example, in a casual conversation, *we* can vacillate between meaning *I* + *you* vs. *I* + somebody else (e.g. my family).' The interpretation of pronouns in such instances then requires cooperation between the speaker/writer and the addressee, and it is often the addressee who decides who is included in the pronoun reference. In English the second-person pronoun *you* can also have various referents (one or more people being addressed or – along with *we*, *they* and *one* – people in general, including the speaker/writer and the listener/reader). It is believed that this impersonal use of *you* brings the speaker/writer and the addressee closer, as it implies that they share the same viewpoint (Kitagawa and Lehrer 1990).

As we will see, these resources are exploited to a greater or lesser extent and in different ways by news presenters in television news on the four channels during the month of war reporting under study. Consequently, the audience will be more or less 'present' in the text, also on the basis of the news presenter's decisions about what needs to be made explicit for that audience, for example, through endophoric and exophoric markers and 'code glosses' or explanations of the language that is being used through definitions, paraphrases or illustrations (see Hyland 1998). The considerable differences that emerge point to very different perceptions of what the news presenter's role should be. Indeed, the news presenter can establish more or less rapport with the audience, making them feel they are members of a consolidated public of viewers, somehow entitled, albeit to varying degrees, to be 'part of the team'. Since we are dealing in this study with television news programmes from three different cultures, we are inevitably faced with different traditions and styles of journalism, which will ultimately affect the way in which the various news presenters attempt to orient their audiences in the interpretation of news (see Introduction, this volume).

The data also reflect to some extent the findings of Mancini's (1985) comparative study of US (CBS) and Italian (RAI Uno) television news, in which he argues that the US anchor establishes a detached relationship with television viewers in order to project an authoritative and reliable professional image, while the Italian news presenter generally tries to establish a closer relationship with the audience, one which is equally authoritative but which resembles that of teacher to student. Reference is also made to Haarman's (2008) study of the way in which BBC news presenters act on behalf of the television audience, placed in the position of 'ratified observers' (Goffman 1979, 1981) of the live exchanges between news presenter and reporter. Similarities are found with respect to Lombardo's (2007b) findings related to news presenters' use of personal pronouns up to the fall of Baghdad on 9 April in CBS and BBC.

Following this brief synthesis of relevant research on the use of personal pronouns, we will look now at the corpus under study and the methodology adopted.

3.2 The corpus and the methodology

The subcorpora used in this study (the same as Lombardo's, this volume) are composed of the news presenter's utterances on the four channels during the first

Table 3.1 News presenter discourse in CBS, BBC, RAI Uno and TG5

Corpus	Number of words in news presenter subcorpus	Number of words in corpus	Percentage of news presenter discourse in corpus
CBS	18,965	59,045	32%
BBC	22,437	103,806	22%
RAI Uno	13,269	89,808	15%
TG5	30,617	108,330	28%

month of the 2003 war against Iraq, beginning with the attack on 20 March. Included are the news presenter's reporting or summarizing of news, introduction to reporters' reports, and interaction with reporters in live exchanges (for BBC and TG5). (For a detailed explanation of the way in which the news presenter's role is constructed in the different corpora, see Introduction and Lombardo, this volume.)

In our analysis, *we* and *you* forms (in subject position) used by the news presenter are identified, quantified, examined and categorized according to whether they can be considered inclusive, potentially inclusive, or clearly exclusive of the audience.[1] Within each of these three categories, the verbs accompanying or incorporating these forms are grouped according to functional criteria (following Biber *et al.* 1999), predominantly with regard to whether they are activity, communication or mental verbs.

Table 3.1 displays in graphic form information previously given in Lombardo (this volume), showing the number of words uttered by the news presenters in each of the four subcorpora, also as a percentage of the total number of words in each corpus uttered by all news providers and newsmakers. As already noted, the anchor in CBS and the news presenters in TG5 speak proportionately more than their counterparts in BBC and especially in RAI Uno, where news presenter discourse accounts for the smallest proportion of the total discourse.

Using WordSmith, concordances were generated for *we* and *you* forms (in subject position) in the four subcorpora. The next step was to determine in each instance to whom the news presenter was speaking and to whom the pronoun in question referred in each specific context. This entailed assigning each occurrence to one of the following categories used in the study: (clearly) inclusive, potentially inclusive or (clearly) exclusive. With regard to Biber *et al.*'s verb domains, most of the *we* and *you* forms in the data involve activity verbs, communication verbs and mental verbs, while a less conspicuous number of them fall into the categories of existence/relational (*be, have*), and aspectual verbs (which typically describe different stages of progress concerning an event or an activity, for example, *begin, end*). For further simplification and to allow overall patterns to emerge more clearly, it was decided to conflate aspectual verbs with activity verbs.

In assigning *we* and *you* forms to one of the three main categories on the basis of whether the audience can be considered as included, potentially included or excluded, the following procedure was adopted to resolve ambiguity:

- Verbs depicting mental activity (e.g. *let's listen to, watch, remember, we understand*, etc. and in Italian *sentiamo, vediamo, ricordiamo, capiamo*, etc.) were assigned to the first category, that of '(clearly) inclusive *we*', as representing an activity that both news presenter and television audience can participate in together.
- Verbs related to communication (e.g. *let's call, ask, talk to*, etc. and in Italian *chiamiamo, chiediamo, parliamo*, etc.), action verbs (e.g. *we go, join, send*, etc. and in Italian *andiamo, colleghiamoci, inviamo*, etc.) and aspectual verbs (e.g. *we begin, stop, continue*, etc. and in Italian *cominciamo, ci fermiamo*, etc.) were assigned to the second category, that of 'potentially inclusive *we*'. These verbs clearly refer to an action that only the news team can perform, but the audience is not explicitly excluded and could feel included in the *we* expressed by the news presenter.
- Verbs with a *you* complement (*we take you, we can't tell you*, etc. and in Italian *vi ricordiamo – we remind you, vi mostriamo – we show you*, etc.) were assigned to the third category, that of '(clearly) exclusive *we*'.
- Existence and relational verbs (e.g. *we are two weeks from the start of this war, we have an update*) were assigned to one of the three categories of inclusiveness according to these criteria and on the basis of the cotext.

From this, it can be seen that the notions of inclusiveness, potential inclusiveness and exclusiveness are closely connected to the functions of the verbs involved in the *we* and *you* forms.

3.3 Presenting and interpreting the data

As set out in the Introduction (this volume) in more detail, the role of the news presenter is quite different in the four subcorpora. Briefly, the star status of the anchor in CBS and the prestige awarded the principal news presenter and *Direttore* in TG5 contrast with BBC and RAI Uno, where there is a turnover in news presenters on the different days. With this as background, we can proceed to the presentation and analysis of the data, beginning with CBS.

3.3.1 CBS: The anchor as reliable and detached news expert (with some exceptions)

3.3.1.1 Use of we in anchor discourse in CBS

The analysis of the data shows 93 occurrences of *we* (not attributed to an external voice) accounting for 0.5% of all words uttered by the anchor in the CBS subcorpus. Table 3.2 shows the numbers and percentages of *we* forms in anchor discourse according to who is being addressed.

Table 3.2 *We* forms in anchor discourse in CBS according to addressee

Addressee	Number of occurrences	Percentage of all *we* forms
Television audience	91*	98%
Interviewee	2	2%
Reporter	–	–

Note: *The four occurrences of *we* attributed to an external voice, that is, a voice other than the news presenter's, have not been included in the percentages represented in this table since they are not part of this analysis. For a study of citation styles related to the four broadcasters, see Piazza (this volume).

Almost all *we* forms used by the anchor are directed towards the audience (98%). Two are addressed to a newsmaker (interviewee), while none are used in live interactions with reporters, which are virtually non-existent in CBS. This means that, for all practical purposes, the only interaction signalled in anchor discourse through *we* involves the relationship between anchor and audience, whether as 'we news team and audience together' or 'we news team speaking to you audience'.

Table 3.3 shows the breakdown of *we* forms addressed by the anchor to the television audience, the number of occurrences and the percentage of total number of *we* forms according to whether *we* is (clearly) inclusive, potentially inclusive or (clearly) exclusive of the audience.

Table 3.3 Breakdown of *we* forms in CBS anchor discourse addressed to television audience by degree of inclusiveness

	Number of occurrences	Percentage of all *we* forms
Inclusive	14	15%
Potentially inclusive	23	25%
Exclusive	54	60%

A relatively small proportion (15%) of the *we* forms spoken by the anchor to the television audience are clearly inclusive of that audience, and a slightly larger proportion (25%) can be considered potentially inclusive, while well over half (60%) are clearly exclusive. This is in keeping with the expectation of an anchor

who projects the image of an authoritative news expert whose impersonal language and apparent detachment from viewers reflect a classic Anglo-Saxon reporting style and reinforce the credibility and legitimacy of his programme. What needs to be examined carefully is the 37% of *we* uses which can be considered inclusive or potentially inclusive of the audience.

Table 3.4 shows a further breakdown of the same data by verb domain. Most of the inclusive *we* forms (79%) fall within the domain of mental verbs, which is a pattern that can be found across news channels as a result of the criteria used for establishing inclusiveness outlined in section 3.2 'The corpus and the methodology'. The majority of potentially inclusive verbs in CBS are activity verbs (65%), followed by communication verbs and existence/relational verbs (both 17.5%). While exclusive *we* forms involve all verb domains, more than half (55%) are activity verbs, followed by communication verbs and existence/relational verbs (both 19%). Unlike the activity verbs, communication verbs and relational verbs in the potentially inclusive category, these utterances rule out audience inclusion as they contain a *you* in complement position, for example: *We have a full summary of the war for you.*

Table 3.4 Breakdown of *we* forms in CBS anchor discourse to television audience by degree of inclusiveness and by verb domain

	Activity verbs	**Communication verbs**	**Mental verbs**	**Existence/ Relational verbs**
Inclusive	14%	–	79%	7%
Potentially inclusive	65%	17.5%	–	17.5%
Exclusive	55%	19%	7%	19%

It is instructive to analyse some typical examples from CBS anchor data according to degree of inclusiveness and most frequent verb process. Although it is the smallest category, we will begin with inclusive *we* where the use of mental verbs has the important function of establishing or reinforcing common information, perceptions, experiences, values and beliefs as in examples (1) to (4).

(1) During the run-up to this war while US troops were training for the battle in Kuwait, *we heard* it many times. (20 March, CBS)

(2) No people in history have ever seen a war the way *we are seeing* this one. (28 March, CBS)

(3) *We've seen* the terror in the eyes of an American POW [. . .]
We've seen American soldiers trying to feed hungry Iraqi civilians [. . .]
All this *we have seen* through a small window in a single dimension [. . .]
We cannot feel the danger, or *smell* the death, so far away. (4 April, CBS)

(4) *We don't know* what the future is for Iraq, but *we do know* who it is for, the children of course. (4 April, CBS)

In examples (2) to (4), the anchor chooses to set aside momentarily his role as an 'objective' and detached journalist who impersonally reports the news of the day. In example (2) he positions himself with the audience in what amounts to an evaluation of the 'extensiveness' of the war coverage. Example (3) is taken from the anchor's conclusion to the programme uttered over selected war footage. In order that the considerable rhetorical force be appreciated, these connected utterances are presented together in example (3). Here and in example (4) the anchor transcends the specific text of the war news, positioning viewers so as to develop with them a reflection on their virtual experience of war through the use of selected images and what is in effect a (positive) consideration regarding the morality of the war. The ultimate purpose of the utterances in (3) seems to be that of making the war more acceptable, mainly by creating feelings of empathy with ordinary US soldiers in Iraq. All the examples assume that viewers and anchor see the war and experience war reporting in the same way.

Examples (5) to (7) show *we* forms which have been categorized as 'potentially inclusive' of the television audience and which involve activity (including aspectual) verbs. These examples are typical of the way in which this relatively frequent use of *we* serves to structure discourse, guiding viewers from one news item/correspondent/location to another. At the same time, it serves to involve them in the programme, making them feel they are participating in the activity and decisions of the news team and in the momentum created by the events of the war.

(5) *We begin* with a late breaking development. (20 March, CBS)

(6) For an overview of how it is and is not going, *we turn* again to CBS's David Martin at the Pentagon with the big picture. (31 March, CBS)

(7) *We end* tonight with an update on US Army Private First Class Jessica Lynch. (3 April, CBS)

A much smaller category of potentially inclusive *we* forms involves communication verbs which have a very different function (examples 8 to 10), and which recall the use of inclusive *we* in examples (3) and (4). Here the anchor, on behalf of the news team and the public, engages in evaluative language which represents those Americans actively engaged in the war, whether as reporters or soldiers, as courageous and heroic. The effect is that of encouraging identification by viewers with shared patriotic values.

(8) David Chater of CBS News-affiliated Sky news channel reporting from Baghdad and *we give* him *the tip of the cover* for his bravery. (20 March, CBS)

(9) They [US soldiers] gave the last full measure of devotion to their country. *We honour* their memories and *send* our condolences to their families. (21 March, CBS)

(10) *We dedicate* this broadcast to our fellow Americans who have died fighting in the war so far (7 April, CBS)

In the 'exclusive *we*' category, which accounts for more than half of all occurrences, a variety of verb process types are used, the largest single group being that

of activity verbs (11), (12) and (13), followed by existence/relational verbs (14) and communication verbs (15). The verbs used in these examples refer clearly to an action or a relationship in which the news team is actor and the television audience is beneficiary, either implicitly or explicitly. In these utterances, the anchor foregrounds his role as clear and dependable news provider in relation to the television audience, who are constructed as the recipients of his expertise and professional competence and that of the news team.

(11) *We've mobilized* the worldwide resources of CBS News. (20 March, CBS)

(12) Now *we take* you to the battle field. (3 April, CBS)

(13) *We try* this night to put the war in context for you as best *we can.* (4 April, CBS)

(14) *We have* a full summary of the war for you tonight. (28 March, CBS)

(15) *We'll tell* you how private First Class Jessica Lynch is doing. (3 April, CBS)

The most frequent three-word cluster with *we* forms is: *we take you*, as in example (12). This illustrates the discourse structuring function of many of the exclusive *we* forms involving activity verbs, which also serve to construe a *we–you* relationship between anchor and audience in a systematic way.

To sum up, the only real interaction signalled linguistically through the use of *we* in anchor discourse in CBS is that between the anchor and the television audience (and not between the anchor and reporters). The *we* form is used most frequently to refer to the news team as separate from viewers, which typically involves activity verbs, followed by communication and relational verbs. It is used as a discourse structuring device and also to emphasize the role of the news team in providing appropriate coverage. This seems to be part of an overall strategy of detachment which is considered the hallmark of Anglo-Saxon 'objective' news reporting. The significant exceptions to this pattern are in anchor discourse which goes beyond reporting on the war and employs an audience-inclusive or potentially inclusive *we* with mental verbs and communication verbs to create rapport and identification by the audience with the troops and with patriotic values.

3.3.1.2 Use of you *in anchor discourse in CBS*

With regard to the other form under study here, *you* (in subject position), there are only 31 occurrences in anchor discourse in CBS (including an example of *one* used as impersonal *you*, see example 22), accounting for 0.16% of all words uttered by the anchor. An analysis of the data confirms that the overwhelming majority of *you* forms in subject position (74%) are directed towards the audience and another 10% to an interviewee, while only 16% are addressed to a reporter. It should be said that the very few *you* forms used to address reporters appear in generic opening questions and function simply to introduce their reports; there are no follow-up questions and so these *you* forms do not signal any real exchange between them and the anchor, even though they are on a live link which would make such an exchange possible. The only three examples in the data are (16) to (18).

(16) He joins us by telephone. John what's been happening there, what can *you tell* us? (20 March, CBS)

(17) CBS News correspondent Jim Stewart in Washington has the latest on that. Jim, what've *you found out*? (20 March, CBS)

(18) CBS's Allen Pizzey is there. Alan what do *you see*, and *hear* and *know*? (26 March, CBS)

Thus, as for the *we* form, the *you* form is also used by the anchor in CBS almost exclusively to construct a relationship with the television audience (i.e. it is used only infrequently to address a reporter). The clearly inclusive use of personal *you* accounts for the majority of occurrences (62%), while the potentially inclusive use of impersonal *you* accounts for the remaining instances (38%). Mental verbs appear in both categories, and involve 46% of the uses of inclusive personal *you* and 75% of the uses of the potentially inclusive impersonal *you*.

The main function of the clearly inclusive *you* form (in subject position) seems to be to construct a more personal relationship between the anchor and his audience for the tabloid-like news presented in the form of 'human interest' stories, usually near the end of the programme, as in examples (19) to (20).

(19) *You may remember* Dylan's father went to the Gulf [. . .] As *you can see* he's growing bigger and stronger by the day. (31 March, CBS)

(20) this man could be plotting a major terror attack inside the United States. *You'll hear* from his family. (31 March, CBS)

A concern on the part of the public with the personal problems of soldiers and their families back home is assumed in example (19). Uttered just before a commercial break, example (20) is a way of insuring that viewers will stay tuned.

Impersonal *you*, which can also be considered as potentially inclusive of the television audience, turns out to have a similar function. In examples (21) and (22), it is used to express preoccupation for the US military in Iraq and for their families. In example (23) it is used to 'personalize' war and associate the experience of war with positive values of interdependence, bravery and close bonding, mainly through the use of mental verbs. Example (24) in particular reveals a change in footing (Goffman 1979, 1981) with respect to the more impersonal mode in which the anchor reports the events of the war. Here he makes the comment a friend might make. The positioning that is construed throughout seems to be that of the average patriotic American.

(21) In the war in Iraq *you can see and feel* the concern for the US forces. (20 March, CBS)

(22) *One can only imagine and empathize* with their fear and anxiety and that of their families. (24 March, CBS)

(23) In war, *you depend* on the people around you, *you share* stories, trenches, bravery and pain. (1 April, CBS)

(24) Jessica Lynch says she wants to be a kindergarten teacher some day. *You just know* she will. (3 April, CBS)

3.3.2 BBC: The news presenter as part of the news team, acting on behalf of the television audience

The role of the news presenter in the BBC subcorpus does not have the star quality that it has in CBS. During the first month of the Iraqi war, there are four different news presenters who appear on different days, though two of them appear more frequently than the others. What seems to characterize BBC and distinguish it from CBS are the systematic exchanges between news presenter and reporter.

3.3.2.1 Use of we in news presenter discourse in BBC

There are 158 occurrences of unattributed *we* forms, 0.7% of all words uttered by the news presenter, as compared with the 0.5% in CBS. This means that there is more interaction signalled in the news presenter's discourse through the use of *we* forms in BBC. The pattern of use is also very different, as can be seen from Table 3.5, which shows the use of *we* forms by the news presenter in BBC according to addressee.

Table 3.5 *We* forms in news presenter discourse in BBC according to addressee

	Number of occurrences	Percentage of all we forms
Television audience	96	61%
Reporter	62*	39%

Note: *and one attributed to an external voice

While more than half of *we* forms (61%) are used to address the television audience, another 39% are used to address reporters during news presenter–reporter live exchanges. This is very different from the findings in CBS where *we* forms are used overwhelmingly to address the television audience (98%) and never to address reporters.

Table 3.6 shows the breakdown of *we* forms used by the news presenter to address the audience according to degree of inclusiveness. Unlike CBS where the majority of the instances of *we* used by the anchor in speaking to the television audience do not include that audience (60%), in BBC the pattern is the opposite, with 83% of *we* forms inclusive or potentially inclusive. Only a small percentage is clearly inclusive (10% as compared to 15% on CBS).

Table 3.6 Breakdown of *we* forms in BBC news presenter discourse addressed to television audience by degree of inclusiveness

	Occurrences of *we*	Percentage of *we* forms
Inclusive	10	10%
Potentially inclusive	70	73%
Exclusive	16	17%

Table 3.7 shows a further breakdown of these *we* forms according to degree of inclusiveness and verb domain. There is the same general pattern as in CBS of inclusive *we* forms which involve mental verbs (here 100% as compared to 79% in CBS) and exclusive forms which favour activity verbs (69% as compared to 55% on CBS), although more communication verbs are used with potentially inclusive forms in BBC (50% as compared to only 17.5% in CBS), and there are overall fewer existence/relational verbs used.

Table 3.7 Breakdown of *we* forms in BBC news presenter discourse to television audience by degree of inclusiveness and by verb domain

	Activity verbs	Communication verbs	Mental verbs	Existence/ Relational verbs
Inclusive	–	–	100%	–
Potentially inclusive	44%	50%	–	4%
Exclusive	69%	19%	1%	1%

In BBC, inclusive *we* forms with mental verbs (only 10% of all *we* forms) are used principally as cohesive devices in structuring discourse, as in examples (26) to (28). Although they are important in introducing reporter exchanges and reports, in signalling relevant information and even in interpreting the significance of events, they are never used, as they are in CBS, to construe common values or to express, indirectly at least, moral considerations.

(26) As *we heard* earlier American military commanders say their troops today face their toughest time yet (23 March, BBC)

(27) Well *let's take a look* at the scene now in Baghdad. (21 March, BBC)

(28) Well, as *we saw* there, there are many challenges ahead for any new political structure in Iraq (15 April, BBC)

We forms classified as 'potentially inclusive' are the largest category in BBC (73%) and have a similar function, most frequently involving communication verbs, as in examples (29) to (32). They are used to remind the audience of relevant information and to guide them through the various exchanges with reporters and correspondents reporting on different topics from a variety of locations and perspectives. In CBS this function is performed to a lesser extent through the use of potentially inclusive *we* and more frequently involves activity verbs. This difference highlights the greater importance in BBC of talk and of involving the television audience in talk.

(29) As *we said*, Az Zubayr is the second biggest town in the region after Basra, and controlling Basra is still the main goal for the British forces (31 March, BBC)

(30) *Let's speak* now to Nicholas Witchell, who's at the US Central Command in Qatar (21 March, BBC)

(31) Well, *let's talk* live to Rageh Omar, who's in Baghdad now. (5 April, BBC)

(32) *Let's take stock* of today's events with our diplomatic correspondent, Bridget Kendall. (22 March, BBC)

Unlike CBS, in BBC potentially inclusive communication verbs are never used in connection with any kind of (positive) moral evaluation of protagonists in the war. Viewers are linguistically construed as being together with the news presenters as the latter gather information and make sense of what is happening through their live links to experts in key positions inside and outside the war zone. The most frequent three-word cluster with *we* in news presenter discourse in BBC is *We can talk.*

The relatively small number of occurrences of exclusive *we* forms (only 17%) typically involve activity verbs, even more so than in CBS (examples 33 and 34).

(33) As *we come* on air, *we're getting* reports that American forces have gained control of the city's international airport. (3 April, BBC)

(34) Well, this evening *we'll bring you* reports from across Iraq (6 April, BBC)

To sum up, the significantly lower occurrence of exclusive *we* and the corresponding significantly higher occurrence of potentially inclusive *we* in news presenter talk in BBC in comparison to anchor talk in CBS seem to be a function of the role of the BBC news presenter in introducing, summarizing and connecting the various exchanges with reporters on behalf of the television audience. Unlike CBS, use of *we* addressed to the television audience is not related to any personalization of the war or to war-related comments implying evaluation of a 'moral' nature.

Since BBC is constructed around the exchanges between news presenter and reporter, it is worth looking more closely at the *we* forms used by the news presenter to address the reporter in these exchanges, even though there are no comparable

data from the other channels (with the possible exception of TG5). In fact, during the news presenter–reporter exchanges the audience is positioned as a 'ratified observer' (Goffman 1981, cited in Haarman 2008), that is, as a sort of silent partici- pant in the dialogue. Consider examples (35) to (37) in which the *we* used by the news presenter in addressing the reporter could be interpreted by viewers as refer- ring also to them.

(35) Well what *do we make* now then of the intriguing diplomatic signs coming out of America. (31 March, BBC)

(36) Ben, *we heard* a pledge in your report there that civil order would be er restored. (8 April, BBC)

(37) John, [. . .] In everyday language *can we say* that the war is over now then? (14 April, BBC)

3.3.2.2 *Use of* you *in news presenter discourse in BBC*

The centrality of the dialogue between news presenter and reporter is also signalled by the high number of *you* forms that are used by the former in addressing the latter, and this explains the greater overall use of *you* in subject position by the news presenter in BBC (0.25% of all words uttered by the news presenter, as compared with 0.16% in CBS). Most of the verbs involved are mental and communication verbs, which reflect the importance of talk directed to the reporter and the negotia- tion of meaning that goes on during the exchange with the reporter, who is asked not only to make sense of the facts of the day but even to gauge future develop- ments. This is a very different pattern from the one in CBS, where *you* in subject position is used by the news presenter almost exclusively to address the television audience. Since the BBC news presenter negotiates meaning with reporters on behalf of viewers, viewers tend to be cast, at least implicitly, as *we* and not *you*,[2] which explains the total absence of occurrences of *you* in subject position addressed to the television audience.

   To sum up, an analysis of the use of *we* and *you* forms by the news presenter in BBC reveals a pattern of news presenters acting on behalf of the television audience and negotiating meaning through their interaction with reporters. Viewers are implicitly included as silent participants in this interaction both in *we* forms addressed to them and in those addressed to reporters. *We* plays an important role in discourse structuring and in signalling and connecting the various exchanges with reporters, both for the benefit of the viewing audience and the reporters (and even for the news presenters themselves who often appear to be 'thinking on their feet'). Haarman (2004) speaks of the sense of harmony and of authentic team work that is created via the news presenter–reporter exchanges, and as we have seen, the news presenter's use of *we* and *you* is part of this overall impression.

3.3.3 *RAI Uno: the news presenter as diligent teacher*

The data from RAI Uno and TG5 show a considerable increase in the quantity of *we* forms used by the news presenter in addressing the television audience, with some

important differences between them which derive from the fact that one is a public channel and the other a private, commercial one. We begin with RAI Uno.

3.3.3.1 Use of we in news presenter discourse in RAI Uno

As in BBC, different RAI Uno news presenters appear on the screen on different days and for several days consecutively. There is a notable increase in the news presenter's use of *we* forms in RAI Uno (1.9% of all words uttered by the news presenter), with respect to BBC (0.7%) and CBS (0.5%). Table 3.8 shows the use of *we* forms in RAI Uno according to addressee. As in CBS, almost all of these *we* forms (98%) are addressed to the television audience, and only 2% are addressed to reporters. This reflects the absence of any real interaction between news presenter and reporter.

Table 3.8 *We* forms in news presenter discourse in RAI Uno according to addressee

Addressee	Number of occurrences	Percentage of all *we* forms
Television audience	242*	98%
Reporter	5	2%

Note: *and six attributed to an external voice

Table 3.9 shows the breakdown of *we* forms by degree of inclusiveness. Unlike CBS, where more than half the *we* forms used in addressing the television audience are exclusive of that audience, the news presenter in RAI Uno uses mainly inclusive (52%) and potentially inclusive (44%) *we* forms for a total of 96%, with only very few occurrences (4%) which clearly exclude viewers. This indicates that in RAI Uno the news presenter consistently uses *we* forms which position viewers with the news presenter.

Table 3.9 Breakdown of *we* forms in RAI Uno news presenter discourse addressed to television audience by degree of inclusiveness

	We forms	Percentage of all *we* forms
Inclusive	126	52%
Potentially inclusive	107	44%
Exclusive	9	4%

Table 3.10 shows a further breakdown according to both degree of inclusiveness and verb domain.

Table 3.10 Breakdown of *we* forms in RAI Uno news presenter discourse addressed to television audience by degree of inclusiveness and by verb domain

	Activity verbs	Communication verbs	Mental verbs	Existence/ Relational verbs
Inclusive	–	–	99%	1%
Potentially inclusive	72%	27%	–	1%
Exclusive	33%	67%	–	–

As for CBS and BBC, clearly inclusive *we* forms involve virtually all mental verbs. But in RAI Uno, potentially inclusive *we* forms favour activity verbs even more than in CBS, while exclusive *we* forms tend to involve more communication verbs (the tendency on CBS and BBC is towards activity verbs). With respect to the inclusive *we* forms, the most recurrent mental verbs are *sentire* and *vedere* (*hear from/listen to* and *watch/see*), as illustrated by examples (38) and (39):

(38) Atmosfera febbrile in Qatar nel comando generale delle forze di attacco anglo-americane [. . .] E allora *sentiamo* l'inviata Tiziana Ferrario. (20 March, RAI Uno)
(Feverish atmosphere in Qatar, at the general command of the Anglo-American forces [. . .] And so *let's hear from* our correspondent Tiziana Ferrario.)

(39) Sono sempre più gravi i danni per l'economia irachena, e intanto aumentano anche le vittime civili e sono partiti i primi interventi umanitari. *Vediamo.* (8 April, RAI Uno)
(Damage to the Iraqi economy is more and more severe; in the meantime civilian victims are increasing and the first wave of humanitarian aid is on its way. *Let's watch.*)

This kind of *we* form is typically employed by the news presenter at the end of an introduction to a reporter's report to signal the transition. What is particular to RAI Uno is the consistent use of one of these two verbs, which represent the vast majority of the audience-inclusive *we* forms, respectively 63% and 27%; this reflects the repetitive way in which they function as a kind of 'frozen' form. *Sentiamo* occurs in the most frequent three-word cluster with *we: Sentiamo il nostro inviato (Let's listen to our correspondent).*

However, these two forms also represent mental activities that news presenters and viewers can perform together as they follow the events of the war. This recalls Mancini's (1985: 178) comments on the communication between the news presenter and the television audience on the RAI, which he describes as similar to that of teacher to student, with viewers being encouraged to follow a lesson but one over which they have no control. With reference to textbooks, Hyland (2002: 228) asserts that the use of directives and inclusive pronouns is indicative of a clear authority structure 'which helps to reconstruct the inequalities of the classroom'.

We forms which are 'potentially inclusive' of the television audience in RAI Uno are mainly activity verbs (72%), and they are related to movement. By far the most frequent of these verbs is *collegarsi* (*connect with*), accounting for almost half of all activity verbs (example 40).

(40) *Ci colleghiamo* in diretta con Monica Maggioni che viaggia insieme alle truppe alleate. (24 March, RAI Uno)
      (*We connect* live with Monica Maggioni who is travelling with allied troops.)

Other activity verbs include *andare* (*go*), *tornare* (*return*) and *passare* (*move on*), as illustrated in example (41).

(41) E *torniamo* nella capitale irachena a Bagdad; Lilli Gruber, per un aggiornamento. (9 April, RAI Uno)
      (And *we return* to the Iraqi capital, to Baghdad; Lilli Gruber, for an update.)

The very few audience-exclusive *we* forms used by the news presenter in RAI Uno include both activity verbs (like *fermarci, stop*) and communication verbs (like *riferire, tell*), as in example (42).

(42) Come vi *abbiamo riferito* oggi, un kamikaze si è fatto esplodere ad un posto di blocco americano. (29 March, RAI Uno)
      (As *we told* you earlier, a kamikaze blew himself up at an American roadblock.)

While these exclusive uses recall those of CBS and BBC, there are very few of them in RAI Uno. On the other hand, the frequent and systematic use of inclusive or potentially inclusive *we* forms, typically with a signposting function, bears a resemblance to the kind of metadiscursive language that would be found in a teacher-to-student presentation.

3.3.3.2 Use of you *in news presenter discourse in RAI Uno*[3]

A didactic stance is also signalled by the higher number of *you* occurrences in the discourse of the news presenter in RAI Uno (0.43% of all words uttered, as compared with 0.16% in CBS, and 0.25% in BBC, however there they are all addressed to reporters). Virtually all uses of *you* (plural) forms in subject position are directed to the television audience (97%) and only 3% to a reporter.

As expected, almost all the inclusive *you* forms to the audience fall into the mental verb domain (97%) and only one verb is in the communication verb category. As with *we* forms, the most frequent uses of *you* forms involve the verbs *vedere* (*see*) and *sentire* (*hear*), illustrated in examples (43) and (44):

(43) Fra poco *vedrete* le immagini drammatiche girate in esclusiva mondiale dagli inviati del TG3 della RAI. (20 March, RAI Uno)
(In a few minutes *you will see* the dramatic images filmed exclusively by the correspondents of RAI channel three news.)

(44) Buona sera a tutti voi dal TG1; dunque come *avete sentito* le truppe americane sono ad una trentina di chilometri dalla capitale irachena. (2 April, RAI Uno)
([following the headlines] Good evening to all of you from channel one news; so as *you heard* American troops are about thirty kilometres from the Iraqi capital.)

A limited number of other mental verbs are used, such as *ricordare* (*remember*) and *sapere* (*know*), both of which imply shared knowledge, and unlike CBS are used in introducing war-related news (in CBS, as we saw, these verbs are used by the anchor in introducing 'human interest' stories). In addition to calling attention to relevant information which might have been forgotten, they also confer on the television audience the status of an established group of informed viewers, as shown in examples (45) and (46):

(45) *Ricordate* senz'altro qualche giorno fa quell'immagine dei prigionieri americani. (2 April, RAI Uno)
(*You remember* of course a few days ago that image of the American prisoners.)

(46) Sono passate, come *sapete*, due settimane dal suo inizio, quanto tempo passerà ancora prima della fine? (2 April, RAI Uno)
(As *you know*, two weeks have passed since the beginning of this war, and how much time will pass before the end?)

On the whole then, with regard to the use of *we* and *you* forms, the news presenter in RAI Uno tends to follow a rather static pattern, one in which the principal aim seems to be to guide viewers in following the various reports which are introduced in a clear and orderly fashion. The frequent use of directives sets up a kind of teacher–student relationship. The discourse of the news presenter in RAI Uno accounts for a smaller proportion of total discourse: only 14%, as compared to 31% on CBS, 21% on BBC and 28% on TG5. This role then can be heard as the voice of the institution, with the specific responsibility of accessing the key political actors on the national scene, who then speak for themselves, so that more important than what the news presenter actually says is the kind and sequencing of news reports, including the external voices which are accessed.

3.3.4 TG5: the news presenter as the great interpreter

TG5 stands out as the only one of the four broadcasters with three news presenters in the studio at the same time, beginning with the second day of the war. This signals the importance given not only to the war coverage but also to the role of news presenter/commentator. The news presenters interact with the reporters, corre-spondents and studio colleagues, thus providing 'an impression of dynamic collabo-ration' (Ferrarotti 2005: 13). The main news presenter, who is also the TG5 News Director, has the highest status and is supported by two other colleagues, one of whom alternates with another news presenter. Following the headlines, the Director (and number one news presenter) typically opens the programme with a somewhat lengthy overview of the main events of the day. His style is strikingly different from that of the anchor in CBS, in that he comments freely on events and explicitly guides viewers in interpreting them with no pretence of 'neutrality' (in the sense of not expressing a viewpoint). Quite the opposite, he seeks to give meaning to infor-mation and to events in an overall negative narrative of war and, along with his two colleagues, he expresses affect in the form of irony, scepticism and even indignation (see also Lombardo, this volume).

3.3.4 1 Use of we in news presenter discourse in TG5

From the data we can see that there are 534 occurrences of unattributed *we* forms in news presenter discourse in TG5 during the first month of war, which is 1.7% of all news presenter discourse, as compared with 0.5% in CBS and 0.7% (mainly to reporters) in BBC, and only slightly less than in RAI Uno, where it is 1.9%. The majority of these *we* forms (82%) are addressed to the television audience, as shown in Table 3.11. The others (14%) are addressed to reporters, which reflects a pattern of news presenter–reporter interaction that is also found in BBC, where it is how-ever significantly greater and signalled by a higher proportion of *we* forms (39%). In addition, there are also a few *we* forms (4%) addressed to the news team present in the television studio, which recalls the 'talk show' atmosphere described by Lombardo (this volume).

Table 3.11 *We* forms in news presenter discourse in TG5 according to addressee

	Number of occurrences	Percentage of all *we* forms
Television audience	438*	82%
Reporter	75	14%
Other television news presenter or studio operator	21	4%

Note: *and six attributed to an external voice

The breakdown of *we* forms in news presenter discourse to the audience in TG5 by degree of inclusiveness is shown in Table 3.12. The majority of these *we* forms (81%) are inclusive or potentially inclusive of viewers, and only a minority of occurrences (19%) are not. This recalls the interactive pattern in RAI Uno, signalled by the greater use of audience-inclusive or potentially inclusive *we* forms (96%), with a much lower frequency of audience-exclusive *we* (4%).

Table 3.12 Breakdown of *we* forms in TG5 news presenter discourse addressed to television audience by degree of inclusiveness

	Number of occurrences	Percentage of all *we* forms
Inclusive	211	48%
Potentially inclusive	145	33%
Exclusive	82	19%

Table 3.13 shows a further breakdown of *we* forms according to degree of inclusiveness and verb domain. As expected, virtually all of the verbs in the inclusive category are mental verbs. In the 'potentially inclusive' category, there is a more or less even distribution of *we* forms between activity and communication verbs. In the exclusive category, *we* forms involve to a significant extent both communication and activity verbs. In comparison with RAI Uno, there is overall a greater distribution of verb processes.

Table 3.13 Breakdown of *we* forms in TG5 news presenter discourse addressed to television audience by degree of inclusiveness and by verb domain

	Activity verbs	Communication verbs	Mental verbs	Existence/ Relational verbs
Inclusive	–	–	99%	1%
Potentially inclusive	58%	40%	–	2%
Exclusive	39%	44%	12%	5%

The striking difference however is with CBS and BBC, signalling a very different relationship between news presenters and viewers. Not only are *we* forms used significantly more in the two Italian subcorpora than in the US and the UK subcorpora, but where used to address the television audience, they are much more frequently inclusive or potentially inclusive of that audience and thus involve more

mental verbs overall. Communication verbs are used more frequently with potentially audience-inclusive *we* forms in TG5 (40%) than in RAI Uno (27%), and are not far from the frequency found in BBC (50%). As we have seen, in BBC their function is to introduce reporters' reports (*We can talk to our correspondent*), while in TG5 communication verbs are more varied (as are the *we* forms addressed to reporters in BBC), and are also used systematically to refer to previous information (*ma come dicevamo prima, but as we were saying before*).

As in RAI Uno, news presenters in TG5 tend to include the audience when reporting a piece of news, especially through the use of the mental verbs, *sentire* (*hear*) and *vedere* (*see*). And as in RAI Uno, these verbs function both as directives to involve and focus viewers and as discourse structuring devices to mark the direction and progress of the news programme. In addition, extensive use of the verb *vedere* as in *vediamo* (*let's see*) and *vedete* (*you see*) by news presenters in TG5 is directly connected to the frequent reference to images in news presenters' reports and introductions to reporters' reports, and even as interruptions during exchanges with a reporter. In fact, this verb alone accounts for more than half (60%) of the total audience-inclusive *we* occurrences and for more than half (62%) of the mental verbs in the inclusive category. TG5 news presenters refer both to the images provided by their own reporters and to those taken from other television broadcasters, including foreign television news programmes, such as Al-Jazeera. There are 134 occurrences of the word *immagine/i (image/images)*, confirming the importance of talking about and interpreting images over the entire month of war reporting.

Example (47) illustrates the didactic tone these references to images often have, with the news presenter explicitly guiding the television audience in their interpretation.

(47) ma adesso *vedremo* delle *immagini* che come dire, ci possono far tirar un sospiro di sollievo in qualche modo. (1 April, TG5)
(but now *we'll see* some *images* that, how can I say, can make us breathe a sigh of relief somehow.)

As in RAI Uno, also in TG5 the most frequent three-word cluster with the pronoun *we* is inclusive of the audience, but while the second most frequent cluster involves the same verb, *sentiamo il nostro inviato* (*let's listen to our correspondent*), the most frequent cluster involves a different verb, *che abbiamo visto* (*which we have seen*). Furthermore, in comparison with RAI Uno, there is a greater variety of mental verbs in TG5, such as those in examples (48) and (49), which also make reference to images.

(48) Quel palazzo che *abbiamo visto* bombardare ripetutamente, che *abbiamo poi capito* essere il palazzo presidenziale di Bagdad. (21 March, TG5)
(That building that *we saw* being bombed repeatedly, which *we* then *understood* is the presidential palace of Baghdad.)

(49) Proprio perché *dobbiamo valutare* quello che *stiamo vedendo* insieme. (4 April, TG5)
(Precisely because *we need to evaluate* what *we are seeing* together.)

As in RAI Uno, the relationship with the television audience that is construed by the TG5 news presenters is reminiscent of teacher–student interaction, except that the 'lesson' is accompanied by digressions, explicit interpretations and frequent reminders of shared knowledge, experience and values. The news presenters are construed as knowing and understanding their audience and the audience as constituting a consolidated group of regular viewers. Examples (50) to (51) illustrate news presenter references to a common experience of following television war news (50) and to a common negative experience of war in Europe (51), again with reference to interpreting images.

(50) Quei puntini luminosi che, da 12 anni, *abbiamo imparato a conoscere* bene nel cielo notturno di Baghdad. La contraerea in azione vuol dire che un nuovo bombardamento è in corso. (21 March, TG5)
(Those luminous dots that, in the past 12 years, *we have learned to recognize* in the night sky of Baghdad. The anti-aircraft in action means a new bombing is underway.)

(51) La guerra, *sappiamo,* è morte, lutti, dolori, *abbiamo visto,* nei giorni scorsi, anche tante bare. (29 March, TG5)
(War, *we know*, is death, mourning, pain, *we have* also *seen* in the past few days so many coffins.)

These examples suggest a closer and more personal relationship between the news presenter and the audience than in RAI Uno. Not only are they positioned together in watching and making sense of the news as it unfolds, but the news presenters through the use of *we* forms involving cognitive verbs (as opposed to verbs of perception) signal that they have a great deal of knowledge about what the audience knows and does not know, what it understands and what needs to be explained, what it feels and values. This is reminiscent of the uses of inclusive *we* by the CBS anchor in introducing 'human interest' stories to assume/construct shared patriotic values and national solidarity.

In the 'potentially inclusive' *we* category, most of the verbs in TG5 express activity and communication. They have mainly a signposting function, but their high frequency also suggests a didactic framework of constant audience involvement and at the same time creates a remarkably dynamic text, as can be seen from examples (52) and (53).

(52) Allora *torniamo* sul fronte della guerra, come *dicevamo* poco fa, *siamo in attesa di vedere* se [. . .] (20 March, TG5)
(So *let's return* to the war front, as *we said* a little while ago, *we are waiting to see* if [. . .])

(53) le immagini che *abbiamo visto* e che *continuiamo a vedere* testimoniano di un bombardamento a tappeto. (21 March, TG5)
(the images *we have seen* and that *we continue to see* give evidence of carpet bombing.)

Another distinguishing feature of news presenter talk on TG5 involves a sub-category of communication verbs, in the 'potentially inclusive' category, which are used metalinguistically. In examples (54) and (55), news presenters are talking among themselves as well as to the television audience and commenting on their own choice of language.

(54) Ovviamente, fa ritenere che la guerra durerà poco e di qui l'euforia, *mettiamola così*, però, *questa parola tra molte virgolette.* (21 March, TG5)
(Obviously, this makes it seem that the war won't last long and hence the euphoria, but *let's put this word in heavy quotation marks.*)

(55) Le notizie di queste– di questi episodi, di questi 'danni collaterali' con, *diciamolo così*, con questa brutta espressione, come sono state accolte a Bagdad? (1 April, TG5)
(The news of these– of these episodes, of this 'collateral damage' using, *let's call it that*, using this ugly expression, how has it been received in Baghdad?)

News presenters in TG5 speak twice as much as their counterparts in RAI Uno. And in contrast with RAI Uno, they comment a great deal more on the progress and consequences of the war, and make explicit reference to their own role as news providers and the decisions they have to make, as can be seen from their use of 'exclusive' *we* in examples (56) and (57):

(56) *Abbiamo scelto di non mostrarvi* la gran parte delle immagini; vi dico subito che sono quelle di una vera e propria carneficina. (28 March, TG5)
(*We've chosen not to show you* most of these images; I'll tell you right away that they are those of a real and true massacre.)

(57) Ecco queste sono ancora le immagini che *vi abbiamo mostrato* e che dovero-samente *vi rimostriamo.* (5 April, TG5)
([referring to images of hooded prisoners guarded by armed US soldiers] Here they are again the images which *we showed you* before and which *we* dutifully *show you again.*)

To sum up, an analysis of *we* forms in news presenter discourse in TG5 shows a more complex and varied use than in RAI Uno, and they involve more comments and explicit evaluations addressed to the audience than in the other three subcorpora. In BBC the probing and potentially critical leading questions are addressed to the reporter and not to viewers. In CBS the most explicitly evaluative use of language is limited to certain parts of the programme and to certain themes. The didactic stance that is seen in RAI Uno is confirmed in TG5, where, however, it is construed as a more personal relationship through a greater use of cognitive verbs and a greater range of relevance markers. The verb of perception *vedere* (*see*) is used more frequently than on the other channels, and is related to a joint meaning-making activity by news presenters and viewers.

The use of *you* plural in subject position in TG5 accounts for 0.30% of all news presenter discourse, as compared with 0.16% in CBS, 0.43% in RAI Uno and 0.25% in BBC, where however they are all addressed to reporters. Almost all (96%) of the occurrences of *you* plural are used to address the television audience (use of *you* to a reporter or other news provider would normally be in the singular form). They are all audience-inclusive and most of them (94%) involve mental verbs and only very few (6%) communication verbs. As for the *we* forms in TG5, many of these mental verbs have to do with interpreting images, as illustrated in examples (58) and (59):

(58) Anche le forze britanniche, sarebbero in avanzata verso Bassora, che *vedete* qui nella cartina *vedete* poco più su del confine con il Kuwait. (20 March, TG5)
(Also British forces, they are allegedly advancing towards Basra, that *you see* here on the map *you see* a little above the border with Kuwait.)

(59) *Guardate* nel cielo come si disegnano le forme dei traccianti, delle batterie antiaeree. (21 March, TG5)
(*Look* in the sky *at* the way the traces are designed, of the batteries of anti-aircraft.)

Also for the *you* occurrences a greater range of mental verbs is used than in RAI Uno, verbs like: *ricordare* (*remember*), *imparare* (*learn*), *notare* (*notice*), *intuire* (*intuit*), *pensare* (*think*). Like the *we* forms, these verbs play an important role in construing shared knowledge of war and shared values based on a common personal experience, as in examples (60) and (61):

(60) così come era successo, *lo ricorderete*, anche nella Guerra del Golfo dodici anni fa. (21 March, TG5)
(the same way it happened, *you'll remember it*, in the Gulf War twelve years ago.)

(61) Ma adesso soffermiamo la nostra attenzione sulla storia di Jessica Lynch, quella soldatessa, quella giovane soldatessa, *pensate*, appena 19 anni, una soldatessa semplice. (2 April, TG5)
(But now let's focus our attention on the story of Jessica Lynch, that woman soldier, that young woman soldier, *just think*, only 19 years old, an ordinary soldier.)

In summary, in TG5 the relationship between news presenters and television audience is consistently signalled in the verbal text through the use of audience inclusive *we* and *you* plural forms. The verbs involved in these forms are varied both lexically and grammatically and serve not only to signpost the text in more dynamic ways but also to construe a meaning-making process in which news presenters and television audience jointly engage. They are even used in digressions to reflect and comment on the role of the news team and to flag the way certain language expressions used by news presenters are to be interpreted. These forms signal more interaction between news presenters and viewers than in CBS, of a greater variety and

complexity than in RAI Uno, and in a more didactic style than in BBC where viewers are not so much explicitly addressed as indirectly positioned with the news presenter in exchanges with reporters. Hyland (2002: 215–6) defines directives in academic writing as 'utterances which instruct the reader to perform an action or to see things in a way determined by the writer'. In the context of TG5 they are used to direct viewers to interpret both verbal and visual text in certain ways. As we have seen, directives are also used textually in TG5 in referring viewers to information previously presented or even to other experiences of war reporting. Thompson (2001: 70) speaks of 'projecting the reader-in-the-text as going through the process of discovery', which allows the writer to 'create a sense of unfolding process'. In TG5 much of this momentum is accomplished by the use of *we* and *you* forms.

3.4 Conclusion

The analysis of *we* and *you* forms carried out in this chapter reveals some notable differences in the way the anchor and news presenters construe their audience, their relationship with that audience and their own profession. In CBS the low frequency of inclusive *we* and *you* in reporting war news points to a more detached anchor–audience relationship; in fact, most of the instances of overt identification with the viewer occur in 'human interest' stories and closing segments, where these forms are present and involve verbs of affect and positive evaluation, resonating with the patriotic overtones of 'a country at war'. In BBC viewers are constructed as *we* and not *you* and aligned with the news presenter in dialoguing with reporters. The verbs involved are related to perceiving and reasoning, and reflect an investigative journalism style more in harmony with a divided public opinion. In RAI Uno and TG5, the relatively high frequency of inclusive *we* and *you* suggests that viewers share similar understandings and goals with the news presenter, creating a more personal relationship. First-person and second-person plural imperatives (e.g. *let's listen*, *we will see*, *look*, *you will remember*) invite viewers to participate, but at the same time, along with added information in the form of explanations and comparisons, communicate the authority of the news presenter and construct viewers as learners. In particular, in TG5 digressions and expansions function to ensure that viewers can recover the intended meaning; in several instances, the news presenter goes so far as to 'negotiate' the expressions he uses with viewers, in a more spontaneous style of delivery. The level of news presenter personality and apparent commitment to the content is greater in TG5 than it is for the other broadcasters. The anti-war stance that emerges is in keeping with a commercial broadcaster in a national context in which war is not recognized as a legitimate means of resolving international controversies.

On each of the four channels, however, a professional voice is created which is appropriate within a shared community of practice, based on 'a shared set of assumptions and routines about how to collectively deal with and represent [. . .] experiences' (Hyland 2006: 37). The differences which were identified on the four channels reflect the particular model of journalism prevalent in the country of production. While some would criticize the Italian news presenter's lack of objectivity,[4]

one cannot but agree with Hallin and Mancini (2004) in their efforts to provide a wider framework within a broader social and national perspective.

Notes

1. Using WordSmith Tools, concordances were generated for *we* and *you* forms in subject position in the four subcorpora. For the two sub-corpora in English, in addition to *we* and the contracted pronoun-verb forms (*we've, we're* and *we'll*), the form *let's* was also concordanced, and found to be frequent in BBC. A manual reading of the news presenter texts in CBS and BBC revealed only four occurrences of an imperative form, used in CBS in the exhortation before commercial breaks *stay with us*. In addition to *you* (in its personal and impersonal uses), and the pronoun-verb contracted forms *you're* and *you'll*, an example was found in CBS of *one* used as impersonal *you*. Since Italian is a 'pro-drop' language, which typically does not express the personal pronoun in subject position, for the two subcorpora in Italian, concordances were generated with the equivalent of *we* forms in subject position by searching for the appropriate verb endings. Thus, **amo** generated first-person plural present tense constructions (including those ending in particles like *ci/la/lo/le/celo* and those used in a parallel way to *let's*) and two past tense constructions, *imperfetto* and *passato prossimo*; **emo* generated first-person plural future tense constructions; **imo*, generated first-person plural conjunctive constructions, *congiuntivo imperfetto*; and, finally, **emmo* generated first-person plural conditional constructions**.** With respect to *you* forms in subject position, concordances were generated for the second-person plural verb forms (the use of the second person singular familiar *you* form being almost non-existent in the data and only used by news presenters to address other members of the news team) by searching for the following verb endings: **ate**, which identified verbs in the present tense (including particles *ci/li/gli/vi*), as well as the imperative; **ete**, which in addition to present tense and imperative verb forms, also identified past and future tense verb forms; and **ite**, used for the present tense and the imperative form**.** After generating all the occurrences of these pronoun forms in the four subcorpora, each concordance line was checked and if necessary enlarged to include the cotext, which made possible the exclusion of any *you* forms in English which were not in subject position and the elimination of Italian noun forms picked up inadvertently from the data.
2. See also Lombardo (2007b).
3. For the Italian data only the pronoun *you* (in subject position) in its plural form is considered, as this is the form used in addressing the audience. No forms equivalent to *one* with the function of impersonal *you* in English were found in the Italian data.
4. See, for example, Loporcaro (2005: 126–7) who criticizes the Italian news presenter's use of the inclusive *we* pronoun.

4 Wide angles and narrow views: the Iraq conflict in embed and other war zone reports

Caroline Clark

4.1 Introduction

Television audiences around the world were gripped by television news reporting of the events in Iraq in March–April 2003, with viewing figures reaching new heights.[1] Since the First Gulf War in 1991 and the 1999 Kosovo crisis, technological advances have changed the face of television coverage, making it immediately accessible as a form of 'militainment',[2] and thus presenting a new aspect of war reporting. The 2003 conflict in Iraq was the latest episode in the heightening of the media's role in military action.

This chapter discusses the role of war reporting in the 2003 Iraq conflict in the light of the debate about reporter evaluation, objectivity and stance in the context of studies regarding ideological stance inherent in journalism (Fairclough 1995b, van Dijk 1998). It has been suggested that television coverage, rather than heightened political interest, may have lured audiences; and one of the features of the television coverage was the role of the embedded reporter (henceforth ER). By assigning reporters to coalition units the Pentagon was attempting to *manage* the information eventually reaching the public, with the aim of getting both the public and the press 'on side' (Aday *et al.* 2005: 7). On the other hand, the 'embed' programme was criticized by some reporters who saw it as yet another way to stage-manage the coverage. The role of ERs raised questions about the type of working relationship existing between the military and the media. Despite their creed to remain 'impartial' and 'objective', the obvious question is whether reporters' duty to seek the 'truth' was compatible with their physical position, and whether they were able to balance their necessary trust in their host troops with the viewers' need for objective information.

This chapter addresses how evaluative language is used by BBC and CBS reporters 'in theatre' in constructing their voice, that is the reporter's presence in the text and professional persona, while at the same time maintaining an apparent objectivity and impartiality, or neutralism. Further, consideration is given to how audiences may, or may not, have 'received' this message.

4.1.1 Background to war reporting

In all modern wars there have been war reporters living and working together with troops in conflict situations, although the profession has had to adapt over time to the type of conflict, the reception accorded and technical resources. It could be argued that the first such reporter was Thucydides recounting events of the Peloponnesian war, 431–404 BC.

More recently, in World War I, the BBC had six correspondents reporting directly from the front lines who could be considered the predecessors of today's ERs. These reporters were well aware of the need for self-censorship and were equally aware of their obligations, above all in the social context of their audiences, to boost morale 'back home'. A *Times* correspondent with the British Army on the Western Front admitted candidly: 'we identified ourselves absolutely with the armies in the field [. . .]. There was no need of censorship of our dispatches. We were our own censors' (Gibbs 1923: 231). More than 1,600 journalists were accredited by the US in World War II and worked side by side with troops. As the wireless became the main source of information, the immediacy of live reports, often with the unmistakable sound of battle in the background, came to the fore. Later, in Korea and Vietnam, reporters' access to events was limited only by the risks they were prepared to take, although technological and logistic restrictions prevented the full effects of this access being realized, thus limiting reporters' ability to transmit the news. As the events in Vietnam evolved, reports about the effects of the war on the civilian population, and criticism of the US offensive reached the American public. The media were held responsible for the decline in public support for the war which resulted in a breakdown in their relations with the military and restrictions on their movements as a consequence. This limited access continued during the First Gulf War, where the media were tightly controlled and were informed of events at briefings which took place far from the action with the result that audiences saw little live coverage of military action, except for CNN reports from Baghdad. For this reason, since they were not able to venture onto actual battle ground, during the Kosovo conflict, many reporters were stationed at a Sarajevo hotel, one of the few places with a satellite phone uplink – technology which permitted correspondents to rely less on possibly questionable reports from the military (Knightley 2000).

The evolution of war reporting in general can thus be tracked from three perspectives: the reporter's access to events, the equipment available, and the information eventually reaching audiences. Paradoxically, as rapid advances in technology have provided the means, information availability and access to conflict situations have become restricted. In more recent conflicts, such as Grenada, the First Gulf War, Kosovo, etc., reporters were placed in the situation of either having to take great risks to source new information independently, or having to re-report information supplied by the military at press centres. On the other hand, access to war events was relatively unhindered (although censorship imposed limits) in times when the effects could not be fully reaped because of limited technology.

The 2003 war in Iraq constituted an important step in resolving this problematic balance. The practice of 'embedding' reporters with coalition forces saw a coincidence between freedom to report, proximity to the action and protection, and

highly sophisticated technical equipment. The embedded reporter programme was devised with the aim of *managing* the media and to give 'at least an appearance of openness and truthfulness' (Knightley 2000: 529), given the troublesome past in media–military relations in the First Gulf War, Kosovo and Afghanistan.

4.1.2 Reporting from Iraq, 2003

The ERs worked and lived side by side with coalition forces creating an unusually close relationship between military and media which was the grounds for harsh criticism concerning their ability to remain impartial under such circumstances. The media appeared to be exchanging access to events for a degree of control over who was interviewed and what was written or produced. On the other hand, proximity to the military was also seen as evidence of the astounding success of the embed programme. Also considered in this study are other reporters working in the 'war zone' (henceforth WZ). These reporters were assigned by their networks to various locations including Baghdad and the international media centre at Coalition Central Command in Dohar, as well as more distant locations within the geographical area. Most importantly, the WZs included 'unilaterals', the high-profile reporters working independently within Iraq. They were not bound to coalition forces, although many did accept opportunities to accompany units temporarily. Of these, the reports from John Simpson for the BBC are particularly well-known. Tragically, many journalists were killed in Iraq, most of whom were unilaterals, unaffiliated with any unit and often attempting to report independently from Iraqi-held territory.

Shortly after the war began, the BBC came under criticism for its reporting from Iraq: in the lead-up to the conflict for being too close to the government's pro-intervention stance, and subsequently for what was considered its 'anti-war' coverage. The report commissioned to investigate these claims concluded that there was 'little evidence to support the widespread claims that the BBC's coverage was anti-war' (Lewis *et al.* 2003: 27), although other studies have found evidence that the BBC stance was not entirely pro-intervention (Clark 2007, Haarman 2006).

4.1.3 Research questions and methodology

The large proportion of airtime dedicated to reports from journalists working within the war zone and the controversy surrounding their position (as well as the conflict itself), represent fertile ground for exploring the, as yet unresolved, question of reporter objectivity. This chapter looks in particular at how the voice of reporters (Iedema *et al.* 1994) working in a war situation is evident despite professed detachment, and the extent to which this voice encompasses favourable or unfavourable evaluation. More specifically, it considers how, by means of apparently impartial and objective reporting, they were actually constructing a form of 'neutral' stance, the extent to which this stance was in fact neutral, and whether it emitted a 'coded' message to some sectors of the audience.

The methodology adopted to approach the research questions is that of corpus-assisted discourse studies (CADS) which is outlined in the introduction to this volume.

4.2 Corpus data

The number of words in the CBS corpus (59,045) is about 40% less than that of the BBC corpus (103,806), reflecting the intrusion of advertising breaks which reduce the 30-minute programme to about 20 minutes of news (based on a rate of 140 words per minute, as measured by a random sampling of the subcorpus).

As mentioned elsewhere, the corpora comprise the news reports of the BBC and CBS over a month-long period beginning from 20 March 2003. This period can be divided in two parts: the first 21 days which ended with the so-called fall of Baghdad on April 9, and the following days of the immediate 'post-war' period when there was a distinct shift in reporting angle as the question of law and order arose. This chapter is concerned with the roles of ERs and WZs and their contribution to the news programmes of the two broadcasters.

The high profile of ER and WZ reports is evident from the 30–35% of the news programmes dedicated to them. As can be seen in Table 4.1, ER and WZ reporters contributed over 35% of words (and airtime) on the BBC, compared with just under 30% of CBS utterances/airtime. The BBC aired significantly more words by embeds (18,834) than the CBS (6,423) and dedicated 18.1% (of the total BBC corpus of 103,806 words) of words/airtime to ERs compared with 10.8% on CBS, while the reporting from WZs was quantitatively similar. It should be taken into consideration however, that CBS reports also included many more words from ordinary soldiers (MIL [Military personnel]) (7.4% compared with the BBC's 2.7%). It is interesting to note that the Italian public television RAI Uno also dedicated approximately 35% of its words/airtime to WZs and ERs, even though Italian troops were not directly involved. The Italian private television TG5, on the other hand, allocated 23.6% of airtime to WZ reports. There were no ER reports from TG5 reporters.

Although there are differences between the WZ and ER subcorpora as a result of their contacts (e.g. the degree of access to MIL and VOX, that is, ordinary people or members of the public, generally unnamed) and their location (e.g. ERs were more involved with the military action as it evolved, while WZs heard MIL comments after the conclusion of military action), they are grouped together for the purposes of this study since both groups were 'in theatre' and were to some extent witnesses to

Table 4.1 Numbers of words and percentages of war zone and embedded reporters in the BBC and CBS corpora

	BBC		CBS	
	Number of words	Percentage of corpus	Number of words	Percentage of corpus
WZ	17,375	16.7%	10,951	18.5%
ER	18,834	18.1%	6,423	10.8%
Total	**36,209**	**34.9%**	**17,373**	**29.4%**

events. While ERs and WZs, contributed to about 30% of airtime, it is interesting to note the small volume of the news service that is actually taken up by newsmakers: little more than 12% of the BBC and 16.8% of the CBS corpora amounting to about 450 words, or 3 minutes, per day on both channels. Viewers of both channels, therefore, saw little of the leaders Bush and Blair, who contributed an average of just 265 words to each BBC news programme and even fewer, 147 words, or about one minute, on CBS. Studies have also noted that once the war was underway, very little airtime was dedicated to the political issues surrounding the conflict (Aday *et al.* 2005). Audiences heard only brief discussions of the contentious issues behind the invasion or debate on an international level. These tended therefore to be glossed over, as were the hoped-for benefits of the war, except for the occasional comment by a politician or named military personnel.

This study is based on the transcripts of the news programmes, that is, the words uttered, which clearly cannot be decontextualized from the audio and visual aspects of the news reports. In this regard, all news programmes have been viewed to verify as far as possible the contextual and co-textual features, including the visual portrayal which cannot be excluded (see, for example, Lipson, this volume).

The BBC and CBS television news corpora were analysed using *Xaira* (version 1.23) and, to a limited extent, where necessary WordSmith Tools version 4 (Scott 2004).

4.2.1 Evaluation in war-reporting

The creed of objectivity and impartiality is fundamental to modern Western news reporting, although it is not entirely clear how this can be accomplished (White 1997: 101). The belief in the need for the war correspondent to remain objective and impartial has a mixed history. While Thucydides attempted to limit the apportioning of praise or blame in his *History*, others, such as Caesar (who was quite openly self-aggrandizing), and Froissart (whose *Chronicles* tended to be biased towards his current patron), were somewhat less scrupulous. In modern times, at least since the Vietnam and Korean wars, correspondents are expected, at the very least, not to be unpatriotic.

When analysing the reports of ERs and WZs, it must be kept in mind that a story reporting success is not inherently biased towards the coalition, nor does reporting a moment of delay, frustration or error mean giving an anti-coalition angle (Aday *et al.* 2005: 7). These reports can be simply referring objectively to objective events, that is, the analysis must see past the 'facts' that may be satisfying or disappointing, to how the facts are presented to the audience as 'assessment'. A further distinction should be made between 'fact' and 'assessment', which exist contemporaneously within the same text (Hunston 2000: 186). This study is more concerned with 'assessment', that is, how the 'facts' are communicated and whether evidence of detachment or deviations from professional standards of neutrality may be found, with the terms favourable/unfavourable being used to describe evaluative language within an utterance.

Mapping evaluation in a text is extremely complex, involving several layers of discourse (as outlined in the Introduction to this volume). In the case of news

reporting, evaluation is very often implicit, relying heavily on intertextuality and the shared knowledge, values and beliefs of the audience, where covert evaluative language may lie behind the façade of an apparently neutral, detached and objective utterance (Hunston 2000; Martin and White 2005; Iedema *et al.* 1994). In this investigation of evaluation in war reporting, which for reasons of space is limited to several of many aspects, certain fundamental premises should be clarified. As Vološinov (1973: 105) pointed out 'no utterance can be put together without value judgement. Every utterance is above all an evaluative orientation. Therefore, each element in a living utterance not only has a meaning but also has a value.' This is echoed by Stubbs (1996: 197): 'whenever speakers (or writers) say anything, they encode their point of view towards it.' If we subscribe to this view that all utterances are to some extent value laden, then it follows that news reporting is too, despite commonly held views that news reporting must be 'neutral'.

To add to the complexity of evaluation, the role of the audience must be taken into consideration. Martin and White (2005: 95) point out that speakers[3] do not just 'self-expressively speak their own mind, but simultaneously invite others to endorse and share with them the feelings, tastes or normative assessments they are announcing'. Evaluative language therefore only realizes its meaning once the hearer has assimilated that evaluation, and in fact there may be as many interpretations as there are hearers. The utterance is a form of 'double-act' which 'is determined equally by whose word it is and for whom it is meant' (Vološinov 1973). There is, therefore, a reciprocal nature to evaluation between speaker and hearer. In the case of television reporting of conflict, this reciprocity is highly subject to reader position and ideological perspective, suggesting that there may also be active resistance to the speakers' evaluation.

An utterance can express 'information' or 'fact' as a proposition regarding a state of affairs which entails a certain degree of truth (or falsity). At the same time, the utterance will have an evaluative or 'assessment' component which has neither an inherent truth factor, nor the possibility of verification – the hearer is 'free to disagree with the writer' (Hunston 2000: 188). In the case of news reporting, this regards how reporters 'negotiate' their message with an audience who may or may not be aligned with the speaker. These utterances may appear 'neutral' (i.e. without overt favourable or unfavourable loading) but may also carry a message which will be 'heard' by a particular audience, but will remain obscure to others. The term 'dog-whistle'[4] journalism has been used to describe this type of strategy whereby 'the [. . .] journalist may pitch the message "high enough" for their [. . .] target readership to hear it but (they hope) out of the range of those whose ears are not attuned to the message' (Coffin and O'Halloran 2006: 78). This type of message remains coherent with the ethics of objective journalism – and avoids charges of bias for its apparent 'neutralism' and balanced views – while taking on a slightly different or more specific meaning to a sector of the audience. Although not necessarily concealed, coded or divisive, it may reinforce the ideology and beliefs of those who are attuned to it.

Greatbatch (1998) used the term 'neutralism' to describe the style of reporting which makes it difficult to apply formal charges of bias or distortion. Van Dijk (1988: 84–6) too discusses the linguistic strategies which can be adopted to enhance the

effect of propositions which reporters want audiences to accept as true and plausible. In keeping with journalistic guidelines, reporters still avoid direct, and even indirect, expressions of opinion. However, it is generally accepted that the reporter's voice or persona is nonetheless evident, mediating and interpreting events (Fowler 1991; Iedema *et al.* 1994; Bell 1991; Kress 1983: 120).

In keeping with their role as reporters, ERs and WZs must refrain from editorial comment, direct assertion of opinion, and overt affiliation or disaffiliation with any ideas expressed directly, or indirectly by attribution (Greatbatch 1998). One of the ways that reporters can maintain neutralism is to distance themselves from evaluative statements by attributing them to (named or unnamed) third parties as will be discussed below. In the reporting of the conflict in Iraq, given the sensitive and controversial nature of the issues surrounding the conflict, the reporter was in the unusual position of having to assume a role as 'representative of the coalition' (in that he or she was embedded with, and bound by, the coalition forces, and witnessed the war from coalition standpoints) yet had to stress a form of balanced polarity in reporting.

Evidence of the reporters' voice can be found in many overlapping and closely related devices including the use of the first-person pronouns, explicit and implicit value judgements (in the form of adjectives and adverbs) and opinions, 'non-core' vocabulary, and use of mental processes, the use of the agentless passive and ergative forms to obscure agency, as well as nominalization and metaphor (Carter 1988; Iedema *et al.* 1994; Butt *et al.* 2004; van Leeuwen 2006).

4.3 Data analyses

The first step towards an insight into any differences in representation of the war for BBC and CBS television news viewers is a series of comparative keyword analyses performed using WordSmith 4 and regarding the word frequencies of the two corpora. Words with a relative frequency significantly higher in the target corpus are found at the top of the resulting keyword list, while at the bottom are those with an incidence greater than expected in the reference corpus – the so-called negative keywords, notable for their limited frequency in the target corpus. A keyword analysis of the BBC and CBS corpora, that is the words characterizing one corpus and not the other, reveals little to show that the BBC and CBS take profoundly different angles in reporting. Further analyses comparing the BBC ER/WZ and CBS ER/WZ subcorpora, and another comparing the joint BBC and CBS ER/WZ subcorpora with the combined BBC and CBS corpora (less the ER/WZ subcorpora) reveal no significant differences in the lexis used, once location-specific words and names of reporters have been eliminated.

A further keyword analysis was based on the BBC and CBS ER/WZ subcorpora compared with a much larger reference corpus of newspaper texts.[5] Once the situation-specific words (geographical locations, names, battles, military) are eliminated, as well as the high-frequency function words, the results reveal the keyness of time periods (*tonight*, *today*, *evening*), deictics (*this*, *these*) indicative of the visual factor in television, discourse markers (*well*, *now*) (see also Lombardo and

Haarman, this volume), and other indicators of spoken, as opposed to written language, and personal pronouns (*they, we*) (see Clark 2007, forthcoming, and Haarman, this volume). More importantly for this study, we note the high keyness of the reporting verb *say*, the mental processes *think* and *know*, and the conjunction *but*. The individual wordlists (produced using WordSmith Tools) for the BBC and CBS ER/WZ reports, which are the basis for the compilation of the keyword list, underline the high frequency of 'reporting' verbs such as the lemma *say*. Related to this is the attribution (or not) of utterances to third parties which, while upholding the notion of neutralism in reporting, can also conceal evaluation, as will be discussed below. The importance of attribution lies in how the hearer is positioned to accept or accord credibility to the utterance (Hunston 2000) and therefore how the reporters' message can be considered 'neutral'.

4.3.1 Attribution

Words which are presented as those of someone different from the speaker are said to be 'attributed' (Sinclair 1986), with the speaker constructing a stance with varying degrees of 'detachment' from the source. This stance can be modified according to the attributing or reporting verb used, although the speaker remains essentially 'responsible' for the utterance (Hunston 2000). (See the chapter on attribution by Piazza, this volume.) The utterance becomes a link in the continuing and reciprocal interaction between speaker and hearer since the speaker can thus signal how the proposition should be considered within the context and wider meanings of the text as a whole. (Hunston 2000: 176; Sinclair 2004). Evaluation on this level regards whether utterances are to be interpreted as expressing the writer's opinion or the opinion of someone else which could then be contradicted by the writer (Martin and White 2005).

The keyword analyses underline the high keyness of the reporting verb *say*, suggesting neutrality according to Halliday (1994: 254), Iedema *et al.* (1994) and White (on-line), which is one of the most frequent in the BBC and CBS ER/WZ subcorpora. The frequency per hundred words of the lemma *say* for the combined ER-WZ subcorpus (0.412), and for the BBC and CBS separately (0.472 and 0.411 respectively), varies little from the combined television News corpora (0.457), while it is slightly lower than the entire CorDis corpus (0.438).

A selection of the instances of the lemma *say* are reported below where to the left of the node-word (the lemma *say*) we find in all cases the {COALITION}[6] as the source of the attribution; other sources, in very limited instances, include {DOCTORS}, and {IRAQIS}, whose utterances always reveal unfavourable evaluation of the situation or event (see examples 1–10 below). The importance of attribution by means of the 'neutral' lemma *say* lies in its very high frequency when compared with alternative, perhaps more value-laden, terms (such as *insist* or *claim*, discussed below) which could have been adopted, but are conspicuously absent. This is probably to be expected since it falls within journalistic guidelines.

(1) American and British commanders *say* they are now in control of Umm Qasr. But it hasn't been quick and it hasn't been easy. (22 March, BBC)

(2) The Allies, America and Britain, *say* it's an indication of just how closely they're integrated and how completely they trust each other. (23 March, BBC)

(3) But while the Pentagon *says* the marines now control Anasiriyah, the glow of mortars and artillery still lights up the night sky. (24 March, CBS)

(4) The British *say* Saddam's troops have positioned tanks inside the city using civilians as human shields. (25 March, BBC)

(5) The Americans *say* power may be restored to parts of Baghdad by the weekend. (4 April, BBC)

(6) The British *said* they took Basra because when they rolled in, they found the door to be open. Moving through that door though, still took some effort, and when this didn't work, this did. (7 April, CBS)

(7) A British commander *said* here tonight that Basra was now secure, if you're in a tank. It'll have to be safer than that before the rebuilding of the city and of people's confidence in the new order of things can begin. (7 April, CBS)

(8) The British *said* they're too busy mopping up remaining pockets of resistance to worry about looters. (7 April, CBS)

(9) The Americans *say* there was small arms fire from this hotel. If there was, we didn't see or hear it. (8 April, BBC)

(10) US intelligence officials *say* he's not a target, but they admit they're running out of patience. (8 April, CBS)

Under cover of the apparently 'neutral' *say* to indicate the utterance attributed[7] to the {COALITION} (seen as the journalistic practice of giving a 'balanced' view and appealing to the news value of being attributable to a verifiable and reliable source) the speaker could be seen to be signalling to some audiences, presumably not in favour of coalition intervention in Iraq, that this information is the sole responsibility of the {COALITION} as source, and is hence not the reporters' view. In this way, some audiences may be encouraged to question the degree of veracity of the proposition.

The majority of instances of the lemma *say* attribute utterances regarding the progress of the conflict, giving 'good news', as can be seen to the right of the node word. However, overt favourable evaluation of the progress is generally absent, and the utterance is limited to fact rather than assessment. The same concordance lines also reveal that information about progress sourced to the {COALITION} is often followed by a counterview averred to the reporter, as the instances (1), (6), (7) and (9), for example, attest. Cases of unfavourable evaluation attributed to the {COALITION} are rare and are found only in the BBC. They are signalled by *to me*, suggesting that the reporter was informed either as an aside, or was privy to confidential or sensitive information uttered 'off the record' or recognized as not the official line:

(11) And one commander *said to me*, Get ready for a long haul; this could go on for a year or so. (24 March, BBC)

(12) one of the commanders *said to me*: Look if er this is what's going to happen (29 March, BBC)

The source is sometimes removed, resulting in the agentless passive. In these cases scepticism is underlined, either towards the veracity of the utterance or the reliability of the source. All instances of *said* (agentless passive) refer to Iraqi forces, and are presumably attributed to the {COALITION}.

(13) some of the 1,000 gunmen *said* to be defending the city (24 March, BBC)

(14) compound where fighters loyal to Saddam are *said* to be holding out (27 March, BBC)

The majority of cases regard Iraq's capacity to resist. When referring to the 'unknown' Iraq (there were no ERs with Iraqi forces), the reporter is cautious. The choice to attribute to an unidentified source again distances the reporter and signals the inability to verify the utterance further.

We have seen in the above examples that attributed utterances mostly refer to the progress of military action. The information attributed in the form of *sayer + say* is neither so technical nor obscure that the ER cannot take responsibility for the utterance itself. There appears to be more at stake than simple attribution since this form (*sayer + say*) is redundant. This usage appears to be a distancing strategy where the reporter has chosen to attribute certain propositions to the coalition, rather than averring the information or declaring absolutely by bare assertion (White 2003: 263). The reporter is then free to counter the attributed proposition. By stepping out of the interaction, the reporter has left the entire responsibility of the utterance with the source.

The frequency of other lemmas within the semantic field *say* are much lower: for example, *report, claim, insist.* All are significantly more frequent in the BBC than CBS. In 75% of cases the source is, as expected, the {COALITION} (the remaining 25% are Kurds, Iraqi regime, civilians). In each case what is *claimed* or *insisted* is progress, success and satisfaction. The use of the lemmas *insist* and *claim* allow the reporter to 'disendorse' (White on-line) or reject responsibility for the utterance. Again, a neutralistic stance is maintained by carefully sourcing the statement, while at the same time flagging to a primed audience the dubious nature of the utterance, as the following concordance lines show.

(15) The Americans *claim* to have taken this town on Friday, *yet* three days later they were still facing fierce resistance here. (23 March, BBC)

(16) *Still* they *insist* they are in control of Umm Qasr and their operations here are closely intertwined with those of the British. (23 March, BBC)

(17) The Americans *insist* they are meeting their targets (23 March, BBC)

(18) Pentagon officials *insisted* today the war timetable is on track *but* the marines are already at least thirty-six hours behind their preferred schedule (26 March, CBS)

(19) The Pentagon *claims* they were returning enemy fire, *but* none of the journalists at the hotel heard or saw anything to support that claim (8 April, CBS)

(20) there will be more civilians caught in the crossfire, *but* the marines *insist* their strategy to take Baghdad is designed to limit the risk to their forces and the Iraqi people (8 April, CBS)

(21) The allies *claim* they work well together, *but* the potential for problems is always there (9 April, CBS)

A closer look at the attributed utterances reveals that they are usually qualified by the speaker's intervention with a contrastive *yet*, *still* or *but* suggesting that the utterance may be misleading or deceptive. Nor is it always clear where the attribution finishes and the ER/WZ comment starts. The use of *but* will be discussed further below.

The keyword analysis also reveals the high keyness of *saying*, which is significantly more frequent on the BBC. The progressive aspect is normally used to indicate the *temporary* nature of an action, that is, while presenting an event or situation as recent, this choice also signals to the audience the 'fragility' of the story. Time may overturn the story by revealing that what was expressed may not in fact be the case, such as in example (23) below. Use of the progressive form underlines the scepticism already outlined above, implying repetition and an unconvincing attempt to per-suade, as emerges from the examples below. About 50% of the instances of *saying* are sourced to the {COALITION}. In the cases reported below, the reporter's voice is also evident, tempering the utterance by discourse and interpersonal markers that guide the primed hearer to an unfavourable reading of the veracity of the utter-ance. The utterance itself can report both favourable and unfavourable situations, however in most cases, without overt favourable or unfavourable evaluation of that situation.

(22) Well they're *saying* they are confident. (31 March, BBC)

(23) Now, the Americans are *saying* they have restored water now in Basra. (31 March, BBC)

(24) but the Americans are *saying* they've got to be pragmatic and that restoring law and order is their top priority. (14 April, BBC)

(25) These men have been going around *saying* I can't tell you what I feel about this. (6 April, BBC)

(26) So that's what they're *saying* that they're *saying* that things will be getting better. (15 April, BBC)

(27) Kept on *saying* how sorry they were. It just is something that happens. It's a pilot made made a mistake. (15 April, BBC)

It is interesting to note that this form is not found in the CBS ER/WZ subcorpus, perhaps as an indication of a less-questioning view of events.

4.3.2 Speaker assertions

The results of the keyword analysis led us to analyse attribution to a source. However, the reporter/speaker also 'speaks'. Sinclair (1986) used the term 'averral' for those utterances which derive directly from the speaker, who thus accepts responsibility for it; responsibility which can be modified, or diluted, by hedging or modality (Hunston 2000).

The reporter can step back into the interaction with the lemma *tell* which requires the hearer. The instances of the lemma *tell + me* or *us* follow the pattern of *say* mentioned above. On the other hand, the instances of *tell + you* underline the reporter's position and role as witness. These cases (which are found in both the CBS and BBC corpora) are directly attributable to the speaker, who personally vouches for the veracity of the utterance with *I/we can tell you*, such as:

(28) We can't show you the end of this mission, *we can tell you* it was a success. (21 March, CBS)

(29) And tonight *I can tell you* there are substantial American forces close to the Iraqi capital. (3 April, BBC)

In all cases the attributed utterances report 'good news' regarding coalition progress or success which is shared with the audience under the title of information guaranteed to be correct since it is direct from the speaker and not attributed to the {COALITION}. These cases of 'good' news remain however limited, and are factive, with little evaluative or interactive comment. On the other hand the less positive news is prefixed by the 'obligation' to recount, as follows:

(30) And *I have to tell you* that er at company level, battalion level, nobody yet knows. (2 April, BBC)

(31) *I have to tell you* that in the last few minutes there has been another scud alert. (20 March, BBC)

By reporting what is 'seen', the reporter is underlining his/her own role as a 'participant' and witness. Rather than attribute to a source, the reporter is reverting to his/her 'eye-witness' role, and the proposition therefore becomes a type of bare assertion (White 2003). In these cases, the speaker is taking full responsibility for the utterance and, similar to a bare assertion, it is assumed that the audience share the beliefs and ideologies of the speaker (White 2003: 263), although in the reality of television news the audience covers a wide spectrum of points of view.

In each case, the reporter becomes less a mediator of the event and more a participant in it. The frequency of the lemma *see* is considerably higher for BBC (0.241) compared with CBS (0.187). More significant is the difference between the combined ER/WZ subcorpus (0.244) and the combined BBC and CBS corpora (excluding ER/WZ) (0.161) since these reporters are present in, and are describing the action they witness. An investigation of the instances of *see* shows the high incidence of the cluster *you can see*, where the reporter puts him/herself in the picture and directs the audience towards his/her view, inviting them to verify for themselves the

footage accompanying the words which are in voiceover format. This form is more common in the CBS corpus. In several instances this invitation is voiced through the news presenter.

(32) From my vantage point, Dan, *you can see* the night sky er filled with er bombs bursting, the flashes of artillery. (20 March, CBS)

(33) Just to the right of that illuminated building *you can see* behind me. (28 March, CBS)

(34) *You can see* on the horizon the er fight and the lights and the sounds of explosions. (3 April, CBS)

(35) *you can see* the fire fights, but nothing that stalled them for more than a couple of hours. (3 April, CBS)

(36) Here *you can see* soldiers racing across the rooftops. (6 April, BBC)

In the above cases, there is an enthused tone of witnessing a spectacle, rather than the presumably negative effects of that spectacle.

The reporter takes a step back and reports what has been witnessed using *saw*, which is rarely found in CBS. These too become a type of bare assertion, that is, the reporter is underlining his or her position (together with colleagues) as witness and thus the incontestable nature of his or her words. While these utterances stress the success of coalition action, they do so with little overt favourable evaluation.

(37) In the distance we *saw* oilfields supposedly set on fire. (21 March, BBC)

(38) on Kirkuk and Mosul started that we *saw* the unmistakeable signs of battle. (23 March, BBC)

(39) It was clear from what we could *see* that this had been caused by an explosion. (24 March, BBC)

(40) All around we *saw* Iraqis with their hands raised. (2 April, BBC)

(41) Elsewhere we *saw* the toll of this war. (6 April, BBC)

(42) just before the Abu Grayav turn-off we *saw* Iraqi tanks burnt, blown to pieces. (6 April, BBC)

(43) none of the journalists at the hotel heard or *saw* anything to support that claim. (8 April, CBS)

(44) were caught up in the fighting and we *saw* some of their dead lying beside the road. (9 April, BBC)

(45) We *saw* on three occasions pickup trucks loaded. (10 April, CBS)

Or the reporter as single witness vouching for the effects:

(46) the only soldiers *I saw* in this mosque were praying for salvation. (21 March, BBC)

(47) But *I saw* a different picture when I drove through. (5 April, BBC)

The lemma *see* is used to report military action, as a witness, yet the reader will note that this military action remains very 'static' (Clark forthcoming). The speaker also has the choice to include certain information in reports, presumably to the exclusion of other. Clearly we will never know what has been excluded, but can only judge by the included information what the narrative and message is intended to be.

4.3.3 Concession as attribution

The other word that the keyword analysis suggested exploring was the conjunction *but*. According to Hunston (2000: 179), some concessions can be considered as a type of attribution since they suggest the involvement of a 'hypothetical debating partner', whose views are acknowledged in the *may* concession, which is to be considered inherently 'true' (Hunston 2000). In the following cases of *may . . . but*, the *may* concession leads into a counter-claim.

(48) The coalition *may* have swept north and covered a lot of territory, *but* the ground which it claims is mostly empty desert. (25 March, BBC)

(49) British commanders *may* be laying siege to this city *but* they admit they're nowhere near to capturing it. (28 March, BBC)

(50) The British army *may* be in charge in Basra, *but* this is a city where anarchy and chaos rule. (8 April, BBC)

(51) [the Iraqis] *may* not be as well armed, *but* their weapons are no less deadly. (9 April, CBS)

(52) There *may* yet be more fighting to be done in Iraq, *but* the fall of Tikrit must surely be a major milestone. (14 April, CBS)

(53) The war *may* be just about over *but* Iraqis are still suffering. (17 April, BBC)

(54) They *may* have plenty of prison cells here, *but* still very little law. (17 April, CBS)

In all examples, the *may* concession can be seen as a favourable evaluation (directly or indirectly) of the coalition cause, which is conceded to the anticipated objections of an 'invisible' debater who coincides with that sector of the audience who could be considered 'pro-intervention' (about 55% of Britons according to a survey).[8] In this way, the speaker is then able to offer his or her counterviews, generally unfavourable, while at the same time not directly challenging the coalition. These speaker counterviews follow in the *but* clause, where unfavourable evaluation is more explicit in the form of lexical choices and adjectives. This information is thus 'dog-whistled' to the anti-intervention audiences who disapprove, to varying degrees, of the grim reality beyond the assertion.

The conjunction *but* has a very high frequency (0.748 BBC, 0.677 CBS), with the majority of instances being found in the 'positive-but-negative' construction where the *but* clause is a restatement in unfavourable terms of what has been implied favourably in the first conjoin, a stylistic strategy commonly found in news reporting. However, the interpretation of *but* also depends on the context and the

hearers' world knowledge. (Greenbaum *et al.* 1972: 565; see also Haarman, this volume).

In the following examples, we find to the left of the node word *but* a particularly neutral evaluation of military progress or action. When *but* collocates with military progress or action it is almost solely used to flag unfavourable evaluation in the ensuing averral, in which the reporters' voice is not only clear, but is also evaluating unfavourably. This pattern is by far the predominant.

(55) on the ground US marines moved in. *But* their advance was slower than they'd been hoping for. (21 March, BBC)

(56) The gates of the city are within sight for the coalition army *but* only just. (21 March, BBC)

(57) US marines and British forces swept into the port days ago *but* they are still taking fire from small determined bands of Iraqi troops. (24 March, CBS)

(58) The Iraqis were pushed back *but* not defeated. Neither was the city taken. (27 March, BBC)

(59) the type of mistake the US military most wants to avoid, *but* knows it cannot. (28 March, CBS)

(60) the city that was supposed to fall quickly, *but* hasn't. (31 March, CBS)

(61) there is less looting now than there has been. *But* on the other hand you wouldn't exactly call this law and order. (14 April, BBC)

(62) the law and order situation here is improving *but* to be honest it's still pretty dire. (15 April, BBC)

Similar to the construction *may . . . but*, the speaker concedes the coalition's position, but then counters this concession, without denying its veracity. Regarding {IRAQI CIVILIANS}, we find a similar construction, mainly in BBC, where information supportive of the coalition cause is countered by a 'correction' whereby the speaker concedes the first conjoin but offers further qualification of the information for the benefit of an audience questioning the merits of the intervention. For example:

(63) There was politeness here, *but* little more. (1 April, BBC)

(64) The troops wave *but* quite often no-one here waves back. (1 April, BBC)

(65) many Iraqis welcome the invading troops, *but* are still nervous and suspicious. (1 April, CBS)

(66) Happy perhaps, *but* they're not exactly throwing their arms around the British troops. (7 April, BBC)

(67) The Americans have been widely welcomed here, *but* while most Iraqis say they love liberation, they're not sure they like everything that's come with it. (12 April, BBC)

(68) They don't want Saddam back, *but* they don't necessarily want the Americans here either. (16 April, BBC)

The speaker concedes to the coalition the favourable propositions, while thus setting up the construction whereby he or she can indirectly challenge the welcome. Note the predominance of mental processes in the second conjoin, whereby the speaker presumes to know how they *feel* and *think*.

Concession is typically flagged with *but* but also *although, however, yet* and *still* (all with high wordlist frequencies in the subcorpora), or by a new sentence, a slight pause and a drop in pitch of the voice, typical of this style of reporting. In terms of neutralism, the speaker is spared the accusation of bias or partiality by the construction of the utterance. There is no attempt to deny the concession, but rather to add greater or more accurate detail, which is well within journalistic guidelines. At the same time this detail is essentially for the benefit of an audience sharing views contrary to the government's pro-intervention stance, that is an audience questioning the merits of the intervention, in particular its negative consequences for civilians.

But appeals to the concept of neutralism in that the impression is one of 'balanced' reporting. Part of the audience, the hypothetical debating partner mentioned above, may feel reassured by the concession, while a further audience, primed by previous and continuing readings, will have their anti-intervention views reinforced. The frequency of the concessive conjunction *but* is similar for both the BBC and CBS ER/WZ subcorpora, which are slightly higher than the frequency in the television News corpora overall.

4.4 Discussion

The presence of the reporter voice is very evident in the BBC and CBS ER/WZ subcorpora, and it could be argued that this presence was to a certain extent 'planned', that is a by-product of the type of reporting situation planned by the Pentagon for embeds, and by the television corporations for their war zone reporters. ERs and WZs were as much newsmakers as newsworkers, given the amount of airtime accorded them and the recognition of their role as witness to events. It should follow, therefore, that there be instances of explicit value judgement. The BBC and CBS ER/WZ subcorpora show limited evidence of explicit evaluation in the form of adjectives and adverbs, as expected in keeping with journalistic guidelines. Explicit evaluation, predominantly unfavourable, is found more frequently in BBC and is far more evident when considering the effects of the conflict on civilians, as the following examples attest:

(69) Civilians of all ages in *undeniable distress and agony*. (24 March, BBC)

(70) those who are suffering the most in this city are the innocent. The *eternal victims* of war. (28 March, BBC)

(71) some of them *terrified farmers* and merchants. (31 March, CBS)

(72) All they find here are children, too young to know why this war is being waged, but old enough to find it *utterly terrifying*. (2 April, BBC)

(73) in front of us the *horrific aftermath* of that firefight. (5 April, BBC)

Some explicit favourable evaluation of the coalition is found for 'military progress', mostly in the form of concession as mentioned above, and to a lesser degree 'military might', but not in terms of triumph or jubilation. The coalition's military prowess is expressed as an unquestionable state of affairs, as a fact, and is stated in very neutral terms simply as providing information of coalition success. The issue of justification of the conflict is not broached by ERs or WZs, nor is the question of the existence, or not, of chemical weapons. Their reports were limited to the events they were witness to.

'Tokenized' evaluation (Martin and White 2005) is found throughout the BBC and CBS ER/WZ subcorpora where apparently factual and informative accounts of events reveal varying degrees of evaluation when unpacked (White 1997, 2003). The potential effect is very much subject to the audience's perspective on the issue, that is, how hearers perceive the speaker's message, and how they may be primed to interpret this 'dog-whistle' message. It is in the sensitive areas of the war's progress, the effects of the conflict on civilians and the coalition's inability to swiftly restore law and order that the reporter's neutralism can be decoded. Barely veiled criticism of the coalition is presented in terms which cannot be easily challenged.

The BBC reports from Iraq were criticized for their anti-intervention stance, a criticism which the Cardiff Commission overturned by finding that they were instead very close to the government's pro-intervention stance. While the Cardiff Report found evidence that 'embeds provided a much more balanced account of events than some non-embedded reporters' (Lewis *et al.* 2003: 4), it also concluded that the BBC coverage as a whole, like all the main television broadcasters, tended to favour the Government's pro-intervention stance (*ibid*: 25–7). Nevertheless, in other studies carried out by CorDis television news researchers, a distinct anti-intervention stance has been found in the reporting of BBC ERs (Clark 2007), and in the words of BBC correspondents (Haarman 2006). Further research has discussed the BBC and CBS's representation of the 'sides' involved and the military action, finding that there is little difference between the two broadcasters in lexical terms (Clark forthcoming). On the other hand, there is certainly a difference between BBC and CBS news presenters' structuring of stance (Lombardo forthcoming).

The persona of the BBC and CBS ER and WZ reporters, while identifiable, and possibly even encouraged by the broadcaster, does not leave him or her open to claims of bias. It is difficult to make accusations of impartial, non-objective reporting. The reporter gives what appears to be a 'balanced' view, reporting what has been seen and heard, as well as the 'good' and the 'bad' news without overstepping the guidelines of their own channels and Western journalism in general. A form of neutralism has been applied by avoiding any overt favourable or unfavourable evaluation regarding a subject, event or entity. In fact, the ERs and WZs go to great lengths to 'balance' their reports. Yet, a message is clear, and it is interesting to see how this message is projected. The audience disapproving of the coalition intervention in Iraq finds its point of view reinforced in the reports of civilian distress. Further scepticism is incited by continuous requalifying of coalition claims of progress.

This study of the language of ERs and WZs and evidence of their voice as interpreters of events is based on the initial keyword analysis, although there are clearly

many other aspects which could be considered, as well as further areas of research. One of these is the role of paralanguage, that is proxemics and gesture, and pauses as factors in evaluation. Another is the paradoxical situation of reporters declaring their loyalty to the ethics of their role, and their pledge to reports which are free from opinion and bias, yet their total dependence, at least in the case of ERs, on the coalition forces. Within this paradox lies another: reporting 'is seeing events though the prism of the reporter and [. . .] any lack of awareness of this subjectivity is dangerous' (Partington forthcoming). In the case of ERs and WZs, the influence of the *observer's paradox* (Labov 1972) – the degree to which the observation of an event may be influenced by the presence of the observer – must also be taken into consideration. This suggests that the presence of the reporter will in some way colour the event itself (that may have evolved differently in the absence of a reporter, which of course can never be verified). It also suggests that the resulting report may be coloured, as dictated by danger, self-censorship and common sense, all necessarily skewed to some extent. The observer's paradox is relevant to the reporting of information as 'fact', which makes up a very large part of the news story.

A further area of study, very relevant to the issues raised here, is the role of the audience, without whom any evaluative stance 'falls on deaf ears'. Research on evaluation until now has dealt mainly with the writer/speaker's construction of the text as the description of an event or state of affairs, while study of the reader/hearer's understanding of the text and the 'messages' embedded in it have been scarce.

The present research also leads to some further questions regarding the role of correspondents reporting directly from 'the action' where the reports are produced, edited and exported within particular time and condition constraints. The circumstances of their reporting are very different from other newsworkers (news presenters, studio reporters, etc.), and it could be hypothesized that the temporal aspect of television reporting, that is the immediacy which can be created thanks to state-of-the-art technical possibilities, may have a role in the structure of a neutralistic stance.

Compared with war reporting of the last century, where the 'bad' news tended to be suppressed, it is generally accepted that modern audiences are presented with what could be considered a more 'wide-angle' view of events: that is, what is purported to be 'both sides' of the story – the 'good' (reports favourable to the Coalition in terms of successes and evaluation) and the 'bad' (stories of Coalition shortcomings). However, this wider view of events appears to conceal a 'narrow view' where apparently impartial and objective reporting can be unpacked to reveal reporter stance, and implied criticism of Coalition actions and their consequences – a stance targeting anti-intervention audiences.

Notes

1. According to BBC Audience Research (11 April 2003), 49.6 million people (89% of the UK population over 4 years of age) turned to the BBC during the war. www.bbc.co.uk/pressoffice/pressreleases/stories/2003/04_april/11/iraq_audiences.shtml (accessed: 23 June 2007)

2. This term, now widely used, appears to originate with an article by James Ponie-wozik in *Time Magazine*, 4 March 2002, titled *That's Militainment!* referring to television news coverage that appears to 'revel in the suspense and excitement, and inevitably the violence and suffering, of combat' (www.wordspy.com/words/ militainment.asp (accessed: 13 June 2007)).

3. The addresser will be referred to as the *speaker*, and the addressee of utterances as the *hearer* since all texts in this subcorpora are spoken.

4. The term 'dog-whistle politics' appears to originate in Australian politics in the late 1990s in the context of immigration issues, whereby racist fears were trig-gered without resorting to overtly racist terminology. The analogy is to dog-whistles which due to their high-frequency can be heard only by dogs, but are out of the range of the human ear.

5. The reference corpus was a 100 million word corpus of quality newspapers – the *Guardian*, *Telegraph* and *Times*, 1993.

6. Curly brackets are used to indicate words sharing the same semantic field, that is words related by synonymy, as per Lyons' (1977) usage.

7. As Sinclair (1986) points out, an attributed utterance is also averred; that is, the attributed utterance is embedded within an averred one.

8. *Telegraph–ITV News* war poll: a survey of 3,682 adults conducted by *YouGov* between 27 March and 1 April 2003.

5 Decoding codas: evaluation in reporter and correspondent news talk

Louann Haarman

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter Clark focused on the reports of embedded journalists and correspondents in the war zone, showing how pervasively the war reports are informed by features of evaluation. This chapter continues the focus on correspondents (but not only in the war zone) through a close reading and textual analysis of their reports.

The work reported here emerges from a study of the talk of BBC Baghdad correspondent Rageh Omaar and Studio Reporter David Shukman (Haarman 2006), in which selected linguistic mechanisms were examined to determine their possible role in suggesting that the BBC had taken an anti-war stance during the early months of the war. The study was occasioned by scepticism regarding the conclusions of the Cardiff Report (2003), a content analysis commissioned by the BBC in response to accusations of an anti-war bias, which 'found little evidence to support the widespread claims that the BBC's coverage was anti-war. The BBC [. . .] was more likely to run stories simply reporting the progress of the war, rather than the case for the war, than either ITV or Channel 4' (*ibid.*: 27).[1] Yet the results of the Haarman (2006) study, which covered the period up to the fall of Baghdad (9 April), strongly support the notion that the implicit evaluative language of both correspondent and studio reporter may easily have been understood by part of the television audience as a clear indication of anti-war stance. During the course of the study it emerged that the great majority of the final segments of the prepared, pre-recorded (i.e. not live) reports of BBC correspondents, some of whom were embedded with coalition military units, presented very characteristic and recurrent linguistic and discursive features which were particularly dense in linguistic mechanisms associated with evaluation and stance. I have termed this key site 'coda', a term famously used by Labov (1972)[2] in his functional description of the stages of personal narratives. Although its context of use is different, there are features which liken it to the correspondent's coda, especially as a potential site for evaluation (Thompson and Hunston 2000: 13).

The evaluative and rhetorical functions of these final segments are explored here in a comparative perspective and with reference to the complete English and Italian television corpora. The first part of the paper introduces the object of

investigation and provides a few typical examples of the BBC codas upon which the original study was based. The second part regards the compilation of the corpora of these segments in the four channels, the third describes the analytical procedure followed. The final sections present the results of the analysis and concluding remarks.

5.2 The 'coda'

Two definitions (Merriam Webster Online Dictionary 2007):

co•da n. 1 a: a concluding musical section that is formally distinct from the main structure b: a concluding part of a literary or dramatic work
   2: something that serves to round out, conclude, or summarize and usually has its own interest
   Etymology: Italian, literally, tail, from Latin cauda

Some examples:

(1) Correspondent: Tonight in Brussels a frosty handshake between President Chirac and the British. *Mr Blair's decision to side with America has left scars in Europe. Easily healed, not likely.* Laura Trevelyan, BBC News. (20 March, BBC)

(2) Embedded reporter: [reporting on a battle] But in the end the Iraqis are defeated.
   Sergeant: What we have seen is the remaining troops closing in on one specific building and they're all now flying the white flag.
   Embedded reporter: *But on battle fields across Iraq tonight the guns are still firing and Britain and America are finding out fast this war will be no walk-over.* Ben Brown, BBC News, Southern Iraq. (23 March, BBC)

The lines highlighted in italics are distinct from the rest of the report for their somewhat ominous, slightly ironic and elusive character: they are not reporting news as such, but concluding the item with something 'that has its own interest',[3] and that is obviously evaluative. This is particularly evident in example (3), where the actual news value of the item is completed with the words 'an enquiry is already underway'. The correspondent's final consideration clearly represents 'a concluding section that is formally distinct from the main structure' of the item, while offering an implicit (negative) evaluation of the incident.

(3) Reverend Jonathan Beach, RAF Padre: [commenting an incident of friendly fire] What I detect today is, is, yes, a deep sadness, and and and grief, but still a determination to go, to go on. And, the people know there's a job to do, and, and they're determined to see that through.
   War zone correspondent: As attention returns to these Tornados' main task, an enquiry is already underway, *but the question that surely must be on every crew's mind is, Could it happen again?* Karen Allen, BBC News, at Ali Al Salem, in northern Kuwait. (23 March, BBC)

Only 14 out of 167 (8%) final segments in the BBC corpus ended abruptly upon termination of the 'news'. An example is (4), spoken by the reporter.

> (4) The Ministry of Defence says that bodies of those who've died will be brought back to the UK as soon as possible, assuming that's what the families want. Relatives will also be given the opportunity to have full military funerals. John Kay, BBC News, Plymouth. (25 March, BBC)

Fifteen closings (9%) were considered 'borderline' or ambiguous cases, where the final utterance, while pregnant with evaluative meaning, does not seem to be quite so much a 'concluding section which is formally distinct from the main structure' of the item. Note also in (6) below that the final words are not actually uttered in the correspondent's voice, but are the 'ventriloquized' words (see Piazza, this volume) of the prime minister ('Downing Street').

> (5) As Britain and the United States try to coordinate food aid and medical services, the United Nations has now criticized the occupying powers for failing to protect law and order in Iraq, and failing to guarantee proper medical services. International pressure on the coalition is already intense. (10 April, BBC)
>
> (6) Critics among Mr Cook's fellow MPs think he's willing the end of Saddam Hussein, but not the means of achieving it. Whatever he meant to say, though, the message from Downing Street is clear: There'll be no withdrawal of British troops until Saddam Hussein and any weapons of mass destruction have been eliminated. Shaun Ley, BBC News, Westminster (30 March, BBC)

On the basis of these findings in the BBC corpus, the analysis is extended here to the other broadcasters in the CorDis television corpus in order to ascertain whether reporter and correspondent reports in the American and Italian news programmes present similar stylistic characteristics (i.e. an utterance with 'its own interest' beyond the news value of the report) with the same highly evaluative features, and if so, to what extent. This entailed the compilation of subcorpora of the final segments of all correspondent prepared reports.

5.3 Compilation of the subcorpora

Because the linguistic and pragmatic functions of the final segments of reports were not immediately obvious during the initial manual annotation of the corpora, the segments were not tagged, and consequently no Xaira mark-up was applied to them during the subsequent conversion into XML texts. It was therefore not possible to use the Xaira software to interrogate specifically this feature of the corpora, and all final segments of the reports had to be extracted manually from the corpora of the four broadcasters. Because this task was inevitably subjective, there were several procedural decisions to be made in order to insure the highest possible level of

consistency and standardization regarding precisely what constituted the 'final segment' to be included in the subcorpora.

The first decision regarded the exclusion of the correspondent's final utterances in any kind of live report (i.e. in live exchanges with the studio, or live on location) on the grounds that the spontaneity and/or time constraints of the live link would conceivably impinge on the possibility to produce the careful 'well-turned phrase' typical of the prepared reports, and would thus skew the results of the present study. The correspondent sign-off (name, BBC/CBS News, location) was taken as the conclusion of the prepared reports on BBC and CBS.

The prepared report is occasionally embedded *within* a live exchange between the studio and the correspondent. In these 'embedded' cases the news presenter summons the correspondent, exchanges greetings and may initiate a brief question/answer sequence with the correspondent to camera, after which the prepared report begins almost seamlessly in a voiceover mode with actuality video. When the report ends, the correspondent reappears speaking live to camera (or with a telephone link) and the live exchange resumes with the typical question/answer sequence.[4]

In the Italian data the sign-off was not given on either channel during the period covered by the data. On RAI Uno the correspondent is often summoned by the news presenter with a brief question,[5] before the prepared report is delivered. On TG5 instead the prepared report may be introduced by several live exchanges between the studio and correspondent, which may continue after the conclusion of the report. The onset of the recorded report is usually accompanied by a screen shot giving the name and location of the reporter and 'editor' ('edited by'/'montaggio di'). This made it necessary to watch and read the Italian texts very carefully to distinguish the report from spontaneous speech, which in any case could usually be detected by a change in audio quality, and/or verbal fluency, for example, false starts, repetitions, pauses and fillers such as eeh, em, etc. If in the compilation of the subcorpora there was any doubt as to the mode of the report (extemporaneous or prepared), the segment was excluded.

Likewise, the segment was excluded if the report ended with another Voice (RAI Uno reports often ended with a statement from a politician, and CBS reports with the words of a soldier). This decision was dictated by the limitation of the study to the language of newsworkers, but obviously the correspondent's choice to terminate an item with such a 'citation' is neither arbitrary nor lacking in rhetorical intent, as is evident in example (7) where the thrust of the soldier's comment is heavily evaluative, and the journalist deliberately terminates the item on his highly suggestive words.

(7) Correspondent: [. . .] Sgt H. says the experience hasn't diminished the love he feels for his country.
Sergeant: You know I think the United States is eh ah is a country that's always, that's always willing to change for the better and that, that goes for a lot like in my book, you know. And that that I think is worth worth dying for.
Correspondent: Lara Logan, CBS news, Landstuhl, Germany. (CBS, March 27)

Decisions were also necessary regarding criteria to determine the actual words to include in the subcorpora. Choosing the last one or two 'sentences' gave uneven results, as did the choice to extract the utterances in the last given mode of delivery (i.e. in voiceover or to camera). Also, there was some uncertainty as to whether the voices of legitimated persons, ordinary people and military personnel (see Introduction for a definition of these terms) in the correspondent's report should be included in the segment. After evaluating the various options, it was decided to do so when their utterances were essential to clarify linguistic and pragmatic aspects of the correspondent's final remarks. It was further decided that in no case should a segment exceed a total length of 120 words. The resulting brief texts vary in length between 30 and 120 words, the majority are between 50 and 90.

The differences in the numbers of segments and average words per segment set out in Table 5.1 reflect structural and stylistic characteristics of the news programmes themselves. The small number of CBS segments is due, as has been previously mentioned in this volume, to the smaller overall corpus, recorded 5 days a week, and further shortened by slightly over 10 minutes of advertising per 30-minute programme. Moreover, the predominant role assumed by the anchor determines a reduction in the number of correspondent reports, and hence potential codas. It must be said, furthermore, that the anchor himself often delivers reports, which were not included in the coda corpus. The greater length of the BBC and CBS segments is due to the fact that correspondent reports here may include utterances of other voices, mainly legitimated people for the BBC and military personnel for CBS, parts of which were included in the segments to contextualize and disambiguate the coda.[6] Obviously the Italian reports would not include this kind of citation in English. The high number of RAI segments bears witness to the greater number of generally shorter reports in comparison to TG5 and BBC (see Marchi and Venuti, this volume). Note also that both BBC and, especially, TG5 make ample use of live exchanges and live reports from correspondents on location in the war zone and in the US. This reduces the total number of prepared pre-recorded reports, and therefore of segments which might be included in the corpora.

For each of the four broadcasters, the final segments, selected according to the criteria set out above, will be called the *coda subcorpora* or *codas*. The remaining text of the news programmes represents the *nocoda subcorpora (nocodas)*. The composition of the subcorpora is set out in Figure 5.1.

Table 5.1 Number of segments and average number of words per segment across corpora

	BBC	CBS	RAI	TG5
number of segments	167	66	188	134
average number of words per segment	72	88	54	60
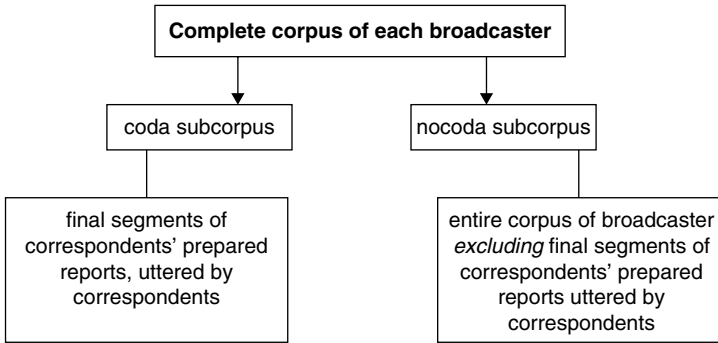
Figure 5.1 Composition of the subcorpora.

In the following section the quantitative results of interrogation of the BBC and CBS corpora will be reported, and tentative interpretations of the data will be advanced on the basis of a more qualitative approach to the verbal texts. The Italian channels will be treated in a separate section, and some comparisons with the English language data made.

5.4 Results: BBC and CBS

Application of the WordSmith keywords tool (see Lombardo, this volume, for a discussion of the keywords technique) to the two English language coda subcorpora (i.e. comparing codas with codas and codas with nocodas) predictably produces no significant results due to their limited size.[7] However, using as reference corpora the 550,000 word corpus of British and American newspaper reports (hereafter IraqRep) and the 478,000 word corpus of newspaper editorials (IraqEd) collected in connection with the CorDis project (see Introduction to this volume), several interesting features of the codas begin to emerge, which are confirmed and indeed further clarified through a close comparison of the frequency and discursive context of selected tokens in the coda and nocoda subcorpora. These are set out below.

5.4.1 Sentence length

One of the first statistical findings indicates a quite noticeable difference in average sentence length in the coda and nocoda subcorpora.[8] For each broadcaster, sentences in the codas are consistently shorter: by three words for the BBC (14 words vs 17 in nocodas) and two words for CBS (15 vs 17). The regularity of this feature across the English language broadcasters suggests an effect of terseness and conciseness, a rhetorical feature associated with deliberate and forceful conclusions.

5.4.2 *This*

Key in the comparison between BBC and CBS codas and IraqRep are, foreseeably, adverbs which supply information or 'locate' the news in terms of current time and place, thus the keyness of *here*, *now*, *tonight*, formulations which are highly pertinent to broadcast but less to print media. Also key are *this* and *these*, deictic markers signalling, and referring to, the accompanying visual texts. The following are typical.

(8) *This* baby was burnt in an accident at home. Her parents have brought her *here* to be taken to the British field hospital for treatment. An act of sheer desperation, or the first signs of growing trust. (28 March, BBC)

(9) Some now have vengeance on their mind. *This* man sitting beside the bed of his injured child said we have to take revenge for *this*. (29 March, BBC)

(10) It's crowds like *this* that make trying to re-supply troops up north so dangerous. *This* is one of the first towns just across the border of Iraq and already there's a crowd chanting pro-Saddam slogans. (28 March, CBS)

(11) *This* marks the end of a stunning push north from just south of Karbala *here* to the airport since Wednesday morning at 2 a.m. *These* are pictures from earlier today just east of the Euphrates (3 April, CBS)

(12) But tonight the Marines arrested *these* men, armed with guns and grenades. (14 April, BBC)

It is not of course surprising to find deixis as key in the television corpora as compared to print media. Considerably more interesting is the fact that its frequency is so much greater in the codas than in the nocodas, as can be seen in Table 5.2.

Among other pragmatic functions, the greater frequency of deictic, exophoric *this* suggests that the message in the codas is being more systematically underlined and foregrounded with appropriate visual data than is the case in the nocoda corpora. As for the greater frequency of the demonstrative pronoun (in examples 13–16 below), this may be a function of the communicative density of the coda. Diessel (2006: 476), for example, has identified the pragmatic function of what he terms 'discourse deictic demonstratives' as that of 'establish[ing] links between

Table 5.2 Frequency of *this* in coda and nocoda subcorpora, BBC and CBS (phw*)

	BBC		CBS	
	nocoda	coda	nocoda	coda
this	0.844	1.162	0.685	0.984

*per hundred words

chunks of the ongoing discourse'. They, too, point elsewhere, here focusing the addressee's attention on 'linguistic elements in the surrounding context':

> In other words [...] demonstratives function to create a joint focus of attention. Joint attention is thus not only important to coordinate the interlocutors' attentional focus in the speech situation, it also plays an important role in the organization of discourse.

The greater frequency of *this* in the codas, then, would appear to be consistent with the preference for clarity, conciseness and an evaluative thrust in the discourse of the final segments, and the desire to underscore the message with the visual images on screen.

(13) And *this* is one answer to Iraqi resistance. As B52s return to their base in Gloucestershire this evening allied commanders were ordering more air strikes to help the advance on the ground. (23 March, BBC)

(14) If there is one message beamed from this war council in the forest, it is *this*: both Tony Blair and George Bush are now trying to lower expectations about this war (27 March, BBC)

(15) *This* is a moment most of them wanted for years, the chance to start again (3 April, CBS)

(16) But *this* is a time of hawks, not doves, and very soon Syria must decide where it stands. (14 April, BBC)

Interestingly, of the 139 occurrences of *this* in the BBC codas, over 25% appear in the cluster *this war/this conflict*, showing a frequency of 0.366 phw, compared with 0.105 in the nocoda corpus. The CBS data present the cluster only three times, for a frequency of 0.053 phw, virtually identical to its frequency in the nocoda corpus (0.042 phw). CBS prefers the cluster *the war,* but only in the nocoda corpus (0.314 phw); its presence in the codas is limited to 0.073 phw. Indeed, the very presence of the lexeme *war* is noticeably skewed in the two coda corpora: it occurs 0.685 phw in BBC, and exactly half that much in CBS. Its greater recurrence in the BBC data is one of many features which point to an evaluative tendency in the codas. The use of the demonstrative *this* 'focuses attention', it is specific and emphatic. Compared in context with the cluster *the war*, its (evaluative) force emerges more clearly.

Concordance: *the war*, BBC codas

> game, but won't mind if it helps them win **the war**. Ben Brown, BBC News, outside Basra
> concern that the real challenge wasn't **the war**, but nudging the Americans towards a
> Laden got away. Commanders are winning **the war** but it seems they haven't yet beaten the
> world are rising. That anger can subside if **the war** ends soon and if the peace process
> that any battle for Tikrit will bring to an end **the war** fighting phase of this campaign. It will also
> r Basra in southern Iraq. So two views of **the war**: from its architect it's going well, and from
> But tonight after 3 days of relative quiet, **the war** has come to the northern front here in Iraq.
> Iraqi people. And what they make of **the war** intended to liberate them. Gavin Hewitt,
> southern Iraq. So at the end of Day 2 **the war** is suddenly far more aggressive and far
> another view: Sheikh Nadim Altaie says **the war** is just, but a prolonged American presence
> it doesn't yet appear in west Baghdad that **the war** is over. All afternoon these units have been

urban conflict? The most difficult phase of **the war** may be about to begin. David Willis, BBC

Local people say these people have won **the war**, now they should pick up the pieces. Olla

Despite all the losses and the rows about **the war** strategy, the President has articulated a

people in this town may have had about **the war**, they now support the troops, pray for a

trying to win hearts and minds as well as **the war**. They're finding out it can be a bruising

are deserted. In the last few days before **the war** thousands of people frantically tried to buy

the city thousands of people who fled from **the war**. Tonight they feel safe enough to come

where the last battle will be fought, where **the war** will truly come to an end. The Americans

Concordance: *this war*, BBC codas

has articulated a new optimism about **this war**. Essentially he has come here to give an

There's a feeling that, for America, **this war** really has gone extraordinarily well. Justin

and Britain and America are finding out fast **this war** will be no walk-over. Ben Brown, BBC News,

non-combatants, but they chose to be in **this war**. The city's five million civilians did not. Paul

g a war. Symbols are everything in **this war**. The British are systematically destroying

doubt throughout the Iraqi forces. In **this war** even confusion has become weapon.

special forces. Most of what they're doing in **this war** is secret. First trying to undermine Saddam's

also note that the political consequences of **this war** won't be decided here, amongst the, the

we don't know what the long term impact of **this war** will be. Niall Dickson, BBC News,

of mass destruction, the whole cause of **this war**. But no sign of them so far. Ben Brown, BBC

sign that people here are going soft on **this war**. Even those who were against Britain

the perception here remains that **this war** is harming ordinary people. Baghdad's streets

the longer it does the greater the risk that **this war** looks a little less like a liberation.

the day with little sign of how or when **this war** will end. This is one reality of Ba

are edgy, suspicious. They are winning **this war** but not in the way they imagined. Gavin

The occurrences of *war* in the CBS codas are as follows:[9]

Concordance: *war*, CBS

and daughters and husbands and wives at **war**, not to be forgotten, are seven families who

For starters, the terrain: the familiar desert **war** looked more like the jungles of Vietnam,

have to pass with hot dogs and beer. Even in **war**, hoop dreams never fail, but here they're

don't leave town, which could start a mini-**war** instead of celebrations. Alan Pizzey, CBS

convince any marine of the multiple dangers of **war**, knowing that the rear battles lie just ahead.

but it's still teaching the painful lessons, of **war**. Lee Cowan, CBS news, Baghdad.

many, the other part of me knows the reality of **war** and sacrifice. [Vince Gonzales] Marine

win the military fight and not lose the political **war**. Mark Strassman, CBS news, Najaf, Iraq.

These are pictures now two weeks into the **war** that quite frankly many had expected to see

the fall of Saddam to America, even though the **war** on the northern front far from over. Alan

them soon One day soon they hope when the **war** is over. With the US marines, Byron Pitts

a needed escape, twisted ankles and all. The **war** is we came from baseball. Isn't that our

a valuable lesson. America is winning this **war**, but she cannot end it, at least not yet.

expect these to be the last casualties of this **war**. Vince Gonzales, CBS News, Camp

accounted for until hostilities ended. In this **war**, there's no telling when that may be. Jane

it all might seem, it is a clear sign that while **war** might be ending, there is trouble ahead.

As may be seen, several examples are extremely generic: *in war, of war, political war*. The three instances of *this war* are similar to those in the BBC data, conferring weight and importance to the utterance. That this cluster should be significantly present in BBC and significantly scarce in CBS, supports a reading of its 'meaning' which correlates with findings based on other parameters (Lombardo, Piazza, Ferrarrotti, this volume): whether intentionally or not, the ultimate effect is that in CBS *codas* '*this war*' is downplayed, attention is averted. (But see Lombardo, this volume, for the occurrence of *war* in news presenter talk.)

5.4.3 Is/are

In the study of the partial BBC corpus (20 March to 9 April) mentioned in the introduction to this chapter (section 5.1), the greater frequency of *is/are* in the codas had emerged immediately as one of the most striking differences between the nocoda and coda subcorpora (from 2.004 to 2.597 phw) and the difference persists when calculated over the entire period covered, so much so that *is/are* are also key in BBC codas with respect to IraqRep. Not so, however, in CBS, where *is/are* are not key and there is no significant difference between the frequency of *is/are* in the coda and nocoda corpora, as can be seen in Table 5.3.

The simple present tense is of course the most common means of expressing 'general truths' (e.g. Leech and Svartvik 1975: 64) and 'generic statements', in Fowler's words 'descriptive propositions which are supposedly true of any instance of the entities to which they refer' (Fowler 1991: 211).[10] And, as Murphy and Morley (2006) point out in their study of editorials and OpEds, *is/are* are common in generic sentences which presuppose or claim definitive knowledge of some topic. Editorials are meant to 'tell it like it is', and this is often associated with the use of the verb BE in the present tense. Of course it is the very function of the correspondent to 'tell it like it is' in a literal sense, and this obviously presumes an ample use of the present tense, a fact confirmed by a random manual count of verb tenses in 30 codas. Nonetheless, the generalizing and assertive thrust of BE (and to a certain degree of the simple present itself) is evident. Of the 160 instances of *is* in BBC codas, 50 (31%) occur in the clusters *it is, this is, that is, there is*, clusters which frequently signal generic and/or evaluative utterances, as in Table 5.4 below. The fact that *is/are* are *not* key with respect to the IraqEd corpus lends further support to the suggestion that codas are more similar to editorials than to reports (i.e. their frequency in BBC codas is not significantly different from their frequency in editorials).

Table 5.3 *is/are* in nocoda and coda subcorpora, BBC and CBS (phw)

	BBC		CBS	
	nocoda	coda	nocoda	coda
is/are (*isn't/aren't*)	2.064	2.513	1.775	1.742

Table 5.4 Clusters with *is* in BBC codas

It is a huge risk for the Americans and the British (9 April)

It is likely to be a decisive encounter (24 March)

But in any other language *it is* looting (16 April)

That is still disputed (8 April)

And *that is* endorsed by the guardians of the Geneva Convention (22 March)

That is mainly due to the speed of their initial advance (22 March)

There is no doubt British troops are digging in for a battle (28 March)

there is a real sense of solidarity across the Arab world (28 March)

This is the dominant power here (30 March)

But *this is* a time of hawks, not doves (14 April)

Table 5.5 Clusters with *is* in CBS codas

It is a freedom of speech many of these people have never known or can't remember (7 April)

it is certain there will be more civilians caught in the crossfire (8 April)

it is a clear sign that while war might be ending, there *is* trouble ahead (9 April)

This is a moment most of them wanted for years, the chance to start again (3 April)

While the overall figures for CBS show a slightly lower frequency of *is/are* in the codas, it must be said that in the period up to 9 April, CBS, like BBC, also showed an increase in *is/are* (though not as great), from 1.712 to 1.902 phw. Some of these are similar to the BBC data in evaluative thrust, as may be seen in Table 5.5.

5.4.4 Will

Another lexical item noticeably more frequent in the coda corpora is *will*. In the pre-April 9 BBC codas, its presence increased from 0.463 to 0.825 phw, and this tendency is confirmed, though to a less striking degree, in the complete BBC coda corpus, and to a very striking degree in the CBS coda corpus, as indicated in Table 5.6.

Will is more frequent in both BBC and CBS codas than in IraqReps (where it occurs 0.354 phw) and IraqEds (0.553). The classic marker of future time, it also falls into Palmer's category of 'Assumptive' epistemic modality marking prediction when 'the speaker makes an assessment of what it is reasonable to expect, inferring from experience or general knowledge' (Palmer 2001: 26). In the codas its

Table 5.6 *will* in nocoda and coda subcorpora, BBC and CBS (phw)

	BBC		CBS	
	nocoda	coda	nocoda	coda
will (*won't, is/are going to*)	0.486	0.668	0.432	0.845

high frequency is instrumental in conveying a forward-looking quality through projections and predictions, a quality achieved also through modals (particularly *may* and *could*)[11] and other linguistic formulations of modality through adverbials and lexis, as well as hypothetical constructions. Prediction itself is of course fundamentally evaluative. Examples (17) to (25) illustrate the myriad of ways that prediction and projection are realized in both corpora. Note that the forward projection often entails as well a 'movement' from specific to general, a discursive generalization, and this is often formulated with a contrastive pair.

(17) *But* on battle fields across Iraq tonight the guns are still firing and Britain and America are finding out fast this war *will be* no walk-over. (23 March, BBC)

(18) Their squadron *will* hold a memorial service on Tuesday, the work *will stop*. Marines *will pray*. *But* then, as always, they *will return* to work as they mourn the loss, not just of marines, but men they love like brothers. (31 March, CBS)

(19) We *will win* said one, *but* it *won't be* quick. (28 March, BBC)

(20) Confident words there. *But* the truth is that Baghdad is *still* nothing like under coalition control. And there *may be* days, even *possibly* weeks of fighting *still to come.* (6 April, BBC)

(21) A British commander said here tonight that Basra was now secure, if you're in a tank. It'*ll have to* be safer than that before the *rebuilding* of the city and of people's confidence in the *new* order of things *can begin.* (7 April, CBS)

(22) *It would be a real problem* if jubilation spurs the Kurds to rush for Kirkuk and Mosul, *but* for now they're giving full credit for the fall of Saddam to America, *even though* the war on the northern front *is far from over.* (9 April, CBS)

(23) Iraq's new era *starts tomorrow.* One that has difficult and dangerous *days ahead of it.* (9 April, BBC)

(24) American is winning this war, *but* she *cannot* end it, at least *not yet.* (9 April, CBS)

(25) The Americans say power *may be* restored to parts of Baghdad by the weekend. And some water supplies *should return tomorrow.* In the meantime

the people of Baghdad are now beginning to clean up the debris of war and trying to focus on what life *will be* like in the new Iraq, a country where dictatorship has been swept away, but where *other problems are piling up.* (15 April, BBC)

5.4.5 But

But is a keyword in the BBC coda corpus with respect to IraqRep and ranks high on the frequency lists of both BBC and CBS coda corpora, even higher than it does in IraqEd (see Table 5.7). It is also consistently more frequent in the coda than in the nocoda corpora (with the sole exception of BBC in the period after the fall of Baghdad). In both BBC and CBS coda corpora, there is also a very high frequency of contrastive pairs generally, introduced by *although, though, however.*

(26) Tonight several hundred protesters were dispersed by riot police, *though* the main demonstration had been peaceful. (22 March, BBC)

(27) Most of Saddam's hard core supporters are dead or gone, *although* their handiwork remains. (7 April, CBS)

Conventionally, *but* signals problematic areas, marking semantic opposition or negation of one element with respect to another. Concordancing confirms this pattern, and several examples of the linker in this function may be seen above in examples (17) to (24). Grouped with other contrastive linkers, the difference in its frequency in the codas and nocodas corpora is given in Table 5.8, which shows a much higher frequency in the codas, especially in CBS.

Table 5.7 Frequency of *but* across corpora (phw)

	BBC	CBS	Iraq reports	Iraq editorials
but	0.995	1.035	0.434	0.606

Table 5.8 *but* in nocoda and coda corpora, BBC and CBS (phw)

	BBC		CBS	
	nocoda	coda	nocoda	coda
*but**	0.842	1.094	0.735	1.136

*including *although, despite, however, yet, instead, though, nonetheless, nevertheless*

Clark (this volume) also notes a greater presence of *but* in the subcorpora of embedded and war zone correspondents (their 'codas' are included in the present subcorpora) and the concessive and evaluative force of the recurrent pattern 'positive p *but* negative p', where the proposition following *but* is less favourable than that preceding it. Her examples illustrate various types of opposition in the realization of the contrastive/contrasted pairs. Indeed the functions of *but* and similar linkers are quite complex, and its considerably greater frequency in the codas contributes to the perception that the pragmatic functions of the coda itself are also quite complex, showing (among other things) more similarity to newspaper editorials than to reports. This is indirectly supported by Bednarek's discussion of contrast (undated online document *He's nice but Tim*) based on a 70,000 word corpus of quality and tabloid British newspaper reports. Bednarek found that over 60% of all occurrences of *but* appear 'in the context of an *attributed* (Sinclair 1988; Hunston 2000) or reported proposition'. The fact that this very rarely occurs in BBC and CBS codas would appear to be another confirmation of their non-conformity to *reporting* style.

Moreover, it has been convincingly argued (Thompson and Zhou 2000; Rudolph 1996; Peterson 1986) that the central function of *but* is not to signal contrast (or semantic opposition), but more specifically to signal that the juxtaposition of the two clauses conflicts with what is expected. Peterson (1986: 586), for example, distinguishes between two possible types of conflicting expectations. The first is *violation of expectation*, where 'Event 1 leads to an expectation which does not occur in Event 2', for example, 'He had a heart attack but he didn't die'. The second is *inferred violation of expectation*, in which 'Event 1 generates an expectation and although the violation of that expectation is not directly stated, it is implied by Event 2.' Examples of these types from the coda subcorpora are:

(28) (violation of expectation) Iraqi guns have already hit US Cobra helicopters, these two have the holes to prove it. *But* still they fly. (21 March, CBS)

(29) (inferred violation of expectation) Tonight many Iraqis in Basra are celebrating [*so we may expect that all is well*] *but* many are also looting, helping themselves from buildings where British troops have driven out the Iraqi militia. (6 April, BBC)

(30) (inferred violation of expectation) With the battle won, they're now trying to win hearts and minds, [*so we may expect them to be friendly and accommodating*] *but* they may have to become Iraq's policemen. The city is rapidly descending into chaos. (10 April, CBS)

This kind of textual 'accessing' of expectations in the presence of *but* necessarily assumes 'a common ground between reader and writer in terms of what is expected or unexpected at any given point in the discourse [. . .] The reader is led into supplying information which substantiates this common ground' (Thompson and Hunston 2000: 9). Common ground, of course, entails shared values and cultural background, which also play a major role in all linguistic studies in the Hallidayan tradition. Martin and White (2005: 121), for example, in discussing 'countering'

moves in intersubjective (i.e. addresser/addressee) positioning in texts, argue that linkers like *but, although, however, yet,* and adjuncts such as *even, only, just* and *still,* 'project on to the addressee particular beliefs and expectations' and serve to *align* writer and reader by construing both as sharing such beliefs. The increased frequency of these linkers in the codas therefore implicitly acknowledges and references common ground, and the intersubjective positioning so negotiated presumes the existence or facilitates the establishment of solidarity and trust. It is an excellent argumentative technique.

5.4.6 More on common ground

Furthermore, this common ground is similarly accessed and drawn upon in expressions which White terms *bare assertions,* propositions which are 'declared absolutely', such as:

> (31) *No one doubts the coalition will eventually win.* But real doubts about the speed
> and the price are creeping in. (27 March, BBC)

For White (2003: 263–4) a bare assertion is:

> associated with consensual 'knowledge', versions-of-events which are seen as 'fact,' [. . .] propositions held to be unproblematic and generally 'known' or 'accepted' in the current communicative context. [. . .] [T]he bare assertion is frequently associated with an assumption that speaker/writer and audience operate with the same knowledge, beliefs and values.

It is consistent too with the increased frequency[12] in the codas of *is/are* forms and the strong generalizing thrust they convey. (Examples of such propositions are set out in Tables 5.4 and 5.5 above.) Additional evidence of intersubjective alignment related to common ground may also be observed in the codas in the several occurrences of correspondent *pronouncements,* that is, 'formulations which involve authorial emphases or explicit authorial interventions or interpolations' (Martin and White 2005: 127), as in the following examples:

> (32) there is yet no evidence of exactly who was responsible for the tragedy. *But
> the reality here is that many ordinary Iraqis have already made their minds up.* Many
> of them wonder how would-be liberators could impose such a toll on the
> people they want to set free. (29 March, BBC)
>
> (33) Confident words there. *But the truth is that Baghdad is still nothing like under
> coalition control.* (6 April, BBC)

Here the correspondent's subjectivity is 'obscured or impersonalised' (*ibid.*: 132) by the force of the premises (*But the reality here is, But the truth is*), which *warrant* the reporter's proposition and invoke the solidarity of the viewer in standing with him/her against 'some dialogic adversary'. In this case, would-be liberators (i.e., the

coalition) who are imposing 'such a toll on the people they want to set free' (example 32) and a US General who has spoken confidently about military progress ('Confident words there', the reporter comments) (example 33). Overall, in fact, the BBC codas repeatedly foreground 'adversity' by continually referencing semantic fields of great uncertainty and danger. Real, probable and potential dangers are foreseen or implied, and ominous events are constantly evoked in threatening scenarios, evident in many of the examples cited previously. Interestingly, in the BBC they often occur together with two key features of the codas, a projection forward, and the contrastive or denial of expectation linker, a convergence which lends weight to the evaluative force of the segment.

(34) Tensions between Washington and the Arab world are rising. That anger can subside if the war ends soon and if the peace process between Israelis and Palestinians is revived. *Otherwise*, belligerent talk *could become really dangerous.* (31 March, BBC)

(35) *But* something of a mystery remains about what happened to the Republican Guard units. Have they simply faded away, or have some of them managed to withdraw into Baghdad, for *one final last stand.* (2 April, BBC)

Furthermore, recurrent insinuations about the justification and the progress of the war are voiced:

(36) Ten days into the campaign and it's hard to resist the conclusion that it's run into significant difficulties. Coalition commanders remain confident, *but they're having to do a lot of re-thinking.* (29 March, BBC)

(37) It's all taking longer than hoped, and the longer it does *the greater the risk that this war looks a little less like a liberation.* (30 March, BBC)

(38) The military campaign is one thing, *far harder is the struggle to be seen as right.* (1 April, BBC)

This particular type of coda is relatively infrequent in CBS, which appears to aim for a more reassuring and positive final segment with respect to the military conduct of the war, while not ignoring the presence of risk, peril and difficulties, mainly for US troops and their families and for ordinary Iraqis.

(39) The Pentagon confirmed Iraq's southern oil fields are under US control. Only a handful were lost to sabotage, and *the troops we went with all made it home.* (21 March, CBS)

(40) Most people in Najaf want no part of any of this. They've been shocked and awed by threats for so long. *Now, they're scared of uncertainty.* (31 March, CBS)

(41) These Iraqis say they hope Saddam will soon be gone, never to return, but sceptics remember how the US abandoned them 12 years ago and *fear that*

> *if the marines leave this time*, the people who own these weapons will return *and the nightmare will begin again.* (7 April, CBS)

Different cultural values and concerns are clearly being accessed by the two broadcasters, and hence by their target audiences, as has been pointed out by Lombardo (this volume, see also Introduction to this volume).

5.5 The Italian data: a brief overview

If BBC and CBS codas seem to be drawing on slightly different cultural codes and conventions, the same is true also for the Italian data, perhaps to an even greater extent. While both RAI Uno and TG5 clearly belong to the same southern European journalistic tradition, distinct from those of the two English language broadcasters (see Hallin and Mancini 2004 and Introduction to this volume), they are also significantly different from each other. A keyword search of the two Italian coda subcorpora with reference to an 8,650,000 word corpus of Italian newspapers[13] highlighted at first sight a somewhat different perspective on coverage of the conflict. After removing all place-names and items referring specifically to the war (*artillery, bombing, soldiers*, etc.), the keywords with respect to TG5 codas included *Pentagono* (*Pentagon*), *prigionieri* (*prisoners*), *morti* (*deaths*), *vittime* (*victims*), *uccisi* (*killed*) and *civili* (*civilians*), this last collocating with *victims, killed* and *deaths*. None of these are key in RAI Uno codas, where the keyword tool presents items like *conquista* (*conquest*), *umanitari* (*humanitarian*), *pace* (*peace*) and *feriti* (*wounded*). The picture which emerges from this very broad-brush reconnaissance of the data is consistent with findings reported in other chapters of this volume (Lombardo, Piazza, Ferrarotti) regarding the sometimes bold, often subjective anti-war stance assumed by TG5 news presenters and reporters who seem to dwell on the many gruesome aspects of the war, vis-à-vis a more 'controlled' approach taken by RAI Uno (see Lombardo, this volume). In support of this is the keyness in RAI of the item *dice* (*says*), suggesting that RAI Uno – apparently more than TG5 – is attributing information to sources. A manual search of the codas revealed in fact that RAI Uno and TG5 subcorpora each present approximately 40 reporting verbs or phrases,[14] but these are unevenly utilized by the two channels. In RAI Uno, reporting verbs appear in 134 out of 188 codas (71.3%); in TG5 they occur in only 79 out of 134 codas (58.9%). This would indicate for RAI Uno a greater adherence to conventional Western journalistic norms regarding citation of sources and attribution. (See Piazza, this volume, for a detailed discussion of attribution practices in the four channels.) In the following paragraphs other differences between the Italian broadcasters will be set out, and reference made to the English language data where relevant.

Although the danger of applying identical analytical paradigms to two different languages is obvious, consultation of the corpora confirms that to a large extent, utterances in the Italian corpora of the type under study in this paper (i.e. news discourse) are not pragmatically dissimilar from those in the English language data.

This would indicate that very tentative conclusions of a comparative nature might be ventured with respect to the Italian corpora on the basis of some of the criteria used previously in the analysis of BBC and CBS codas.

5.5.1 Selected items compared: RAI Uno and TG5, Italian and English data

A comparison of the frequency of selected items in the nocoda and coda corpora is set out in Table 5.9. *Ma* (*but*) and *guerra* (*war*) are both more frequent in the coda corpora than they are in the nocodas (*ma* to a lesser degree in TG5 than in RAI Uno or the English language data). In Italian they suggest a certain 'problematizing' of the war through the recurrent use of *ma* to signal contrast and semantic opposition and the aligning of the viewer through solicitation of shared expectations (especially in RAI Uno).

Table 5.9 Frequency of selected items in nocoda and coda corpora, RAI Uno and TG5 (phw)

	RAI Uno		TG5	
	nocoda	coda	nocoda	coda
*ma** (*but*)	0.539	0.823	0.694	0.757
guerra (*war*)	0.503	0.627	0.475	0.632
è/sono (*is/are*)	2.531	2.509	2.807	1.997
questo/a/e/i (*this/these*)	0.820	0.774	1.157	0.682

*including *eppure* (*yet*), *tuttavia* (*yet*) and *nonostante* (*nevertheless*)

The table also shows, however (unlike the English language data), a lower frequency of *è/sono* (*is/are*) and *questo/a/e/i* (*this/these*) in the codas of both broadcasters, with the lowest frequency in both cases in TG5. It will be remembered that in the English language data it was found that clusters with these lexical items frequently signal generic and/or evaluative utterances. While there are some clusters in Italian which fulfil this generalizing, evaluative function through *è/sono*, there are proportionally far fewer of them than in the English texts, and hardly any instances of clusters of *this is* or *these are* (i.e. combining *questo/a/e/i* and *è/sono*). The greatest number of occurrences of *questo/a/e/i* are clearly deictic with reference to the visuals on the screen, a common strategy used in BBC and CBS to foreground and underscore the message of the verbal text through reference to the visual data. Since, however, demonstrative adjectives are less frequent in the codas, we may hypothesize that this is not a recurrent strategy in Italian codas.

Calculation of the frequency of future forms – on the assumption that these could be very roughly compared to instances of *will* in the English language data – showed a frequency in the RAI data (1.039) considerably greater than that in BBC (0.64),

Table 5.10 Pure future forms in Italian data (phw)

	RAI Uno codas	TG5 codas
lemmas in future tense (3rd person singular and plural, 1st person plural)	1.039	0.595

while the Italian commercial channel showed a much lower proportion (0.595) than either RAI Uno (1.039) or CBS (0.84). (See Table 5.10.) The presence of forward projection in the final segments, along with the suggestion or insinuation of danger or risk, combine in some codas, especially in RAI Uno, to resemble the English language examples, as in (42) and (43) below.

(42) Da questa parte il terreno più frastagliato e montagnoso renderà ogni azione militare più *complessa e pericolosa.* (23 March, RAI Uno)
(The more uneven and mountainous land here will make any military operation *more complex and dangerous.*)

(43) Un'invasione turca e un conflitto intorno a Mosul potrebbe aprire scenari drammatici. Lì si trova gran parte della produzione di greggio e *gli impianti sono molto, molto vulnerabili.* (21 March, TG5)
(A Turkish invasion and conflict around Mosul could open up dramatic scenarios. Most of the crude oil is produced there and the *plants are very very vulnerable.*)

Moreover, the movement forward in these segments is often found in connection with an attribution, quite frequent in RAI data.

(44) fedelissimi di Saddam, quelli che gli sono più vicini, resistono e *resisteranno,* ma l'esito è certo, assicura Blair, Saddam *sarà rimosso* dal potere (24 March, RAI Uno)
(faithful to Saddam, the ones who are closest to him, are resisting and *will continue to resist,* but the end result is sure, Blair guarantees it: Saddam *will be removed* from power.)

Nonetheless, there is a significantly different feel to the Italian codas. Where the English language codas often strike the reader as suggestive, allusive, ironic, 'significant' in some way, the Italian codas most commonly end quite abruptly, having delivered the pertinent 'news', as in the following examples. We shall return to this particular characteristic in the conclusions.

(45) ogni cuore soffre dice uno dei leader religiosi, i cartelli accusano gli americani di terrorismo e inneggiano ai fratelli iracheni, la marcia si chiude senza problemi. (23 March, RAI Uno)
(every heart is suffering, says one of the religious leaders. The posters accuse the Americans of terrorism and sing the praises of their Iraqi brothers. The march ends without any problems.)

(46) per aiutare nell'immediato la popolazione irachena. Di questo Blair ha parlato a New York con il segretario dell'ONU Kofi Annan prima di ripartire per Londra. (27 March, TG5)
(to help very soon the Iraqi population. It was about this that Blair spoke in New York with the Secretary of the UN Kofi Annan before leaving for London.)

(47) sono 3000 gli iracheni nelle mani americani, saranno trattati ha detto il generale, secondo le convenzioni internazionali. (24 March, RAI Uno)
(there are 3000 Iraqis in the hands of the Americans, they will be treated, said the general, in line with international agreements.)

There is however an undertow running through many of the Italian codas that implicitly or explicitly depicts war as deplorable. Italy's 1948 Constitution forbids the government from entering into war, either by itself or beside any other country. Italy abhors war, and this sentiment is recurrent throughout the war coverage. Especially in TG5, but also in RAI Uno the viewer clearly perceives a moral commitment against war in general, and this washes over into many final segments in the representation of an ominous atmosphere, a cruel fate, *in the present*. Interestingly, the ominous 'meaning' emerging from some codas in CBS and, in particular, BBC is normally construed with reference to *the future*, and entails real risk or danger. Italy, of course, was not concretely engaged in the war, though the government at the time supported the US/UK invasion. This fact may have contributed to the restraint of the public broadcaster vis-à-vis TG5 in war coverage. The Italian broadcasters are committed against war, but the English language channels are 'representatives' of two countries at war, governments which are putting at risk the lives of their citizens (the military) and to a certain extent their national pride. The stakes were undoubtedly higher.

5.6 Conclusion

As the examples given throughout this chapter have demonstrated, there are discernible differences in the four corpora of codas. BBC codas are highly marked stylistically with many examples of the well-written, well-delivered turn of phrase and a characteristic 'twist', with 'its own interest' at the end of the final segment. The coda is frequently rich in irony and allusion, features lacking from the body of the reports, and lacking also from nearly all of the CBS codas, which very often access the voices of American military personnel and their families. CBS also presents more instances of attribution and citation of information sources in the final segment, while the BBC codas tend to be delivered with the authoritative voice of the correspondent. In this regard, as emerges also elsewhere in this volume (Lombardo, Ferrarotti, Clark), the American channel appears to be more adherent to conventional journalistic norms of 'objective' reporting, as is RAI Uno with respect to the Italian data.

Of course correspondents are expected to offer their personal subjective evaluations of events reported, and CBS newsworkers do so, but at no time in the period under study do they ever question the war effort *as such*, explicitly or implicitly.

An implicit negative stance towards the war is instead a recurrent feature of BBC codas, and it is expressed as much through the juxtaposition of verbal and visual texts and intonation as it is through precisely worded, often allusive verbal texts. Especially in reports from Baghdad, there is also a careful exploitation of 'visual tokens of judgement' (Haarman 2006), that is, images representing events or situations which are interpretable with reference to cultural values. (The most neutral language over repeated scenes of children lying wounded in rudimentary hospitals, casualties of the war, delivers an unmistakably evaluative message, even if the word 'children' is never uttered.[15]) An underlying disapproval of the war is conveyed also in many RAI Uno and TG5 codas; of the two, TG5 is by far the most outspoken. The specific content and the representation of the conflict in the Italian data reflects the cultural and political context of a nation which is profoundly opposed to war in principle, yet whose government was one of the coalition's stoutest supporters. The public broadcaster attempted to represent both the government and the people, who were to a large extent anti-war. TG5 tended to frame its coverage specifically for an audience of the latter.

In sum, as we have seen, in BBC and CBS codas the viewer is given explicit or, more often, implicit orientation for his/her understanding of the news through the recurrent convergence of a number of features which in context determine an evaluative thrust: the high frequency of *is/are* and other present tenses suggesting a 'generalizing' function; the demonstrative pronoun and adjective *this*, foregrounding the visual text and establishing links in ongoing discourse; future tenses and modality projecting the viewer forward, often with ominous overtones of risk and danger; the high frequency of *but* and other contrastive linkers indicating problematic areas and evoking shared cultural values; as well as the presence of strategies for interpersonal positioning and alignment. The cumulative weight of these evaluative features lends further authority to the correspondent's voice and focuses the attention of the viewer on the importance or relevance of the report. Particularly fitting here is Thompson and Hunston's observation (2000: 24) that 'indications of the importance or relevance of information are found especially at the *beginning* and *end* of paragraphs or discourse sections' (emphasis added). Announced as newsworthy (i.e. important and relevant) by the news presenter, whose introduction is in essence a kind of extended headline, the prepared news report concludes with the correspondent's coda, whose evaluative force is potentially strengthened by its position at the end of the item. Morley's (2004) study of newspaper editorials showed a similar tendency for the linguistic elements which he identified as contributing to 'the persuasive function of editorials'[16] to cluster in the final paragraph of the articles (2004: 251). Discursively, final position 'consolidates' the message. As Thompson and Hunston (2000: 11) note, evaluation at the end of a unit 'marks that a point has been made and that the reader's acceptance of that point is assumed'.

Although the evaluative features mentioned above also appear to some extent in the Italian data, and although the final segment of the Italian item *can* be an important site of evaluative meanings, we have seen that generally the final segment tends to end rather abruptly upon utterance of the relevant news. This consistent practice points convincingly to a different journalistic style which appears not to foresee the

rounding off, concluding function of the coda in the prepared news item. When such codas do occur in the Italian data, they are usually delivered by senior correspondents with years of experience, including assignments in English-speaking capitals.

Whether the production of the coda is a skill taught in journalism schools or learned in the field during the course of one's career, it lends a characteristic rhythm and contour to television news reports. Future research on its linguistic and discursive features in different types of news items (e.g. soft news, political news) will provide a fuller characterization of its role and functions. Certainly, in the English language war news corpora investigated here, it has proven to be a distinguishing feature of the genre and a key discourse unit for the expression of stance.

Notes

1. The Report was based on the content analyses of 1,534 reports broadcast by BBC, ITV, Channel 4 and Sky News. Although primarily concerned with the role of embedded reporting, it also considered aspects of production, content and reception and results of interviews with reporters, editors and heads of news departments. The language of the news coverage was not considered, but only the 'presence and treatment of [. . .] themes during the war, in order to see the extent to which broadcasters embraced or rejected the government's case' (Lewis and Brookes 2004: 286). The themes were Iraqi WMD capability, rescuing the Iraqi people, and the depravity of the Iraqi regime. In addition to its own conclusions, the Report (2004: 33) cites an Independent Television Commission survey published in October 2003 which 'suggests that broadcasters – including the BBC – were more likely to be perceived [by the public] as biased towards a pro-war rather than anti-war position (a perception in keeping with some aspects of our content analysis).'

2. See also Labov and Waletsky (1967: 32–9). The fifth of a six-part structure including an abstract, orientation, complication, resolution, coda and evaluation, codas 'bridg[e] the gap between the moment of time at the end of the narrative proper and the present. They bring the narrator and the listener back to the point at which they entered the narrative' (Labov 1972: 365). Labov also notes (*ibid.*: 366, note 8) that 'a good coda [. . .] leaves the listener with a feeling of satisfaction and completeness that matters have been rounded off and accounted for'.

3. In order to understand whether journalists were actually taught how to produce these segments, manuals for broadcast journalists were consulted. Many emphasized the importance of the opening sentence, which 'can set the tone of a piece and give a sense of narrative – the sense of a story or drama about to unfold' (Ray 2003: 47), and in a section titled 'Some tricks of the trade', Ray advises the journalist to make ample use of three-part lists and contrastive pairs. Furthermore, 'narrative' is encouraged to lend '"roundness" to a piece – ending it, in a sense, back at the beginning and giving [the feeling] of completeness and closure' (2003: 55).

4. See Haarman (2004) on structural characteristics of live exchanges in a corpus of BBC news on the Kosovo conflict 1999. See also Montgomery (2007: 38–67) for a very complete and illuminating discussion of the discourse structure of broadcast news.

5. On RAI, the answer to the question may never be forthcoming, and is nearly always postponed, as in this example:
   News presenter: Intanto oggi è stata un'altra giornata sotto le bombe nella capitale irachena, allora colleghiamoci con Baghdad, Lilli Gruber, buonasera. Sappiamo quali sono stati gli obiettivi colpiti oggi? (*Do we know what military objectives have been hit today?*)
   Correspondent: Prima vi devo dire che cosa ha detto poco fa il Ministro della Difesa [. . .] (*First, I have to tell you what the Minister of Defence said a short while ago.*) (27 March, RAI Uno)

6. In Haarman (2007) statistics are provided showing that notwithstanding the smaller corpus, CBS reports contain a very large number of utterances ('citations') of military personnel (186 vs 85 in the BBC data) and question/answer sequences with soldiers (41 vs 12 in BBC). Furthermore, while the BBC cites British and American soldiers and officers, with a preference for US soldiers and UK officers, the CBS cites only American soldiers and officers. The total number of words spoken by military personnel in the BBC data is 2,769, in CBS 3,765, notwithstanding the smaller corpus.

7. Comparing the CBS and BBC coda corpora gave *marines* as key in the CBS coda corpus, and *Americans* and *are* in the BBC coda corpus. Comparing the CBS coda corpus with the nocoda corpus gave no results whatsoever, and the BBC coda vs nocoda comparison gave no significant results (*I* and *er*, the great majority being spoken by legitimated persons and *vox populi* whose utterances were included in the segment).

8. Those who work with spoken data might question the appropriateness of counting 'sentences' in spoken data, but, because the coda corpora contain pre-recorded prepared reports which have presumably been written to be spoken, it was felt that the operation here was legitimate.

9. Two occurrences uttered by military personnel have been excluded, and two references to the Gulf War.

10. It is significant, Fowler points out, that 'the generic sentence is the most common semantic and syntactic form for proverbs, [which] encode what is taken to be common-sense wisdom' (Fowler 1991: 211). This supports the consistent appeal to shared cultural values in the codas.

11. *may, could, might, would, should, possibly, maybe, perhaps* were lemmatized as modality. Statistics showed negligible differences between nocoda and coda corpora for both broadcasters up to the fall of Baghdad and a sharp increase for both in the period 10–17 April. Overall, BBC showed a decrease in 'modality' in the codas (from 0.69 to 0.60) and CBS an increase (from 0.62 to 0.77). It is interesting that the BBC correspondent appears to be more comfortable predicting with *will* than with other modal formulations in the period before 9 April, but after 9 April, in a period of great uncertainty and chaos, modality increases sharply (0.50–0.76 for BBC; 0.47–1.26 CBS). Modality in codas is

overall considerably less than editorials, hovering closer to frequencies observed in the CorDis (402,000 word) corpus of OpEds (0.77).

12. In BBC overall, in CBS from 20 March to 9 April.

13. This corpus, representing 3 months of the *Corriere della Sera* and *Repubblica*, was collected in 2007 in connection with the European project *Integrated and United? A quest for citizenship in an 'ever closer Europe'*, funded by the Sixth Framework Programme of the EU.

14. Considered as reporting verbs, in addition to the conventional *affermare* (affirm), *aggiungere* (add), *esprimere* (express), *ricordare* (recall), *sostenere* (maintain), *sottolineare* (underscore), *suggerire* (suggest), etc., were also *emergere dalla conversazione* (emerge from the conversation), *fare accenno* (hint at), *fare sapere* (make something known), *lasciare nel vago* (leave unclear) (RAI Uno) and *diffondere la voce* (spread the rumour), *fare il punto* (sum up), *gridare* (shout) (TG5).

15. There are few CBS reports from the city of Baghdad, instead, where Sky UK journalist Lara Logan (a CBS affiliate) was occasionally sent. Logan conveyed well what must have been the atmosphere in the city reporting from the Palestine Hotel after an American tank fired on the building. Closing her report, she says 'Baghdad is a dangerous location, a US spokesman said today. No one here needed to be told that.'

16. These were the present tense of *BE*, modal verbs, stance adverbials and the structures *it is* + evaluative adjective + *that* and *there can be no.*

6 'If it wasn't rolling, it never happened':[1] the role of visual elements in television news

Maxine Lipson

This chapter is concerned only with the role of visual elements in constructing meaning in television news stories. Understandably, filming in rushed and often dangerous circumstances during wartime will influence the kind of shot which is taken and the 'feel' it creates. Also, images on television news programmes are frequently acquired from a large number of external sources – for example, other broadcasters, press agencies, freelance reporters, etc. – which involves choosing from the repertoire of images made available. The author, therefore, attempts to understand the meanings these images may construct for a given audience, regardless of their original source and the practical circumstances of their filming. In no way does she address BBC or CBS policy in news reporting as it relates to choice of filming or using images. She examines the ways in which certain images, regardless of their source, are likely to be perceived by Western audiences, and is particularly interested in similarities and differences in the images shown by the two broadcasters in 'screen grabs' with embedded reporters or correspondents in voiceover, as these are more likely to be interpreted by viewers as an integral part of the programme.

The editors

6.1 Introduction

No people in history have ever seen a war the way we are seeing this one.

Dan Rather, CBS anchor

This chapter addresses the role of visual elements in constructing meaning in television news stories. Although most of the information in news reports is communicated verbally, a number of researchers have demonstrated the important role of visuals (Allan 1998; Corner 1995; Crigler *et al.* 1994; Domke *et al.* 2002; Graber 1988, 1996; Graddol 1994; Kress and van Leeuwen 1990; Lipson 2007; Newhagen and Reeves 1992; Scannell and Cardiff 1991). Besides playing an important role in the construction of factuality through camera techniques such as lighting, angle and distance of shot (Graddol 1994), visuals can serve as metonyms for particular events and issues (Domke *et al.* 2002). They may, on their own, contain images with strong affective power (Graber 1990) and reinforce elite or popular beliefs about topical issues and events (Perlmutter 1988). They can serve 'to crystallize the whole report and to enter public circulation with a force no other form of contemporary journalism could possess' (Corner 1995: 61).

Moreover, there is a growing body of research that indicates that visuals are remembered more quickly and for a longer time than words and that they somehow interact with viewers' pre-existing judgements and ideas (Anglin and Levie 1985; Burton and Bruning 1982; Domke *et al.* 2002; Gehring *et al.* 1976; Graber 1990; Palvio 1976). However, more systematic investigation of images in the news is necessary before their relation to public reaction to news stories can be more fully understood. This research attempts to contribute to the understanding of the meaning-making role of images in the news. In particular, it analyses the visual texts accompanying BBC and CBS television news reports with the purpose of identifying the patterns of news images, and the patterns of meanings they construct.

News photography as a medium of communication has seen rapid growth in the second half of the twentieth century and today broadcast news relies heavily on images to bring the message home. CNN, which started in 1980, was transmitting 2,592,000 news pictures a day in 2003 (30 frames a second, 24 hours a day).[2] There are principles of photojournalism, however, that distinguish this art from other forms of photography; camera operators and photojournalists follow particular principles of journalism, such as timeliness, accuracy, fair representation of the context of events and accountability to the public (Westbrook 2007). Accountability to the public is of extreme importance to broadcast news providers given that consumers of television news depend on images to feel connected to distant and foreign realities.

With television news programmes becoming increasingly 'marketized' (Fairclough 1995b: 10) and competitive, the images take on a vital role in attracting audiences. Moreover, pictures provide viewers with the illusion of *being there when it happens*. As Bob Gould, Chief Photojournalist at WZZM-TV in Grand Rapids Michigan, argues (2004), the combination of vision and sound communicate immediacy and a sense of reality; this element of reality 'enhances the credibility of news reports' (Graber 1988: 173).

Furthermore, advances in digital photography have made it possible to send images live from several battlefields simultaneously, an innovation which BBC correspondent Rageh Omaar termed 'keyhole journalism' in his lecture to the Royal Television Society[3] (2003). Viewers no longer depended on anchors for information and interpretation of the news as in past conflicts; the system of reporters embedded with military units turned this conflict into a 'reporters' war'.[4] The phenomenon of keyhole journalism and the increased emphasis on entertainment in the news media resulted in a growing demand for images directly from the front lines. CBS anchor Dan Rather comments on the novelty of the news coverage of the Iraqi war on 28 March 2003, a week into the war:

> No people in history have ever seen a war the way we are seeing this one. Real time coverage, up close in the battlefield, live on television 24 hours a day. [. . .] Reality, much of it harsh, is setting in about this ultimate in reality television.

Here lies the crux of the matter. Viewers demand breakthrough images and immediate news, but at the same time, photojournalists have the obligation to provide viewers with images that are accurate representations of the event. The question arises whether the images broadcast on network news programmes were

indeed accurate representations of the war. At the beginning of the conflict, in March 2003, there was much controversy in the media and political worlds over the broadcasting of horrific images of corpses by Al Jazeera news network in Qatar: a field of bodies after the American strike on the Ansar-al-Islam terrorist group in northern Iraq, a dead US marine in a roadway, and four corpses of American military forces (Cavanaugh 2003). Western television news providers refused to broadcast such emotionally charged and disturbing images. Asked if the White House was asserting news control, Mr Howard Kurtz, media critic for the *Washington Post*, said that although most news providers decided themselves not to broadcast explicit gruesome footage,[5] the White House does try to 'keep the images out of Iraq positive' and that the attempts to prevent publication of photographs of flag-draped coffins of American soldiers were 'a perfect example of administration news control' (Anderson 2004). Pressure for some kind of censorship also came from the Red Cross which argued that publication of photographs of POWs would constitute a breach of the Geneva Convention.

But Al Jazeera continued to defend their position in favour of presenting images depicting all aspects of the war, including those horrific and disturbing ones, while American and British news providers eschewed repugnant images. As Cavanaugh (2003) points out, there was not only an actual war going on, but there was also a 'battle of images'. The opposing positions on the policy of the media regarding visuals raise the issue of whether news programmes – Al Jazeera, BBC or CBS – actually presented a coherent and accurate picture of the Iraqi conflict.

This chapter reports a 2-year investigation of the images presented in BBC and CBS news reports with the aim of shedding light on the kinds of images transmitted, their frequency and their patterns. Just as grammatical patterning may construct many of our unconscious orientations to people and events reported, so too, I argue, do images. Thus, attention needs to be dedicated to their patterns and to the patterns of meanings thereby constructed.

6.2 The role of images in television news

Everest is undeniably climbed,
but we want to see the photograph of the man standing on top

Evans 1978: 8

Hearing a hundred times is not as good as seeing once.

Zhou Chongguo

Auribus oculi fideliores sunt
(The eyes are more trustworthy than the ears)

Latin proverb

With the escalation of photographic news, audiences take for granted access to live, direct, and above all 'accurate' visual reports of events which are beyond their own experience. *The pen is mightier than the sword,* but the above quotations testify to the

value across cultures that have been historically assigned to sight in the assessment of truth. Indeed we use the terms hearsay and eyewitness to express a low or high degree of reliability in referring 'news'. As Bob Gould (2004: 1) says: 'If it wasn't rolling, it never happened.' Certainly the affective and communicative power of images can dramatize an event, but as BBC Correspondent Rageh Omaar (2003: 7) observes, they can also oversimplify events rather than inform:

> The pulling down of the statue of Saddam Hussein by American marines has in my mind, come to overwhelm many of the other images of what was a complicated historical event. It's a measure of just how much live television magnifies and dramatizes such moments. The image of the statue *was* iconic. But it was just one symbol of what was going on in many different places in Baghdad that day. That's all. It wasn't the most important statue or symbol of the regime to be torn down, neither did it have the largest crowds. It's just that the TV cameras were there at that moment, at that place.

Rather than providing viewers with new information, the images of the toppling of the statue of Saddam Hussein in front of the Palestine Hotel in Baghdad among cheering Iraqis, although staged (Griffin 2004),[6] served to support President Bush's stance that 'major combat' (Griffin 2004: 397) was over. These visual texts, which then entered mainstream American news magazines, became a symbol of the American mission of liberation of Iraq and served the cultural myth of American military prowess.

However, more experimental evidence is needed to support either the argument that television photojournalism simply supports and reinforces the official version of events[7] or the claim that it represents a source of independent spontaneous 'event-driven' stories.

With regard to the role of images in shaping and influencing viewer behaviour, research does indicate that images affect viewers' memory of news stories (Newhagen and Reeves 1992; Zillmann *et al.* 2001), but there is little clear evidence that news images have the power to drive public opinion (Domke *et al.* 2002; Griffin 2004; Gunter 1987). Griffin (2004), for example, argues that news photography is involved in the construction and maintenance of the official dominant discourse and rarely adds new information to a verbal text. He believes that rather than carry a referential or descriptive function, news images play a role in priming pre-existing interpretative schema (Griffin 2004: 383), and exploit the viewers' propensity to relate images to 'similar information previously stored in memory' (Graber 1990: 139) and thus to frame new events in terms of the familiar.

Time Magazine war photographer James Nachtwey (Easto 2007), instead, believes that photography can actually create social change. Recipient of numerous awards and honours, Nachtwey argues that people cannot themselves witness the horrific consequences of war on human life. Images, he believes, can have a positive role by shocking the public out of their indifference and thus contribute to anti-war protests. He wrote that photography can be perceived 'as the opposite of war and if it is used well it can be a powerful ingredient to the antidote to war'.[8] *Los Angeles Times* media critic and Pulitzer Prize winner David Shaw also asserts that dramatic photographs are the key to both 'good television' and to the impact a given story will have on viewers (cited in Domke *et al.* 2002: 132).

In a study of the impact of images in a news story on the reader, it has been shown that images are indeed evaluated by viewers in relation to pre-existing schema (i.e. ideas and experiences). Visual images interact 'with individuals' existing cognitive and affective considerations to shape the manner in which people process news coverage and form judgments' (*ibid.*: 142). The authors' findings indicate that 'news photographs can trigger a complex set of cognitive and affective processes' (*ibid.*: 149).

Furthermore, University of Oklahoma researchers (Binstock *et al.* 2006) examined the impact of broadcast news visuals of war combat on viewers and found a correlation between images of war casualties and attitudes towards the war. They examined 92 segments of evening news coverage of the Iraqi conflict on three major American television networks (ABC, CBS and NBC) between 26 March 2004 and 12 March 2006. The study demonstrated that 'news stories with visual footage of combat significantly undermined support for continued US military presence in Iraq compared to stories without footage of combat' (*ibid.*: 37). Interestingly, the effect of these visuals of combat was insignificant for those viewers who had had strong initial attitudes towards the war in Iraq. The authors note, however, that 'tangible' evidence in support of the assumption that television images of war in general affect public opinion is scarce.

The studies discussed in this chapter do not aim at measuring audience reception of visual texts, but rather at inventorying the kinds and frequency of images transmitted in television news coverage of the conflict in order to deepen our understanding of the meanings television war news images construct. The first study is an observation of BBC on-location reports with the purpose of identifying the most recurrent photographic subject. The second is a detailed analysis of the images of the human participants in the war broadcast in BBC and CBS news programmes, with a particular focus on the representation of gender. Aspects of the ideological construction of the participants involved in the conflict were also explored with reference to polarization strategies (van Dijk: 1998) and Martin's appraisal systems (2000). The third study analyses the representation of coalition forces in Iraq in BBC and CBS news reports. In addition to other findings, results of all these studies indicate that there are interesting discrepancies between the visual and verbal texts, raising the complex issue of possible conflicts of meanings communicated by such discrepancies.

6.3 The studies

6.3.1 Methodology

There has been a growing body of research exploring the interplay of image and text in the construction of meaning since Barthes' pioneering work in *Image-Music-Text* (1977) and an increasing interest in multimodal discourse and in the ways visual–verbal texts interact in the meaning-making process (Baldry 2003, 2004a; Iedema 2001; Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, 1998; O'Halloran 2000, 2004; O'Toole 1994; Thibault 2000; Ventola *et al.* 2004). Certainly, today it is acknowledged that language is not to be analysed as an 'isolated phenomenon' (O'Halloran

2004: 1) and that meaning is constructed through the use of multiple semiotic resources.

However, despite the fact that theoretical work has analysed not only language and visuals, but also language and sound, space, and architecture (O'Halloran 2000, O'Toole 1994), little has been offered in the way of software for annotation of images in video material, especially for large corpora. Baldry's excellent work in multimodal concordancing for multimodal corpora (Baldry 2000, 2003, 2005; Baldry and Taylor 2002) merits mention. His work was originally designed to carry out research in a corpus of car advertisements as part of a multimodal approach to corpus linguistics (Baldry 2003, Thibault 2000), and his research has led to a web-based multimodal concordance (Baldry 2004a) which allows researchers to use electronic technology for concordancing of film and video text. Baldry's multimodal transcription allows a researcher to link visual frames to the visual image, kinesic action, soundtrack, and phases and metafunctions based on Halliday's model of Systemic Functional Grammar (Baldry 2004b: 83).

Multimodal transcription as developed by Baldry and Thibault is fruitful in the analysis of video content when the researcher is aiming at an analysis which relates the verbal text to the non-verbal text, frame by frame. The three studies of news images presented in this chapter do not have this aim, but rather that of identifying patterns of images within the visual corpora (at the same time, of course, noting interesting lacks of fit between the verbal and non-verbal texts). For this reason other methodologies of analysis were adopted.

During the course of these studies (one of which has been published in Lipson 2007 and another in Lipson 2008), the methodology of analysis and ensuing encoding of the visual corpora has evolved, reflecting the objectives and design of each inquiry. In my first study, Graber's scene identification method was adopted, as this approach was particularly useful to identify the main subject in each scene. Graber defines and identifies a scene as 'a shot or shots of the same subject, bounded by adjacent scenes of different subjects' (Graber 1990: 135).

In the second and third studies, a software program which does not require particularly advanced experience in the technical aspects of computer computation was required in order to slice up the video content into short frames for qualitative and quantitative analysis of several features of the images. For this reason I chose to use the software program Pinnacle Studio 10 (and in the most recent study, Pinnacle Studio 11 Plus), which can capture video from a variety of digital and analogue sources, allowing the user to divide the video content into scenes and still frames[9] of the video. The program detects natural breaks in the video and divides it up into scenes, but it can also create new scenes at any interval chosen by the user.[10]

This software is particularly useful because it allows the researcher to select scenes, display them, and file pertinent information in a comment window in order to redetect them via a search for comments or captions previously entered for a particular scene. In other words, in Comment View the researcher can insert keywords (such as 'crowd' or 'close up female') in a pop-up box next to a scene; at a later time, the researcher can type in the keywords in the text field and click *OK* to highlight all scenes whose caption contains the keyword.

The actual annotation schemes adopted throughout this research are the result of a combination of introspection after observation and analysis of some of the video material, and the adaption of already existing coding systems reported in previous studies on video material (Graber 1990, Davis 1993). Semiotic features of news images such as camera shot and angle were included in the coding system, following work by Fiske 1987, Hartley 1982, Selby and Cowdery 1995.[11] Categories deemed particularly relevant to the inquiry were also added to the annotation system following observation of the video material. Davis' video annotation schemes (1993), which take into account several semiotic features of video content, proved particularly relevant to my research objectives in my third study.

It must be pointed out that working with large amounts of visual data as that found in television news poses particular problems for image analysis: there is the need to take into consideration (or in some cases ignore) background images, and there are pans, zooms and many fast transitions. For this reason, for qualitative analysis, a software program is necessary to allow the researcher to slice up the video content into very short frames.

6.3.2 The first study: the most recurrent subject in BBC news reports

This study analysed BBC visual texts in field reports broadcast during the conflict in Iraq in the BBC 10:00 evening news reports during the period 29 March–11 April, covering the military advance on Baghdad, the fall of Baghdad, Kirkuk and Mosul, and the chaotic aftermath, characterized by looting. A complete report of this study's findings can be found in Lipson (2007), and will be summarized here before proceeding to a discussion of the visual representation of the participants and military forces.

In order to identify the most recurrent subjects in the visual texts, scenes were counted and a systematic inventory of the types and frequency of the subjects in the scenes was constructed. Subjects were consequently grouped into six categories: shots of location (including shots of landscape, buildings or objects representing *buildings and places*, for example, a written sign saying AIRPORT), *things* (including items such as photos of Saddam Hussein, a broken vase or a book), *Iraqi civilians*, *Iraqi forces*, *coalition and Kurdish forces*, and *machines* (including airplanes, armoured vehicles, mobile artillery, tanks, jeeps, and so forth). Figure 6.1 illustrates the frequency of representation of the three most recurrent subjects.

During the first week of the period sampled (the second week of the war), the news stories focus on the advance of the American and British forces, accounting for the outstanding number of images of machines. Subsequently, there is a rise in the frequency of images of Iraqi civilians as American troops enter Baghdad (with the Palestine Hotel shooting and the toppling of the statue of Saddam Hussein, 8–9 April, and the fall of Kirkuk and Mosul, 10–11 April). For this reason, the second study investigated the representation of Iraqi civilians in the news reports broadcast that week.

The machines, having emerged as the most recurring subjects during the second week of war, were then coded according to the features set out in Table 6.1.
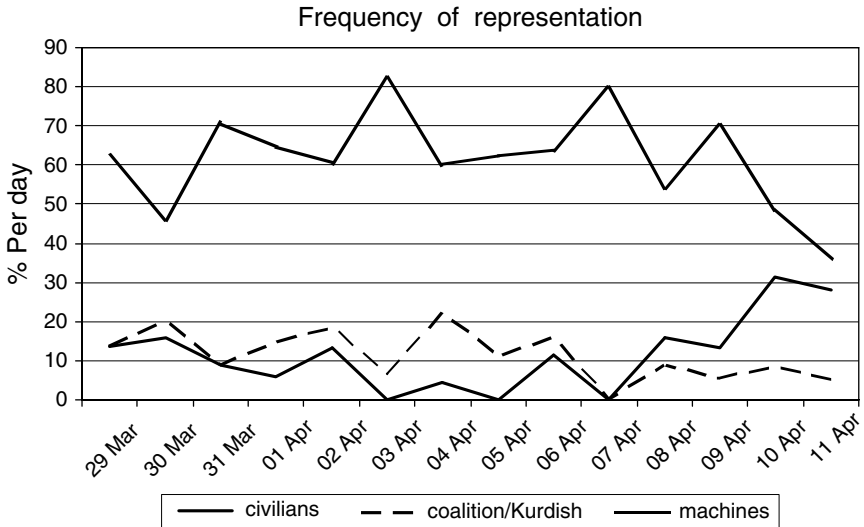
Source: Lipson (2007: 514)

Figure 6.1 Frequency of representation of the three most recurrent subjects.

The most frequent representation of the machine in the corpus was a close-up/mid-shot of a still machine in 'human company'.[12] The machine emerges as soldier, victim and casualty of the war:

> [It] is no longer an arbitrary and conventional sign that 'stands for' the war symbolically, but becomes directly representational of the conflict and takes on a perceptual resemblance of that for which it stands: the horror and the protagonists in the war – soldier and victim alike. (Lipson 2007: 527)

The image of an American soldier who says, while rubbing the palms of his hands together, '*We killed about uh 24 armored vehicles and a couple of trucks*' testifies to the iconization of the machine as the protagonist of the war.

This high frequency of images of machines in television news was also found in the news magazines *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *US News & World Report* (Griffin 2004). In Griffin's study of war images in these three major American news magazines, photographs of missiles, aircraft carriers, stealth fighters, tanks, rocket launchers and so forth, were numerous before the invasion and significantly increased following the beginning of the conflict. Griffin (2004: 398) attributes these images of military hardware to the institutional official discourse which aims to maintain an 'image of a powerful and determined nation ready and able to vanquish its enemies'. Griffin also found numerous images of Iraqi civilians in April 2003, images that had been previously absent. A similar phenomenon occurred in the BBC corpus which shows an increase in images of civilians in April (see Figure 6.1).

Table 6.1 Categories of annotation of images of machines

Type of machine	A helicopter, armoured personnel carrier, jet, truck, jeep, ambulance, etc.
State of the machine	Mobility, namely: (a) a moving machine; (b) a still machine, but functional (i.e. in working order); (c) an abandoned or burning machine.
	Alone or in 'human company'. A vehicle was considered to be in 'human company' when, for example, there were soldiers, reporters, prisoners, the Republican Guard, or Iraqi civilians next to, in front of, on, in, or walking beside it.
Camera shots	Close-up and mid-shot. In this study, these two shots were grouped together in the same category as in both shots the subject is foregrounded and emerges from the context. The CU is a head and shoulders shot, at the limit of intimate space; the subject can be studied in detail. The mid-shot cuts the subject off from the waist down; however, there is still a personal relation to the subject and it is one of the most commonly used shots in news reports. In the mid- and close-up shots, the subject takes up most of the frame, semiotically signalling what Selby and Cowdery (1995: 57) indicate as a personal relation between the viewer and the subject.
	Long and extreme long shots: The whole body of the subject is in the frame, while in the ELS, the subject is a small part of frame.

These were analysed in detail in the study reported in the following section, which focuses on the human participants in the war in both BBC and CBS news reports.

Griffin's study (2004) also revealed the absence of photographs from the Iraqi point of view. There were few photographs of the destroyed homes, schools and hospitals. Images in the television corpus, to the contrary, did include scenes of the destruction of villages, homes and buildings and the suffering of the Iraqi populace resulting from the bombings. Furthermore, while in the news magazines the photos of aid distribution supported the institutional discourse promoting a positive role of the military forces, in the television news reports, these broadcast scenes conveyed a sense of uncontrollable chaos and a negative image of the Iraqis.

In the BBC and CBS corpus the on-location camera work showed the immediate chaos and suffering which followed the collapse of the regime, signs of the failure of coalition forces to control their 'victory', while in the news magazines analysed by Griffin, the photos served more to 'prime viewers towards certain dominant discourse paradigms and frames of interpretation' (2004: 398), rather than reveal new information.

6.3.3 The second study: The construction of the participants in the conflict

This study aimed to investigate the role of images in constructing the viewers' opinions, judgements and sense of 'otherness' in BBC on-location evening news reports in the period 5–11 April 2003. CBS evening news reports during the same period were also observed in order to compare the findings.[13]

The methodology of analysis of the visual texts included scene identification and the timing of segments of scenes (using the Pinnacle Studio software) in which Iraqis were represented. The images of ordinary Iraqis were then coded according to several parameters, such as gender, the mobility of the subject (moving or still), camera shots, the role of the subject (such as victim or prisoner), and, when possible, participant roles in material, existential, relational or mental Processes, according to Halliday's model of Functional Grammar (1994). Two other factors were considered: the degree of interaction between the Iraqis and the coalition forces, and whether the subject was portrayed alone, as a single individual, or as a group or crowd. The camera shots of the Iraqis were coded for the categories set out in Table 6.2.

Analysis of the visual data reveals what van Dijk calls a 'strategy of polarization' (1998). According to van Dijk, ideas and their expression imply opinions through lexicogrammatical choices. He (*ibid.*: 33) illustrates how particular lexicogrammatical structures express positive opinions and judgements about 'OUR people' and negative opinions and judgements about 'THEIR people'.[14] These positive evaluations regard Us, our friends and allies, and the negative evaluations regard Them, their friends and allies. Such positive ingroup description and negative outgroup description, he argues, appear in the representation of social conflicts and actions. A study of the images of Iraqi soldiers, coalition forces and allies, and Iraqi civilians shows that the visual texts also express this kind of ideological dichotomy. In the analysis of the images presented here, Us refers to 'we the people' and (Western) culture, represented by the coalition forces and the Kurdish forces; Them refers to the Iraqi Guard and the Iraqi people. Because the emphasis in this discussion is not on the polarization between Us and the Enemy, but rather on the visual representation of the ingroups and outgroups, and the representation of the 'other', the Iraqi people are collocated in the category of Them as the 'other'.

Table 6.2 Categories of camera shots of the Iraqis represented

Close-up (CU) and extreme close-up (ECU)	CU: a head and shoulders shot. ECU: a full face shot used to depict dramatic, emotional, vital moments. Close-ups and extreme close-ups reveal the emotions of the subject and are more common in melodrama.
Mid-shot (MS)	The mid-shot cuts the subject off from the waist down; the subject is foregrounded and emerges from the context. There is a personal relation to the subject and it is one of the most commonly used shots in news reports.
Mid-long shot (MLS)	The subject's feet and head in the frame; it is half way between an MS and LS.

The study of the visuals yields an ideological pattern of representation similar to that found by van Dijk in his analysis of the lexicogrammatical structures of an OpEd article in the *Washington Post* (1998). Van Dijk found that the verbal text represented Us (the West) as superior, rational and non violent, and Them (the Arab world) as inferior, irrational and violent (1998: 45–58). In the corpus of images analysed here, this same polarization of representation is found. Coalition forces are portrayed visually as serious, well-equipped, friendly with the people, and usually physically attractive. In contrast to these images, the Iraqi Guard are portrayed as more disorderly, emotional, jumping up and down, often firing their weapons in the air, and singing or yelling in a foreign language likely to be unintelligible to the English-speaking audience.

Kurdish fighters, allies of the coalition forces, are portrayed differently from the Iraqi fighters; the images represent them as proud, professional and stoic. Often the documentary style of camera technique and shots in the cinematic tradition are used to portray the Kurdish forces, calling to mind images very similar to other famous historic photos that the viewer may recognize, such as the Pulitzer Prize-winning photograph of the US marines raising the American flag at the top of Mount Suribachi, Iwo Jima, in 1945 (see Figure 6.2). Thus, one could say that the images play a role in signalling ideological positions and that the strategy of polarization applies here as well.

As regards the portrayal of ordinary Iraqis, these images comprise only 20% of the on-location visuals in the BBC data. This low percentage correlates with Lombardo's findings (2007b) of few references to the Iraqi populace in verbal texts in CBS data. The timing of segments of these images revealed the following:

(a) 84% of shots represented males only, 5% females only, and 11% males and females;

(b) 57% were camera shots of Iraqis in a group, 28% in a crowd, and 15 % as a single individual;

(c) 63% were shots of Iraqis in motion (i.e. walking, running, jumping, etc.);

(d) the predominant portrayal of Iraqis was in scenes in which they were engaging in 'violent' behaviour (44%). Other portrayals and behaviour included

Kurdish forces   Iraqi forces

Figure 6.2 Example of representation of Us and Them in BBC.

Iraqis talking with an embedded reporter[15] (6%), Iraqis as prisoners (4%), as victims or in hospital scenes (8%) or among the dead (1.5%); a category of 'other' included various shots of the Iraqis, for example, walking or running along a road, walking amidst the rubble, observing, standing with guns, shooting in the air, sitting on a curb, cheering a tank, waving, or watching a tank burn (36%);

(e) the predominant camera shot was the Mid-long/Mid-shot (61%); less frequent was the Close-up (18%), the Extreme Long shot and Long shot (15%), and very infrequent the Extreme Close-up (5%). The latter category very often included images of women.

The patterns of images in the data, thus, are (1) males, in groups/crowds, moving, usually emotionally charged, represented with a Mid-shot or Mid-long shot, and (2) females, as individuals, motionless, represented with a Close-up or Extreme Close-up shot. This suggests that females were represented with a more personalized visual discourse than males.

From the analysis, what emerges as the most frequent portrayal of Iraqis is one of groups of males engaged in emotionally charged behaviour – at first joyful, in the early days under study, later angry and often violent, including looting. This may be due to the particular period studied, but based on a careful viewing of data from 2 weeks prior to this period, the representation of Iraqis in this emotionally charged state seems to be the most frequent portrayal. The findings from this study suggest that the images representing the Iraqi populace construe negative appraisal (negative Affect), while the images portraying the coalition and Kurdish forces as orderly and capable construe positive appraisal (positive Judgement) (Lipson 2007: 526).

The images in the corpus presented the Iraqis either as contextual information, that is, the location in which the military forces were operating (Circumstance in the Hallidayan model of Functional Grammar), as receivers of food and water or medical care from the coalition soldiers (Beneficiary), or often in groups and crowds, sometimes walking, running, jumping, chanting, or looting (Actors).

For a Western audience, the visual representation of the Anglo-American and Kurdish soldiers as disciplined and professional, in contrast to these images of often emotional Iraqis, plays a role in depicting a moral superiority of 'Us' – Western culture and coalition forces.

6.3.3.1 The construction of gender

The analysis of the images indicates an interesting difference in the representation of gender. Women are generally portrayed as immobile subjects. Only one scene shows a female actually interacting with an embedded reporter: a woman, at a greater distance from the reporter, with young girls looking on, complains to the reporter about the effects of the war, but there is a man behind her as if controlling the situation. The camera zooms in on the facial expressions of the girls and the female interlocutor, however, with the effect of emphasizing emotions such as fear, worry and anxiety.

The visual texts in general tend to portray women as the embodiment of sadness, despair, helplessness. In one scene the camera focuses for many seconds on an Extreme Close-up of a woman who is sitting next to a patient in the hospital. In another scene, the camera zooms in on a couple sitting on a hospital floor, but in order to depict the anguish of waiting, the camera zooms in to an ECU of the woman over a verbal text which states 'So they wait for news of the wounded and the maimed and most of all they wait for peace.' As already mentioned, the ECU is used for melodrama (Selby and Cowdery 1995), and in this last example indeed it heightens the intensity of a poignant moment of despair.

In terms of the Hallidayan model of analysis (Halliday 1994), the data indicates that women are not represented as Actors, but as (1) Carriers in relational Processes, embodying emotions (in this case often shot with a CU or ECU) or as (2) Existents in existential Processes (shot with a MS or LS). The females are symbols of emotion or are simply 'there', sitting, standing or walking through a crowd. It is unusual to see a shot of an individual woman 'doing' or 'saying' something.

There is only one scene in the BBC corpus in which women are Actors: they are in a crowd trying to get water from the coalition forces. It is interesting that in this scene as the voiceover says 'you can see the desperation in their faces', the camera zooms in to a Close-up shot of one of the women. Once more, the female face is exploited to represent feelings.

In another scene of looting, the camera operator spots a woman far away at the beginning of an alley, standing behind a plank of wood. The verbal text says, 'Some Iraqis try to build barricades at the end of their streets trying to stop the looters' and, zooming in on the woman, continues, 'Often they don't stand much of a chance.' This pattern of representation of gender is also found in the CBS on-location data (see Figure 6.3), where females are also usually represented as immobile subjects and are exploited to portray emotions; women 'feel', while men 'do'. The images can thus be interpreted as a confirmation of male/female roles in traditional society, in line with the 'gendered binary opposition of male/warriors versus female/nurses/mothers' (Konstantinidou 2007: 157).

In Figure 6.3, the verbal text is reported in the column on the left and the visual text is described or shown in the column on the right.

I do not wish to suggest that the news reports deliberately construct an 'ideological' representation of gender. This representation may reflect the actual reality, that is, that women are not as frequently on the streets as men. Moreover, the question remains of whether or not the embedded reporters would actually have been allowed to interview women. However, the frequent CU of women, still and shot as individuals, does set up the role of women as the bearers of emotion and feelings, and this portrayal may be interpreted by a Western audience in a more positive way than the portrayal of the camera shots of males, agitated and sometimes jumping and chanting, in groups and crowds.

One could say, given the still images of females, that they are more often represented as 'objects to be seen'. Males, on the other hand, display their emotions with actions, such as moving or jumping. The emotions of the females may, in this way, be interpreted by the audience as introspective, as opposed to those of the males,

VO* *They* [Iraqis] *did what they had always done, because of him.*	Picture of two men walking in the street, shot from the waist down, with a figure of a women in the background, wearing a chador, sitting on the curb.
they suffered and they endured. 9 April	
VO* *These Iraqis take refuge in a mosque*	A MS profile of a woman with a headscarf, standing outside a mosque, with her hands out as if in prayer.
guarded only by their faith and an aged fighter. (8 April)	A 45° angle MS of an elderly man, dressed in green pants and shirt, standing along the street in front of a pile of sand bags holding out a rifle in an outstretched arm.

*VO means the reporter is in voiceover, speaking over the images, and is not seen on camera.

Figure 6.3 Representation of gender in CBS news.

whose display of emotion may indicate their predominant concern with and interest in what is outside themselves.

This difference in the representation of gender finds its place also in the history of European oil painting. Berger *et al.* (1977: 46), in their analysis of the ways of seeing women in art, point out the difference between the social presence of a woman and that of a man:

> A man's presence is dependent upon the promise of power which he embodies. [. . .] A man's presence suggests what he is capable of doing to you or for you. By contrast, a woman's presence expresses her own attitude to herself, and defines what can and cannot be done to her [. . .] Men *act* and women *appear*. Men look at women, women watch themselves being looked at. [. . .] The woman turns herself into an object – and most particularly an object of vision: a sight.

The authors argue that the attitudes and values underlying the tradition of painting women as 'objects to be seen by men' are expressed also by the mass media: 'the

essential way of seeing women, the essential use to which their images are put, has not changed. Women are depicted in a quite different way from men' (*ibid*.: 63–4).

This difference is what emerges from my data: that women are generally portrayed as 'appearing' while men are portrayed as 'acting'; the portrayal of males suggests what they are capable of doing, while females remain an object of vision. These portrayals are products of Western journalism. A further comparison of BBC and CBS visual representations with those broadcast by Al Jazeera may indeed reveal different representations of 'reality'.

6.3.3.2 *Synchronization of verbal and visual texts*

It is interesting to note, as in the previous corpus analysed, a lack of fit between the verbal and visual texts in both the CBS and BBC images; often a verbal text referring to corpses or the dead is accompanied by images of burning tanks,[16] and a text mentioning battle between troops is accompanied by images of machines, as in Table 6.3. This lack of images of casualties and bloodshed correlate with Lombardo's (2007a) findings regarding the downplay of death and casualties in verbal reports of CBS news programmes through metaphor, nominalization and downranking by means of embedding.

The data seem to confirm Griffin's findings (2004) that in broadcast news, as in written press news, verbal language is given a greater degree of freedom of expression than are visuals. The lack of fit regarding death, corpses and the wounded, whether of Iraqi or coalition forces, indicates that the visual language may be more censored than the verbal language of embedded reporters and columnists who actually mention words such as *killing, wounded, casualties, the dead*, although articulated in grammatical patterns aimed at minimizing the effect (see Lombardo 2007a). There are some scenes of victims in the corpus, but as previously mentioned, scenes of victims represent only a slight percentage of all the images of Iraqis; it is important to keep in mind that all the images of Iraqis constitute only 20% of the images in the entire corpus.

In the BBC and CBS news reports, death and destruction are portrayed as destroyed inanimate things. Very often images of soldiers shooting are those that had been shot in green night vision in which combat is surreal and the soldiers seem

Table 6.3 Example of lack of fit between visual and verbal texts in BBC and CBS news

Verbal text	Visual text
VO *Dead Iraqis lay on the ground* (6 April, BBC)	Image of a vehicle in flames in a field. Bright flames and smoke are visible.
VO *doing battle with Saddam loyalists and fighting battles* [. . .] (4 April, CBS)	Foregrounded image of artillery, marines scarcely visible, against an orange backdrop.

to be firing into green space, often against unseen targets. Real combat between human beings is visually portrayed as a battle between machines or machines firing at unseen enemies.

However, the power of television as a medium lies in the synchronization of visual and verbal texts and instances of this empowerment of news messages were found in the data. In scenes of aid distribution, for example, the camera work on location contributes to construing negative appraisal of Iraqis, often through a hand-held camera which places the viewer in the midst of unruly crowds. The negative appraisal in the images, combined with the negative appraisal in the verbal texts, amplify the negative Judgement of the Iraqi populace (see Figure 6.4).

As Clark (2007) points out, BBC embedded reporters voice a negative stance towards the conflict which shifts to include the Iraqi populace after the fall of Baghdad. An example of negative stance in reports by embeds supported by negative appraisal in the images is a 57-second BBC embed report on the disorder and ransacking of shops which occurs on 11 April. Accompanying a very long sequence of scenes of violence and looting are the words construing negative Judgement shown in the left-hand column of Table 6.4. (The words in bold mark the part of the utterance expressing the construal of negative appraisal.)

These and other similar images combined with negative appraisal in the embedded reporter's voiceover contribute to the construction of a critical stance towards the situation in Iraq at that time and underline the problems emerging in the post-Saddam stage of the conflict.[17] Instances of synchronization of verbal and non-verbal texts are also found in the CBS data, but they often construe positive appraisal. One example, illustrated in Table 6.5, reports the American capture of Baghdad International Airport. In perfect synchrony with the positive Judgement of American soldiers in the verbal text, the images represent the soldiers as well-equipped, determined and prepared for battle.

This text and images are then followed by an interview with a soldier who states that having taken the airport they could relax; they had completed their mission. The CBS embed closes saying, 'they were the clear winners.'

Verbal text	Visual text
VO *More of an exercise in riot control than aid distribution* (31 March)	

Figure 6.4 Synchronization of verbal and visual texts in BBC news.

Table 6.4 Synchronization of verbal and visual texts in BBC news: negative appraisal

Verbal text	Visual text
*Our journey into Baghdad took us past not only the **carnage of war**, but also now **the carnage of civil unrest**. Beneath this **mob** we saw a man's body, an **alleged** looter killed by the **vigilantes**. [. . .] It seems to me this **orgy** of **looting** will not end until the shops here are **completely** empty. The **total control of the police state** under Saddam Hussein has been replaced by the **total chaos of anarchy**.*	A sequence of scenes totalling almost 1 minute included a scene of a man with stolen coins chased by a crowd, of a destroyed tank, of a crowd over a man on the ground, and scenes of random looting with men carrying away goods.

Table 6.5 Synchronization of verbal and visual texts in CBS news: positive appraisal

Verbal text	Visual text
VO *Clearly the airport was a critically important target*	A 45° angle MS of a well-equipped soldier standing and aiming his rifle.
and the GIs' move reflected	A CU profile shot of a soldier, with back to camera, aiming a rifle.
just that. (4 April)	A CU shot of a tank coming towards camera with 2 soldiers armed with rifles aboard, both facing camera, but the tank is foregrounded.

6.3.4 The third study: The representation of coalition forces ('Our boys on the front')

The expression of stance in the verbal texts of American and British television news coverage of the war has been well documented (Clark 2008; Haarman 2006; Lombardo forthcoming). As Lipson (2007) has argued, also visual elements in the news reports construct meanings and ideology.[18] It was found in the research previously reported that the images collected in the BBC and CBS corpora often constructed similar meanings, reflecting similar socio-political and cultural values. Given that news production reflects institutional and cultural policies and beliefs, one would suppose there to be also differences in meanings constructed by the images in the two corpora. What more appropriate photographic subject might reveal those '*different* cultural and ideological filters' (Haarman 2007, my emphasis) that play a role in filming and editing news items, than our boys (and girl[19]) on the front?

In Haarman's study (2007) of the representation of the military in BBC and CBS news reports, the author analysed all utterances of military personnel in the complete BBC and CBS corpora. Her data yield a discernible difference in emphasis on the part of BBC and CBS, revealing a much more 'personalized discourse' in the latter.

This section describes the study of the images of the military forces in Iraq during the period 31 March–4 April with the aim of further exploring the difference in emphasis revealed by Haarman's study of the verbal text. The two corpora of images were drawn from the BBC and CBS evening news and cover the military advance on Baghdad, the arrival of American forces at Baghdad International Airport and their entry into the capital, and the arrival of British forces in Basra. The period selected for analysis excluded a previous period of preparation for the war and the successive period which included looting and civil unrest, a foreboding sign of what was in store for the future Iraq under American control.

6.3.4.1 Methodological considerations

As in the previous studies, the images were analysed according to categories describing video content and took into consideration the qualities of video as a medium. Video records things occurring in space over a period of time; thus, 'happenings' (actions) were inventoried as well as the setting in which they took place. These actions consisted of whatever the soldiers were doing in each scene. Because the focus of this study is on the visual portrayal of the troops and calls for an in-depth analysis of events and the troops' participation in them, I chose to code the actions of the troops according to Halliday's model of Functional Grammar (1994). I found this model, based as it is on the premise that events are coded in language through choices of process and participant types, the most useful in revealing potential ideological meanings in the images. It gives the researcher the tools to explore how language represents what is going on in the world. The grammatical system providing resources for communicating this information is the Transitivity system which 'construes the world of experience into a manageable set of process types' (Halliday 1994: 106). The process types in the clauses of a text reveal how the producer of that text has modelled his/her world and experience, and therefore, the analysis of process types in the images would help to explain how phenomena of the real world were represented. The actions in the scenes were therefore categorized according to the Hallidayan model of process types[20] (1994) and are illustrated in Table 6.6.

Cinematographic properties, such as the movement and framing of the camera as well as the position of screen objects in the two-dimensional grid of the frame were also noted as outlined in Figure 6.5. The quality of some of the recorded video tapes did not allow for a thorough annotation of the properties of the recording medium itself, such as colour or graininess.

It is important to keep in mind that editing of film creates artificial spaces and sequences, and meanings attributed to images are often created through associations that viewers themselves create when seeing sequences of shots (Davis 1993). Given that syntax has a determining role in video semantics, transitions of images were considered in the analysis. The annotation categories discussed here are

Table 6.6 Categories of annotation for Actions (or Process types)

Category	Sub-categories	Examples
Actions	Being (existential and relational Processes)	Sitting on a moving tank
	Doing (material Processes)	Walking, running, arming artillery
	Saying (verbal Processes)	Speaking to an embedded reporter
	Thinking, observing (mental Processes)	Studying a map
	Psycho-physiological behaviour (behavioural Processes)	Relaxing
Setting	Desert	All kinds of terrain
	Roads	Also scenes of bridges
	Desert and vehicles	Scenes in which the terrain and vehicles share the screen without the machine being the major subject foregrounded.
	Vehicles alone	Scenes in which the vehicle itself takes up most of the frame

	Village	Also any rubble, wall or other indications of an inhabited area
	Indoors	Shots inside buildings, houses, airport hangar
	Unidentifiable	Green night vision shots may be too ambiguous for classification.
	Other	Context could be a crowd or airport.
Character	Single individual (S) or a group of soldiers (G)	Some scenes were annotated as S/G since the camera focused on one individual and then panned out to include others.
Camera shots	ECU, CU, MS, MLS, LS, ELS	See Tables 6.1 and 6.2.
Camera angle of face	Facing the camera, 45° angle, 33° angle, profile, away from the camera (low), back to camera, unobservable	In those scenes in which it was not possible to view the subject (e.g. due to the distance of the shot), the camera angle was annotated as 'unobservable'. See Figure 6.5 for examples.
Position in two-dimensional grid	Foregrounding/backgrounding	In the example of a CU in Figure 6.5, the vehicles are in the background and the soldier is foregrounded.

Shot	Example	Angle and setting
ECU		Facing camera at 33° angle; setting: unidentifiable
CU		45° angle, setting: desert + vehicle
MS		33° angle, setting: indoors (in a hangar)
MLS		Profile, setting: road

Figure 6.5 Examples of annotation for camera shots, angle and setting.

LS

Away from camera and back, setting: vehicles

ELS

Unobservable, setting: desert + vehicles

Figure 6.5 (*Continued*)

described in Table 6.6. Since the frequency of both behavioural and mental Processes were limited to very few images of soldiers sleeping and relaxing or watching a crowd, the two categories were combined for illustrative purposes in the graphs.

Scenes in which soldiers were in the background with a foregrounded embedded reporter speaking on camera were annotated as existential Processes in that their presence served mostly as props to set the context for the reporter, a role very similar to that of machines as seen in previous research (Lipson 2007). Other scenes in which soldiers were sitting in, on or standing on or next to a moving or still machine (a tank, jeep, truck or helicopter) were annotated as relational Processes. In these cases, the soldiers were described by the Circumstances. These two Processes were combined into one category, that of 'being', for illustrative purposes.

6.3.4.2 Results

Through the analysis of scenes, a total of 87 actions, or 'happenings', were identified in the corpus of BBC images and a total of 164 in the CBS corpus. The greater number of actions in the American data can be accounted for by the fact that the footage in CBS contains more scenes in number, but shorter in duration, while BBC camera work includes more pans and zooms in the same scene.

Another factor that accounts for this difference is the actual source of the reports in which the images are incorporated. Images can be part of reports by

embedded reporters, by correspondents outside of Iraq (e.g. at the Pentagon for CBS or in the studio for BBC) or the news presenter him/herself. In the data analysed, CBS had a higher number of scenes with military personnel in reports by the news presenter and correspondents not in Iraq than did BBC.[21]

As illustrated in Figure 6.6, the patterns of images for the category of Actions or Process types (see Table 6.6) in the BBC and CBS corpora have similarities: material Processes (doing) are not surprisingly the most recurrent for both BBC and CBS, and mental and behavioural Processes (thinking, observing and relaxing) are the least. The greatest difference between the two corpora is the category of verbal Processes (saying). A closer look at the instances of verbal Processes reveals interesting differences between the two corpora (see Figure 6.7): there are fewer occurrences of members of the military talking to Iraqis in the American corpus and there is no occurrence of the soldiers talking to family in the British corpus. From the data, it appears that soldiers, as portrayed by CBS news, talk mostly to the embedded reporters.

As regards setting (see Figure 6.8), in both corpora, the 'desert' category ranked high in frequency. However, differences do emerge from the data. In the BBC corpus, both the 'desert' and 'village' categories share the same high frequency (27.1% of all BBC occurrences), while in the CBS corpus, the 'desert' category stands out alone as the highest context for actions (26.5% of all CBS occurrences). The higher number of scenes in the BBC corpus in the 'village' category together with the higher number of instances of verbal interaction with Iraqis would confirm BBC's portrayal of military forces as being more interactive with the Iraqi populace in comparison with CBS. It may be hypothesized that this visual representation of the soldiers by BBC reflects the official British policy that their soldiers not wear helmets in the villages so as to appear less hostile to the populace.

In the American data, the settings categories of 'village' and 'vehicle alone' share the second highest percentage of occurrences (17.4% each), while in the British
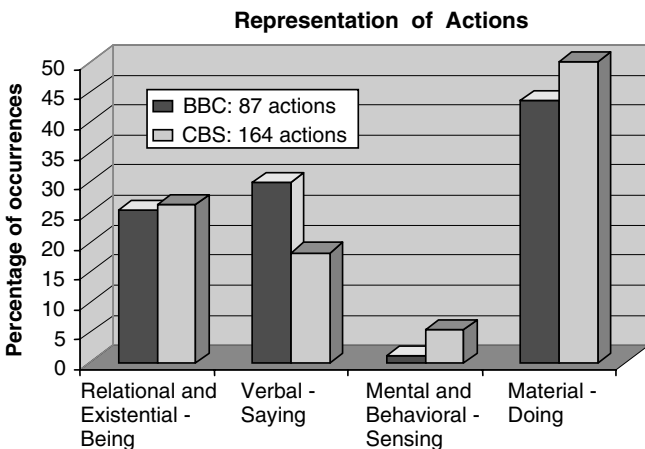
Figure 6.6 Representation of actions in BBC and CBS news.

Verbal interaction: talking to whom?
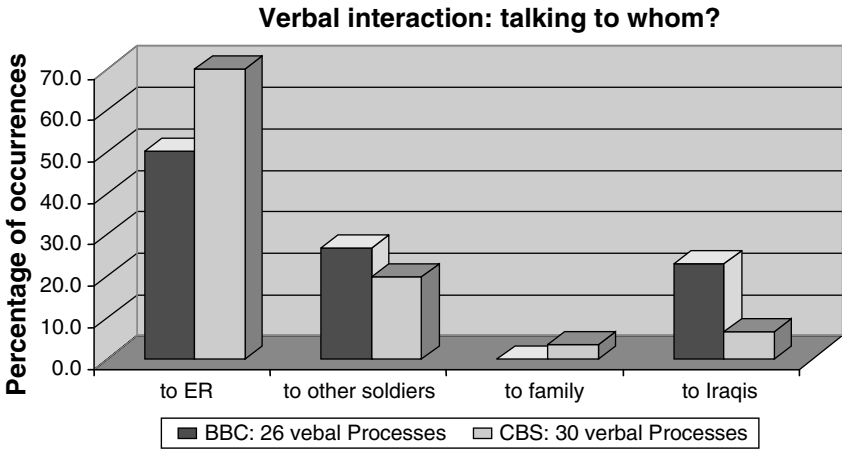
Figure 6.7 Representation of verbal interaction in BBC and CBS news.
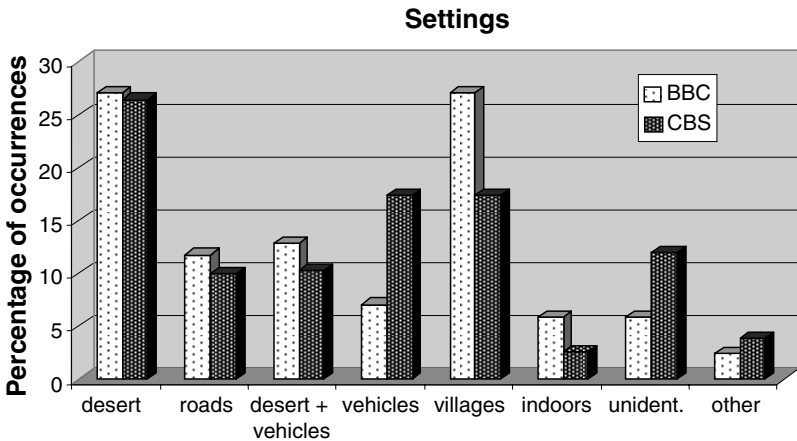
Settings

Figure 6.8 Representation of settings in BBC and CBS news.

data, 'roads' and 'desert + vehicles' are the second most recurring location, sharing similar percentages of occurrences (10% and 10.3% respectively). The higher frequency of unidentifiable locations in the CBS data is due to a higher number of green night vision shots (10 scenes compared to only 1 scene in the British corpus). This is not to say that there were fewer night shots in BBC, but that the context of the scene is still recognizable in the British images.

As regards the representation of the military personnel as single individuals or groups, the data show a more or less equal distribution between the single individual and the group (see Figure 6.9.)
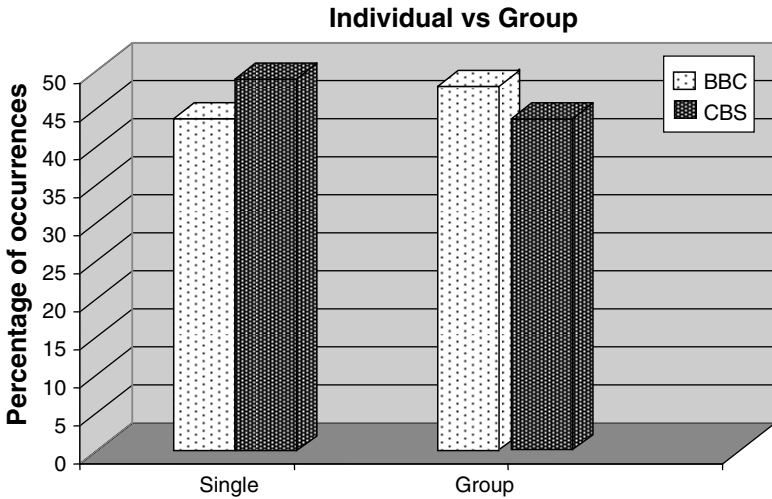
Figure 6.9 Individual versus group in BBC and CBS news.

Two categories of camera work were investigated in this study: camera shot and angle. Camera work not only plays a role in portraying people, places and things, but also a role in constituting and maintaining interaction between the producers and the viewers of images. According to Kress and van Leeuwen (1996: 141–5), the angle of a camera shot can encode viewer involvement with or detachment from the subject represented in the image. Frontal angle encodes the involvement of the viewer with the subject, while the oblique angle (shooting from the sidelines) encodes detachment. Thus, they affirm, a frontal shot, with a close-up of the subject facing the camera, makes the subject one of 'us', while the long shot encodes 'otherness'.

Interesting data emerge from both analyses. Figure 6.10 illustrates the distribution of the camera shots. MS and MLS shots and LS and ELS shots were combined into one category when there was a fast transition between the two shots (MS-MLS and LS-ELS respectively). There were very few ECU shots: one of a wounded British soldier (see Figure 6.5) and one of an American soldier sleeping. In both these images it was the feelings of the soldiers that were emphasized, one of suffering and the other of peace and serenity. Due to the limited number of occurrences of ECUs in the corpora, the ECU and CU shots, which both focus on the emotions of a subject, were combined into one group (CU-ECU) for illustrative purposes.

These data show that both BBC and CBS camera shots tend to favour the LS and MS shots, while CBS has a higher percentage of transition shots of MS-MLS. Interestingly, BBC and CBS show similar frequencies for their extreme shots (CU-ECUs and ELSs), although the BBC corpus contains a higher percentage of ELS shots and a slightly higher percentage of CUs. In both corpora the camera generally prefers to avoid both getting 'too close' to the soldiers and 'losing' the subject in the context. A closer analysis of the camera shots indicates, however, that CBS has a greater tendency to portray the soldier with MS and MS-MLS shots, while BBC
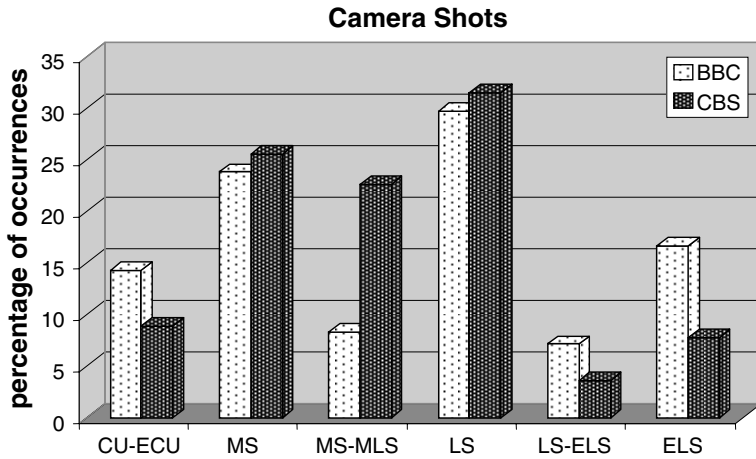
Figure 6.10 Camera shots of military personnel in BBC and CBS news.

has a higher percentage of ELS and LS-ELS shots. These data might confirm a slightly greater personalization in the representation of the soldier in the CBS corpus.

The most frequent angle shot in both corpora was actually an 'unobservable' view. In these cases, it was not possible to view the subject's face usually due to the distance of the shot or because the subject was in motion, for example, sitting on a moving tank.[22] Nonetheless, interesting data emerges from the analysis of the angle of the subject's face in interviews with ERs (See Figure 6.11). CBS images included more full-face views of the soldier and 33° angle shots than did BBC, while BBC has a significantly higher number of 45° angle shots. The difference between the 33° and 45° images is accounted for by the camera work during interviews with military personnel. BBC regularly takes a 45° facial shot of a soldier being interviewed, while in CBS the interviewed soldier is often filmed at a 33° degree angle and sometimes even looks directly at the camera during the interview. Consequently, in the BBC visual texts of these interviews, the authoritative voice lies with the embedded reporter who mediates the relationship between the soldier and the viewer, while in the CBS visual texts the soldier–viewer relationship is more direct. These findings give further support to the hypothesis of a greater personalization in the CBS visual discourse. Figure 6.5 illustrates the camera work and setting in BBC and CBS images.

As regards the foregrounding and backgrounding of the subject, those scenes in which soldiers appear in the foreground and the background were coded as F/B. The results suggest that both BBC and CBS favour foregrounding the military.

In conclusion, it may be hypothesized that the higher frequency of CBS MS and MS-MLS shots and images of soldiers facing the camera or at a 33° angle construct a more direct relationship with the viewer than BBC's LS, LS-ELS and 45° angle shots. These findings support Haarman's work on the personalization of the military in CBS coverage (2007).
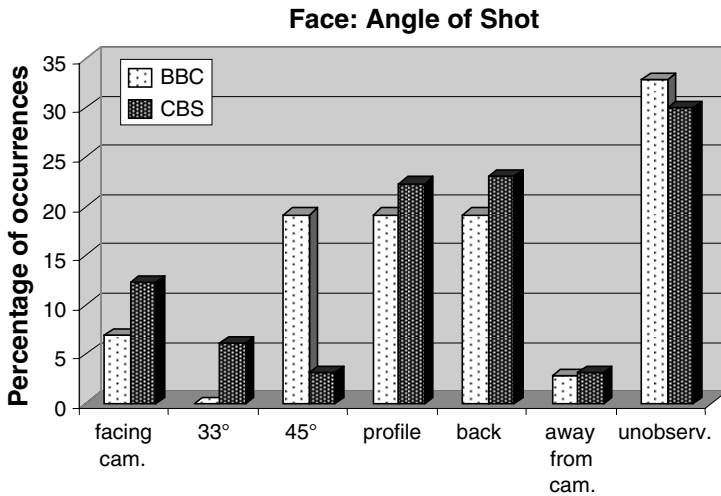
Face: Angle of Shot

Figure 6.11 Distribution of angle of shot of military personnel in BBC and CBS news.

Furthermore, a more detailed analysis of the category of 'doing' suggests further evidence in favour of the hypothesis that greater emphasis is placed on the feelings and persona of the soldier in CBS news. As already pointed out, there is a higher number of images in the action category of 'sensing' in the CBS corpus (Figure 6.6), but Figure 6.12 further illustrates that in the CBS corpus, the category of 'doing' constructs the soldier as someone who not only fights on the battlefield, but who cares for others, who aids the wounded and distributes food and water to both Iraqi civilians and prisoners. In contrast, the BBC offers during the same period more images of soldiers taking prisoners than medicating them.

6.4 Conclusion

As long as there are things happening in this world that cry out for change, photography will continue to be a factor in the process.

Time Magazine photographer James Nachtwey

The analyses of images presented in this chapter have shown that visual texts play a role in constructing meaning in television news and that patterns of images construct patterns of meanings. Images can personalize a machine, depersonalize death, and convey positive or negative judgements towards those who are or are not part of one's ingroup. Visual texts, like verbal ones, are filmed and edited through ideological and cultural filters and often call on viewers' cultural background and knowledge for interpretation.

It has been demonstrated that the meaning of images is determined by what precedes and follows them.[23] Thus, future research in the analysis of video content
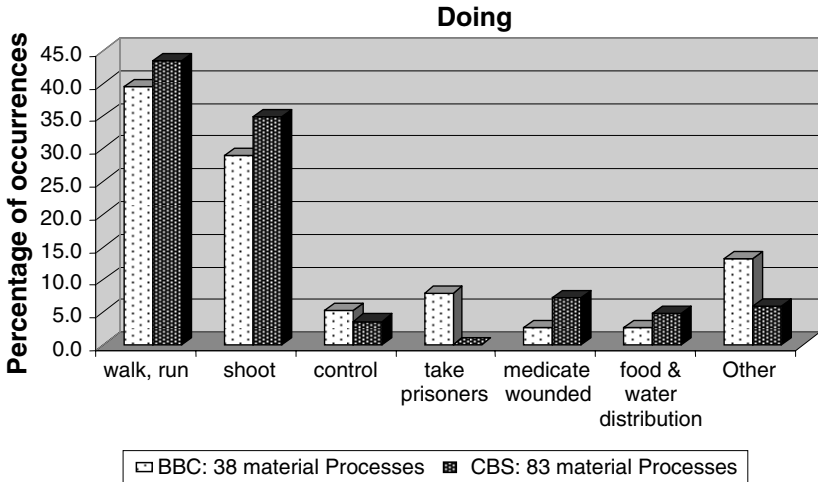
Figure 6.12 Distribution of actions of the military in BBC and CBS.

should, as Davis (1993: 7) argues, develop a system that can 'represent the salient features of video, which, when combined syntactically, create new meanings and represent those features which do not radically change when recontextualized'. Like the software available to corpus linguists, a digital video annotation system which can provide a wide range of researchers 'multi-use' applications of video content is fundamental for further research.

Indeed more experimental data is needed before conclusions can be drawn regarding the impact of images on viewers. The power of television news, nevertheless, is related to the fact that it provides viewers with what seems to be direct first-hand seeing of events, even though these vicarious perceptions are based on constructed images. The results of the study presented here show how a detailed inventory and analysis of visual texts with the purpose of uncovering key images and patterns of images can yield meaningful insights into how visual texts on television news reconstruct social reality and reproduce shared ideology and cultural values. The images shown in BBC and CBS news, I argue, play an important role in the shaping of viewers' understanding and opinions of events and participants in the news. Furthermore, they may interact with viewers' pre-existing opinions and carry over to viewers' evaluation of other aspects of the conflict, such as the role and responsibility of government, foreign policy issues, Muslim culture, etc.

The analysis of the visual elements of news reports as described in this chapter also suggests how the synchronization or lack of synchronization between verbal and visual texts can contribute to or detract from the accomplishment of credible, authoritative news stories and to the construction of reliable portrayals of protagonists.

As regards the fit and lack of fit between verbal and visual texts found in the three studies, it is important to bear in mind that the images in reports by the news

presenter or correspondents other than embedded reporters were all characterized by a particularly high verbal–visual synchronization. The high degree of verbal–visual fit most likely reflects a deliberate editing policy which subordinates the images to the verbal texts, the raison d'être of the images being solely to support the message communicated in the verbal text.

The didactic nature of these kinds of planned reports in contrast to the more direct supposedly 'spontaneous' reporting by embedded reporters (especially in BBC, much less so in CBS) can account for the different kinds of images and their syntax, and may represent evidence of genres of image discourse in television news. Indeed, the role of images in the studio reports are very similar to the role of photos in news magazines, which can be quickly read and symbolically support the verbal text. Griffin (2004: 383) considers these magazine photos simple thematic cues which often serve as 'the most highly visible markers of news emphases and frames'. When images are chosen to complement the verbal text, and have a narrative of their own, the meaning-making potential of television news is increased. The synchronization of the two narratives empowers the message and the images add a higher degree of emotion and affect to the story that lexical words alone would not.

Notes

1. Quote of photojournalist Bob Gould, ConcernedJournalists.org-Issue 4: Summer 2004, 1 June 2004.
2. Figures from 'Causes and effects of the death of photojournalism', Haje Jan Kamps writings, retrieved from www.kamps.org/haje/the-death-of-photojournalism (accessed: 21 May 2003).
3. 18 September 2003. Script available at www.bbc.co.uk/pressoffice/speeches/stories/omaar_huwwheldon.shtml (accessed: 30 July 2007)
4. Andrei Heyward, president of CBS News, reported in 'Who won the US media war?' Friday, 18 April 2003, retrieved from http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/2959833.stm (accessed: 30 July 2007)
5. Fox News, CBS, NBC and ABC all broadcast footage of the 26-year-old US civilian, Nick Berg, seated on the floor surrounded by five masked men, but they did not show the horrific scene of his decapitation.
6. Evidence that it was staged also comes from Reuters and AFP, 9 April 2003.
7. See Griffin (2004) for a detailed study of the role of images in US news-magazine photo coverage of the 'War on terrorism'.
8. James Nachtwey received the Robert Capa Gold Medal five times, the World Press Photo Award twice, Magazine Photographer of the Year six times, TED award in 2007, and several others awards. He wrote his position regarding the strength of photography in 1985, shortly before becoming a member of Magnum, world famous photo agency. Retrieved from www.frif.com/new/2002/warp2.html (accessed: 29 July 2007).
9. A frame is a single image in a video or animation sequence. The frame rate of Pinnacle Studio for NTSC video is 30 frames per second and for PAL video 25 frames per second.

10. The smallest allowed subdivision for a scene is one second. With a frame rate of 25, the smallest scene of 1 second consists of 25 frames which can then be grabbed as still photos for further detailed analysis.

11. For Selby and Cowdery (1995: 48–51), close-ups and big or extreme close-ups reveal the emotions of the subject and are more common in melodrama. They argue (*ibid.*: 57) that the semiotic meanings attributed to choices in camera shots indicate the significant aspects of the visuals. For the close-up, the semiotic meaning attributed is intimacy; for the mid-shot, it is a personal relation to the subject; and for the long shot, it is the context and public distance.

12. See Lipson (2007) for a further discussion of these findings.

13. For a detailed report of this research see Lipson (2008).

14. The expression of the Us versus Them dichotomy through lexicogrammatical choices is also reported by Lombardo in her comparative study of war reporting on CBS and Italian TG5 (2007a).

15. The representation of interaction between Iraqis and embedded reporters may be considered part of the representation of the embedded reporter as well.

16. The lack of synchronization between the verbal and visual texts in the BBC news is discussed in greater detail in Lipson (2007).

17. See Clark (2008) for a study of negative stance in reports by embeds.

18. Haarman (2006: 195–7) speaks of visual 'tokens of judgement', using Iedema *et al.*'s term for an utterance which is at one level only 'factual' or 'objective' but which evokes an evaluative response because it draws on deep-set cultural values. Haarman refers to Iedema *et al.*'s example of a 'token of judgement', a text reporting that a woman with no experience of rock climbing climbed 50 metres 'without ropes or any other form of safety apparatus up a steep cliff [. . .] to rescue a seriously injured ten-year-old boy' (Iedema *et al.* 1994: 215). Although the text does not contain any explicit evaluation of the woman, her actions would be considered 'courageous' or 'heroic' in our culture.

19. Out of over 250 actions in the BBC and CBS corpora analysed, only 1 included a female soldier on CBS.

20. Halliday gives a tripartite interpretation of processes: being, the world of abstract relations which include the processes of existing, having, symbolizing (existential and relational Processes); sensing, the world of consciousness, which includes the processes of saying, thinking, feeling and seeing (verbal and mental Processes); and doing, the world of physical acts, which includes the processes of acting, creating or changing, happening or being created (material Processes). Related to both doing and sensing (the material and mental Processes) are the behavioural Processes (Halliday 1994: 108).

21. Dan Rather, CBS Evening News anchor, actually took on the role of correspondent by going to the war zone on 7 April.

22. Scenes in which the military were visually insignificant were not considered images of soldiers.

23. See Davis (1993: 7) for the Kuleshov effect. The Kuleshov effect is a factor of the semantics of video information.

7 News is reporting what was said: techniques and patterns of attribution[*]

Roberta Piazza

There are at least three wars being fought in Iraq. The conventional war, the irregular war and the information war.

James Robbins, BBC, 24 March 2003

7.1 Introduction

News discourse is a form of historically situated social practice that stands in a dialectic relationship with other aspects of the social (Fairclough 1998: 54). It is an accepted notion among researchers that news reporting, far from being a neutral practice, involves a substantial 'cultural reconstruction of reality' (Katan 1998: 141; see also, for example, Iedema *et al.* 1994). Hartley (1982: 5) speaks of the 'fictional' nature of television news programmes, which he compares to television fiction 'from soap opera to adventure series' in that their narrative resembles the special structure of a police series revolving around heroes who survive over a length of time, and their antagonists, who soon disappear from the headlines (*ibid.*: 115). In his view, news presenters are closer to 'authors' in Goffman's terms (1981). They advance the narrative through the dialogue of others and 'make sense' of other voices in their own way by highlighting some and downplaying others, while still giving the impression of impartiality (Hartley 1982). Indeed, the co-construction of discourse is the essence of news reporting, as 'news is what an authoritative source tells a journalist' (Bell 1991: 191), and represented discourse provides a guarantee of credibility and legitimacy together with a sense of immediacy and liveliness. The representation of 'other' voices, so essential to news reporting, is one of the techniques to construe reality in discourse; not wanting to confine themselves to speech events sensed in the present by themselves (Jakobson 1971), journalists intervene selectively on the newsmakers' discourse and as a result produce a text undeniably different from the original.

Sinclair's (1988) and Hunston's (2000) distinction between 'averral' and 'attribution', two concepts which at times conflate and blend, is nonetheless useful

in differentiating the journalists' reporting and evaluative roles. While averral refers to the speaker identifying with what s/he says (*Saddam Hussein is in control of the country*), in the case of attribution a clear distance is created discursively between the proposition and the speaker who utters it (*Al Jazeera says that Saddam Hussein is in control of the country*).

Representing other voices involves a process of selection of information and the choice of the form the citation will take. The decisions made at the level of voice representation may reflect the way journalists feel about the events reported and the emphasis they decide to place on them in their professional contexts. Overall, journalists need to work within their audience's expectations of them and to match their audience's culturally based schemata. Journalists' discursive preferences are determined to a large extent by the cultural identity of the country where the programme is produced, in the present study Italy, the US or the UK.

In order to trace patterns and modalities of the representation of other voices, the present study engages in two principal tasks. First, it computes the occurrences of voice representation of a given party, hypothesizing that the choice to give space and recognition to certain newsmakers and the specific identity they are assigned (whether generic or individualized) are dictated by the perceived degree of newsworthiness attributed by the journalists to those newsmakers. Secondly, the study describes the most frequent forms of discourse reporting in the different programmes and the choice of reporting verbs (neutral or argumentative) in the quoting frame, and interprets the differences in terms of cultural tendencies, without losing sight of relevant technical considerations.

7.2 Theoretical background and objectives of the study

The fidelity of the main text to the original discourse is seriously threatened in attributed discourse,[1] which brings to the audiences the echo of other voices, inevitably modified as they become an integral part of a journalist's text.[2] For this reason Fairclough (1988) prefers the term 'representation' to 'reporting' because the former makes clear reference to the degree of interpretation that the process undoubtedly involves. Similarly, Scollon (1998), following Bell (1991) and Fairclough (1992, 1995a, 1995b), views indirect discourse or quotation as a reporter's technique for accessing the newsmakers while still retaining control of the message or the authorship (Goffman 1981).

Recent research on reported discourse has addressed a number of issues. Biber *et al.* (1999) stress that subordinate *that*-clauses introduced by framing verbs (Scollon 1994), such as 'say' or 'reveal', function as a linguistic device to express stance, and Lombardo (2004) has used this framework to identify features of stance in a corpus of BBC news reporting of the Kosovo war. Calsamiglia and López Ferrero (2003) examine the degree of certainty or doubt vis-à-vis the information journalists convey and their characterization of the newsmakers' identity. A similar concern is at the heart of recent studies on 'epistemological positioning', that is, the linguistic expression of the degree of a writer/speaker's knowledge vis-à-vis the reported information, and on 'evidentiality', that analyse the linguistic marking of that evidence (see, for example, Bednarek's 2006 corpus-based study of English news discourse).

The interest in an investigation of the features and patterns of represented discourse in TG5, RAI Uno, BBC and CBS news reporting of the 2003 Iraq war has been triggered by the conviction that the various modalities of discourse attribution are a direct consequence of a number of circumstances: the journalists' ideological stance vis-à-vis the events they are reporting, the political position of the broadcaster with which they are associated and its particular 'translation of events' (Hartley 1982: 8), and above all the cultural context in which journalists operate.

The main research questions of the present study, based on the CorDis television corpus, concern the relationship between discursive patterns in attribution and representation of 'other' voices, and the ideological and cultural positioning that they reflect. Specifically, the study addresses the following points: in the observed programmes, is the Italian modality of discourse representation different from the British and American modality? Is the difference in the treatment of 'other' voices a reflection of the particular stance or ideological positioning of a given speaker's discourse? Are there visible differences in the modalities of represented discourse that can be explained in terms of the objective technicalities of access to sources by the various broadcasters and in terms of the different interpretations of the journalist's role in the various countries (as described in the Introduction to this volume). In this sense, the study complements the results of Lombardo's study of evaluation and Ferrarotti's research on *we* and *you* in news presenters' discourse on the four broadcasters (this volume). However, as it goes beyond the emblematic role of news presenter, looking too at the discourse of reporters and correspondents, it also adds another dimension to the work reported by Haarman and by Clark (this volume).

A difference may be that the main focus here is on the discourse of the Italian public and private television broadcasters RAI Uno and TG5 in contrast to British public (BBC) and American commercial (CBS) television. Furthermore, this study required a more consistently qualitative approach in that, for the most part, the linguistic phenomena had to be searched for and counted by reading the entire corpus rather than via concordance searches. While it draws on the four corpora of television news during a month of war reporting starting with the opening of hostilities on 20 March 2003, it focuses for analytical purposes on a subcorpus consisting of the same five days of reporting for each of the four broadcasters.

7.3 Methodological approach to discourse representation

Sharing Fairclough's (1988) belief that there is always a degree of interpretation in reporting directly or indirectly other voices, this study adopts his term, discourse 'representation'. Traditional descriptions of represented discourse assume a structural perspective based on the identification of the formal clause and sentence structures into which an original speech act has been transformed (e.g. Quirk *et al.* 1985), while more recent explanations approach discourse from a semantic perspective (Halliday 1994 and Dixon 1991, both reported in Thompson 1996). Thompson points out the shortcomings of a formal approach to represented discourse which focuses solely on such formal indicators as *that*-clauses.[3] The 'integrated' approach to represented voices in the discourse of the Iraq war

proposed here views such discourse as interwoven with a '*continuum* of reference to
"other" voices' (Calsamiglia and López Ferrero 2003: 149) in which the pragmatics
of the country-specific journalistic practices play an important role. In line with
Thompson's position, this study assumes a pragmatic/functional approach that can
account for cases of explicit and 'concealed' citation (Calsamiglia and López
Ferrero 2003: 154), such as those in examples (1–5), that could not be satisfactorily
handled by a formal approach. The relevant segments are in italics.

(1) Reporter: Il battaglione di Apache stava affrontando una missione notturna
    [. . .] e *si sarebbe imbattuto* in un fuoco di sbarramento della contraerea
    nemica. (24 March, TG5)
    (Reporter: The Apache battalion was on a night mission [. . .] and was *apparently* caught up in a barrage of enemy fire.)

(2) Reporter: *Non accetta accuse* il Ministro dell'Informazione iracheno Moham-
    med Said Al Saaf. (24 March, TG5)
    (Reporter: Iraqi Minister of Information Mohammed Said Al Saaf *does not accept any accusations.*)

(3) Anchor: One chopper was downed. Iraqi television showed two prisoners
    said to be its crew. (24 March, CBS)

(4) Mohammed Zubeidi, Iraqi politician: (voice of translator) We've been
    elected by the public and by the religious leaders.
    Anchor: Elected may be too strong a word but that's *the claim* from this new
    band of, quote, liberated politicians. (17 April, CBS)

(5) Reporter: Abbas is *the admitted* mastermind of the hijacking of the Italian
    cruise ship, Achille Lauro, in 1985. (16 April, CBS)

In example (1), without a proper *that*-clause, the TG5 journalist reports an unveri-
fied or not completely confirmed piece of information, obtained from an unspeci-
fied source. In example (2) the Iraqi Minister of Information's words are relayed in
an interpretative summary by the reporter. Similarly, in example (3), while the
source is clear, the passive voice indirectly suggests the anchor's epistemological
positioning vis-à-vis the information circulated by the Iraqi broadcaster. In example
(4) a nominalization functions as a separate clause to introduce or comment on the
reported discourse, while in example (5) the represented discourse is reduced to
the noun attribution *admitted*.[4]

Based on a simplified version of Thompson's functional model, this study aims
to capture the overall treatment of attribution in the Italian news broadcasters
TG5 and RAI Uno, as compared with British BBC and American CBS. In addition
to the canonical markers of represented discourse, the study takes into account
lexical, structural, textual-stylistic, intonational or functional criteria (Thompson
1996: 514) to show the intricacies of the culturally connoted construal of reality in
the journalistic discourse of the four broadcasters at the crucial time of the war.

The five days of news reporting analysed were chosen at relatively equal time
intervals: 24 and 31 March and 4, 8 and 9 April; 21 March, not available for RAI

Uno, is referred to *in passim* but the data from it are not tallied as for the other days. The days studied are crucial to the war reporting as they follow the opening stages of the conflict (21 March), comment on Saddam Hussein's public appearances (24 March and 4 April), report on the accidental killing of journalists at the Palestine Hotel (8 April), and describe the fall of Baghdad (9 April). The manageable size of the subcorpus allows a close qualitative analysis of the treatment of represented discourse. Subsequently, in order to confirm the results emerging from this data, the five days of the subcorpus are interrogated with the help of WordSmith 4 (Scott 2004) concordancing software with reference to the use of reporting verbs.

7.4 The discourse of attribution

This section looks at the frequency in the use of other voices, the identity attributed to the newsmakers, the various modalities of represented discourse and the type of verbs used in the frame.

7.4.1 Who is voiced: frequency of attribution

24 March
Approaching represented discourse from the point of view of which sources are acknowledged reveals an immediate diversity in the treatment of attribution on the Italian vis-à-vis the British and American news programmes. Reports on 24 March include: Saddam's first public appearance on the streets of Baghdad; the downing of US helicopters by Iraqi peasants (reported as the downing of *one* Apache helicopter by CBS and as *two* by TG5) with the subsequent capture of US soldiers, all of which constituted a blow to the US Air Force; the news of the threat represented by the Turkish forces pressing to enter Iraq; the extradition of Turkish diplomats from Italy; and renewed anti-war marches. On that day TG5 journalists make no effort to disguise their critical views of the war. The opening news summary of the number one news presenter (and then Director of the TG5 News Programme) sets the tone by prioritizing Saddam's public speech over any other news.

> (6) News presenter: Buonasera telespettatori del TG5. Il fatto del giorno è che Saddam Hussein si mostra con un discorso alla nazione e al mondo durissimo, in cui CONFERMA[5] che darà battaglia fino alla fine, dimostra di essere ancora in grado di comandare su tutto l'Iraq.
> (News presenter: Good evening, TV5 viewers. The event of the day is that Saddam Hussein has appeared in public and delivered an extremely tough speech to the nation and to the world, in which he CONFIRMS that he will fight to the end, he has shown that he is still in control of all of Iraq.)

Although in a less categorical tone, RAI Uno's portrayal of the war also starts from the account of Saddam Hussein's appearance and reassuring message to his people. By contrast, BBC devotes its attention to the anti-coalition resistance in Iraq

and only much later does it discuss Saddam, while on CBS the anchor's opening focuses on the proximity of US Army forces to the Iraqi capital:

(7) Anchor: Good evening. It is night six of the war in Iraq. The battle of Baghdad draws nearer. Here are the latest developments. The US Army ground forces 50 miles or less from the Iraqi capital.

TG5 reporters and correspondents follow their director's lead, which results in according prime space to the following:

- Saddam's appearance to his people and, irrespective of when the video was recorded, taking this move as proof that he still controls the country

(8) Correspondent: Adesso è vivo, che il messaggio sia stato registrato poche ore prima non importa, è vivo ed è in sella.
(Correspondent: Now he is alive, that the message may have been recorded just a few hours earlier doesn't matter, he is alive and in full control.)

- Remarks on Bassora's untiring defence

(9) Correspondent: Bassora, dove [. . .] nessuno, nessun soldato britannico ha MAI MESSO PIEDE
(Correspondent: Bassora, where [. . .] no one, no British soldier has EVER SET FOOT)

- Discussions of Iraq on a par with the US on the issue of treatment of POWs

(10) Correspondent: Gli Stati Uniti hanno accusato l'Iraq di [. . .] aver mostrato al mondo le crude immagini dei prigionieri di guerra americani. Prontamente, oggi, ribatte il Ministro iracheno [. . .] e replica che anche gli Americani avrebbero mostrato fotografie di prigionieri, soldati iracheni.
(Correspondent: The United States has accused Iraq of [. . .] showing to the world the crude images of American POWs. Promptly today the Iraqi Minister retorts [. . .] saying that apparently also Americans have shown photographs of prisoners, Iraqi soldiers.)

A tally of the Iraqi and coalition voices present in the discourse of the journalists on the four broadcasters on 24 March indicates TG5's clear intention to allow Iraqi voices to occupy considerable space, especially as compared with the treatment of attribution on CBS, shown in Table 7.1. Although TG5 on that day is longer (about 5,483 tokens compared with 4,861 for RAI Uno; 5,271 for BBC; and 3,712 for CBS), the number of Iraqi sources reported is still significantly higher on the Italian private television broadcaster than on either BBC or CBS (and proportionately higher with respect to other sources on RAI Uno). In this study any reference to the country under attack has been classified as 'Iraq', 'coalition' references are those to US and British forces, 'other' indicates any mention of, for example, the UN,

Turkey, Italy, while 'unspecified', which has been collapsed into the same category, refers to cases of represented discourse whose source cannot be traced.[6]

Table 7.1 Attribution: Iraq and coalition voices on the four broadcasters on 24 March*

	TG5	RAI Uno	BBC	CBS
Iraq	29	13	12	13
Coalition	32	15	21	52
Other/unspecified	20	23	14	6

*expressed in raw figures

Table 7.2 Attribution: Iraq and coalition voices on the four broadcasters on 4 April

	TG5	RAI Uno	BBC	CBS
Iraq	23	11	18	8
Coalition	3	20	16	19
Other/unspecified	26	38	6	5

31 March
On 31 March RAI Uno, BBC and CBS all show a low number of occurrences of Iraqi sources, while TG5 has a nearly equal number of attributions to Iraq and to the coalition, four of which, however, are references to a human interest story regarding a US war victim.

4 April
The correlation between TG5's critical stance towards the war and the use of attribution is confirmed on 4 April, the day of Saddam's second public appearance, with the news team still showing a concerted effort to present the voices of Iraqis who are fighting against the coalition, while RAI Uno's use of sources seems more in line with that of CBS, as may be seen in Table 7.2.

On this day the heavily evaluative language of TG5's two political correspondents, one at the White House in Washington and the other in Amman, reveals a clear attempt to portray the actions of Iraqis within their own cultural framework and to depict the US as mocked by the *coup de theatre* played on it by Saddam. The Amman correspondent refers to suicide bombers as 'martyrs' sent as cannon fodder but who believe they are striking against those whom they see as 'the enemy in uniform' (example 11); the Washington correspondent's repeated negatives highlight the

White House's failure to provide adequate and timely information (example 12); finally, in a later report that follows the news on the Iraqi 'martyrs', he stresses, as though in contrast, the enormous war budget that has been voted by the US Congress (example 13).

(11) Correspondent: Gli attentatori suicidi colpiscono quello che viene visto come *il nemico in divisa* [. . .] *quanti saranno i martiri* mandati come carne di cannone
(Correspondent: Suicide bombers target what is seen as *the enemy in uniform* [. . .] *how many will be martyrs* used as cannon fodder

(12) Correspondent: Beh, certamente se il filmato fosse stato girato oggi avrebbe il sapore di una beffa [. . .] a tutte le illazioni, alle supposizioni e alle ipotesi lanciate da Washington sulla possible morte [. . .] di Saddam Hussein [. . .] la Casa Bianca [. . .] *non ha fornito* reazioni in tempo reale [. . .] Il Pentagono [. . .] *non ha dato* una posizione ufficiale del Governo.
(Correspondent: Well, surely if the video were filmed today, it would be a really bad mockery of [. . .] all the conjecture, claims and hypotheses voiced by Washington on the possible death [. . .] of Saddam Hussein [. . .] the White House [. . .] *did not report* its reactions in real time [. . .] The Pentagon [. . .] *did not give* the Government's official position.)

(13) Correspondent: Il budget straordinario per le spese della guerra in Iraq richiesto dal Presidente Bush è stato approvato dalla Camera e dal Senato, non solo, ma la cifra è stata perfino accresciuta. *Non saranno 75 miliardi di dollari, come richiedeva il Presidente, ma oltre 80 miliardi di dollari.*
(Correspondent: The special war budget requested by President Bush has been approved by the House and Senate, and there's more, the amount has even been increased. *It won't be 75 billion dollars as the President asked, but more than 80 billion dollars.*)

8 April
On 8 and 9 April, covering the Palestine Hotel incident and the fall of Baghdad respectively, the correlation between instances of attribution and stance no longer holds. On 8 April, CBS and RAI Uno show a more balanced representation of other voices, while BBC and TG5 prefer the discourse of coalition sources. CBS and TG5 seem aligned in being critical of the inexplicable coalition attack on the Palestine hotel where most international journalists resided. Like TG5's Brussels correspondent (example 14), CBS's Baghdad correspondent reports the Pentagon's claim of self-defence only to deny that claim immediately afterwards (example 15).

(14) Correspondent: Le forze americane non prendono di mira i giornalisti, si è difeso il comando USA, l'*M-I* si è sentito preso di mira da un cecchino ed ha sparato, questa la versione americana. *Versione smentita da tutti i giornalisti* presenti in albergo.
(Correspondent: American forces do not target journalists, the US command defended itself, the M-1 felt it was being targeted by a sniper and

fired a shot, this is the American version. *A version denied by all the journalists present in the hotel.*)

(15) Correspondent: The Pentagon claims they were returning enemy fire, *but none of the journalists at the hotel heard or saw anything* to support that claim.

9 April
Not surprisingly, on 9 April, the day of the fall of Baghdad, the number of attributions to the coalition is higher on all broadcasters, with BBC's five out of seven Iraqi references being instances of discourse by Iraqis not in Iraq but in the UK, and CBS still showing the biggest disproportion between Iraqi and coalition sources (Table 7.3).

Table 7.4 and Figure 7.1 respectively summarize the occurrences of individual sources for each broadcaster in the five days under study and represent them visually both in table and bar graph form.

The overall pattern of attribution to the various sources – Iraq, coalition, other – is consistent with the general tendency that emerged on most days and points to TG5's sensitivity towards the Iraqis, suggested by the high number of Iraq attributions especially on 24 March and 4 April. The most visible differences are between TG5 and CBS in that, whereas TG5 is quantitatively balanced in acknowledging various voices, CBS predominantly represents the voice of the coalition. Noticeable is also the presence of other voices on the Italian broadcasters, especially RAI Uno, due to the emphasis on home affairs and the so-called *dibattito politico*, the political debate between the government and the opposition. Instead, on the British and American broadcasters the presence of other voices is not very significant.

Table 7.3 Attribution: Iraq and coalition voices on the four broadcasters on 9 April

	TG5	RAI Uno	BBC	CBS
Iraq	5	10	7	3
Coalition	16	22	12	32
Other/unspecified	5	16	3	2

Table 7.4 Overall source attribution in the five days under study on the four broadcasters

	TG5	RAI Uno	BBC	CBS
Iraq	75	50	48	40
Coalition	85	88	105	139
Other/unspecified	101	118	32	18
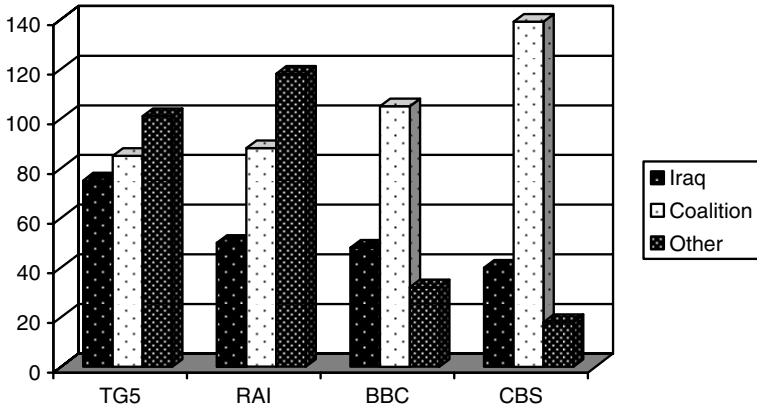
Figure 7.1 Overall source attribution in the five days under study on the four broadcasters.

7.4.2 Who is voiced: Identification of the newsmakers

The computation of the occurrences of source attribution to the subjects participating in the Iraq war suggests that a correlation, albeit tenuous, exists between the choice to represent the discourse of particular sources and the ideological closeness of journalists and broadcasters to a specific event or party. For example, on some days characterized by what can be called an anti-war stance, TG5, more than RAI Uno and certainly more than BBC or CBS, incorporated in its reporting several occurrences of discourse produced by Iraqi sources. If such findings are a useful general indication of the presence of discursive evaluation in television news, a consideration of the way newsmakers are identified may provide further insight.

Calsamiglia and López Ferrero's study (2003) focuses on the evaluative effect of the identity that journalists attribute to newsmakers in discourse. Treating a newsmaker as an individual with authority and credibility as in example (16) accentuates the reliability of the message, while a representation of the same source or agent as a community as in example (17), or as a generic entity as in example (18), reduces its reliability.

(16) News presenter: *Secondo Blair*, gli americani sono ormai ad appena 100 Km da Baghdad (24 March, RAI Uno)
      (News presenter: *According to Blair*, Americans are now barely 100 km from Baghdad)

(17) Correspondent: Dan, *US officials* say the Iraqis have drawn a red line on the map around Baghdad (24 March, CBS)

(18) Reporter: *Qui a Bagdad quelli che lo hanno visto* lo danno per vero, nel senso che si tratterebbe di una registrazione di pochi giorni fa e questo sarebbe dimostrato dal fatto che ci sono i sacchi di sabbia agli incroci (4 April, TG5).

(Reporter: *Here in Baghdad those who saw him* are taking him as the real thing, in the sense that this was supposedly a recording made only a few days ago, which the presence of sand bags at road crossings apparently confirms.)

To sum up, the characterization of newsmakers as authoritative or anonymous individuals provides evidence and a strong or weak guarantee of a statement's truth (Hill and Irvine 1993). Tannen's (1989: 110) observations about the everyday conversation produced by a group of speakers explain this point effectively. She observes that at times 'material represented as dialogue was never spoken by anyone else in a form resembling that constructed, if at all'. For instance in her exemplification of 'choral dialogue' (example 19), the line of dialogue is unrealistically attributed to an entire group of speakers but in reality 'is offered as an instantiation of what many people said' (*ibid.*: 113):

(19) And then the Americans said
       'Oh in that case, go ahead'

Similarly, in (18) TG5's journalists reproduced for the audience the gist of what they heard Iraqi people say about Saddam's second appearance. The authenticity issue is irrelevant, because the aim is to give the essence of what a community chorally (though not verbatim) said.

In the present case of the Iraq war reporting by Western broadcasters, it might be expected that most coalition newsmakers would be given a priority space and would be characterized as 'legitimated persons' (see Introduction, this volume) while the Iraqis would tend to be represented collectively or anonymously. An investigation of the journalists' characterization of newsmakers' identity on the four broadcasters for the five days under study has in part confirmed these expectations, although TG5 and RAI Uno tend to allow for a more individualized characterization of the sources than the other two broadcasters. Table 7.5 below summarizes the identities attributed to newsmakers by journalists on the four broadcasters.

Table 7.5 The identity of newsmakers as represented by journalists on the four broadcasters

	TG5		RAI Uno		BBC		CBS	
	Coal	Iraq	Coal	Iraq	Coal	Iraq	Coal	Iraq
Legitimated person	48	34	57	20	61	22	101	19
Anonymous person	4	4	4	8	8	10	24	10
Collective	14	8	17	4	18	7	29	2
Generic	13	16	12	13	17	6	5	3
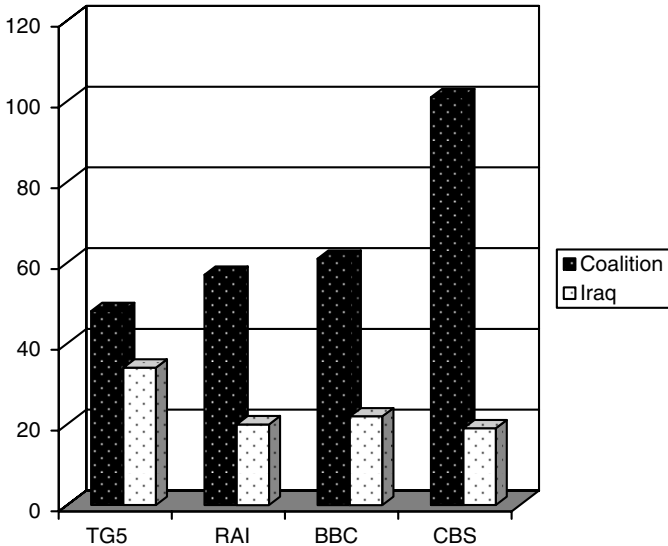
Figure 7.2 Coalition or Iraq as legitimated sources on the four broadcasters.

As Table 7.5 shows, results confirm our expectations that all broadcasters have more attribution to legitimated persons for coalition sources than for Iraq or other. However, CBS has the highest values for citations of legitimated persons representing the coalition, and TG5 has the lowest values. While CBS has the lowest absolute value for citations of Iraq, TG5 has the highest value for the same and also shows the least disproportion between legitimated sources from both parties as shown in Figure 7.2.

7.4.3 Message: How sources are voiced

In addition to considering the choice of source attribution, whether Iraq or coalition, and whether the source is identified as legitimated, anonymous or generic, it was hypothesized that the presence of various modalities of discourse representation would follow a different pattern on the four broadcasters. Different effects are produced and different functions are fulfilled simply by choosing to represent a voice quasi verbatim and externally to a journalist's own discourse, or to incorporate that voice in a synthetic and interpretative way within the journalists' own discourse. In establishing categories for the analysis of modalities of represented discourse, this study references Leech and Short's (1981) options for authors of literary texts, Fairclough's (1988) study of discourse 'representation' in the press, and Thompson's functional model of speech treatment (1996). The result is a number of alternatives for speech representation from direct to indirect represented discourse that have been grouped into two main categories: 'voicing', in the case of a more mimetic discourse representation of *what* was said; and 'ventriloquism' (Bakhtin [1952] 1981) in the case of a reconstruction of what *might* have

been said (cf. Lauerbach 2006; Fairclough 1988). The following are the citation styles encountered in the television discourse of Iraq war reporting.

7.4.3.1 *Forms of voicing*

Very Direct Discourse (hereafter, VDD) is the case of television actuality showing the quoted sources delivering their message on screen, often prefaced by indirect discourse or paraphrase as in example (20).

> (20) Anchor: The top US field commander, Army General Tommy Franks [. . .] cautioning CBS's Mark Strassman that much remains to be done.
> Tommy Franks: (on screen) We recognize that the hardest part of this may in fact be in front of us, not behind us. (7 April, CBS)

Direct Discourse (hereafter DD) represents more or less faithfully a speaker's words as in example (21).

> (21) Correspondent: È lo stesso Generale Tommy Franks dal Qatar ad ammettere: 'Il destino dell'equipaggio di un elicottero Apache è incerto, due uomini sono dispersi.' (24 March, TG5)
> (Correspondent: General Tommy Franks himself from Qatar admits: 'The fate of the crew of the Apache helicopter is still uncertain, two men are missing.')

In explaining *Indirect Discourse* (hereafter, ID) or *Paraphrase*, Thompson (1996: 515) says, '[t]he distinguishing feature of a paraphrase is that the message is expressed entirely in terms which are appropriate to the reporter in the reporting context.' Instances of ID are traditionally characterized by *that*-clauses (Biber *et al.* 1999), for example, in post-predicate position infinitive clauses as in example (22) or signposted by a verb modalization as in example (23).[7]

> (22) Correspondent Captain George Shrecker, from Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, *orders his man* to stand down. (9 April, CBS)

> (23) Correspondent: Il battaglione di Apache [. . .] *si sarebbe imbattuto* in un fuoco di sbarramento della contraerea nemica (24 March, TG5)
> (Correspondent: The Apache Battalion on a night mission [. . .] was *apparently* caught up in a barrage of enemy fire)

Some slippage between ID and DD is sometimes found in the data, but in line with Fairclough (1988), hybrid cases have been treated as DD because the overall sensation of the reported discourse in the data was that of a DD mode (see example 24).

> (24) Anchor: The US commander Army General Tommy Franks *says progress has been, quote, rapid and dramatic.* (24 March, CBS)

By means of *Narrative Speech Act* (hereafter, NSA) journalists tend to aver their propositions while they still attribute them to a source (Bednarek 2006a) and, at times, interpret the pragmatic function of what was said, as in example (25), or name the speech act as in example (26).

(25) Correspondent: Era il Saddam di sempre, ma adesso [. . .] questo conta: *incoraggia i fedeli, indebolisce la tentazione della resa* (24 March, TG5)
(Correspondent: It was the usual Saddam, but now [. . .] only this matters: *he encourages believers, weakens their temptation to surrender*)

(26) Anchor: The US *is protesting* Iraq's treatment of American POWs. (24 March, CBS)

7.4.3.2 *Forms of ventriloquism*

Free Fabricated Discourse (hereafter, FFD), as in example (27) and example (28), in this study indicates the two modalities of Free Direct and Free Indirect Discourse (collapsed here into one category) by which journalists reconstruct the speech produced by a source and, trying to make it lively, offer a characterization of it by producing a 'non-actual' quotation (Anderson 1993: 385) or a linguistic ventriloquism (Goffman 1974: 536).

(27) Reporter: Il generale americano mostra carri armati iracheni [. . .] e, sempre a proposito di prigionieri, afferma che 3.000 iracheni sono in mani alleate e *che non gli verrà torto un capello*. La stessa Croce Rossa Internazionale potrà assisterli, un modo, neppure troppo indiretto, per lanciare un nuovo monito a Saddam: *attento a come tratti i nostri prigionieri caduti nelle tue mani*. (24 March, TG5)
(Reporter: The American general is showing Iraqi tanks [. . .] and talking about POWs, he states that 3,000 Iraqis are in allied hands and that *no one will lay a finger on them*. The International Red Cross itself will be able to assist them, a way, not too indirect either, of giving Saddam a new warning: '*Watch out how you treat our prisoners who have fallen into your hands.*')

(28) Reporter: The Turkish government turned round and said, '*No, I'm sorry, we cannot give you overnight rights.*' (21 March, BBC)

'[T]he words quoted [in FFD] may not actually have been uttered, but the reader will assume that they are faithful to the spirit of what the people say' (Thompson 1996: 512). FFD is generally not marked by clear 'reporting signals' thus the identification of echoes of another text 'depends on shared knowledge' of features that can be functional, lexical, intonational and prosodic[8] or structural (Thompson 1996: 514). In example (27), for instance, FFD can be identified by the casual style of the General's warning to Saddam. The reporter, therefore, conjures up a sense of directness by using a language familiar to the viewers by which s/he activates the mental schemata on which their construal of reality is based (Korzybski 1958 cited in Katan 1998: 141).

Following Bednarek (2006a), the different modalities of discourse representation discussed so far can be viewed as reflecting a continuum going from clear evidentiality (objectivity), if the source is construed as external (in the case of VDD and, to a degree, DD), to less tangible evidentiality (increased subjectivity) if, in representing other voices, the journalists move in the direction of a rather internal construal of the source (in the case of FFD or of some ID introduced by an interpretative verb frame).

The instances of each form of represented discourse in the programmes have been tallied with the aim of highlighting differences in the way voices are incorporated in the journalistic discourse. Table 7.6 summarizes the modalities of reported discourse on the four broadcasters and the information is represented visually in Figure 7.3. As can be seen, CBS shows a strong preference for VDD, while BBC uses VDD and ID most frequently. Both TG5 and RAI Uno show a greater tendency towards the use of NSA than either of the two English-language broadcasters,

Table 7.6 Modalities of Represented Discourse on the four broadcasters

	TG5	RAI Uno	BBC	CBS
Very Direct Discourse	21	38	80	118
Direct Discourse	60	108	30	9
Indirect Discourse	79	53	74	56
Narrative Speech Act	66	75	30	32
Free Fabricated Discourse	12	5	1	1
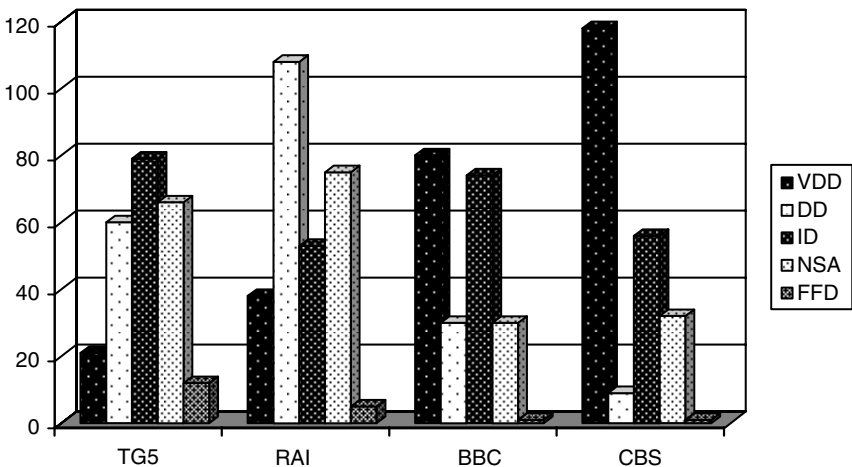
Figure 7.3 Modalities of Represented Discourse on the four broadcasters.

though TG5 appears to prefer ID and RAI Uno DD. The differences between television broadcasters here could be due to the fact that for instance CBS reporters have easier access to American military sources than Italian journalists do. However, such an explanation does not rule out the possibility that various modalities of reporting sources can also be ascribed to different cultural preferences.

7.4.4 Attitude: The reporting verbs in the quoting frame

After looking at the frequency of sourcing either side of the dispute, the way in which newsmakers are identified and the modalities of represented discourse on the four broadcasters, this last section examines the type of reporting verb used in the quoting frame. The line of inquiry in this case aims to trace the preference for neutral as opposed to argumentative verbs on the Italian, British and American programmes and hopefully to establish some correlation between the modalities of discourse representation and the linguistic choice of reporting verbs.

Verbs of saying (Caldas-Coulthard 1993 and 1994; Fairclough 1992, 1995a, 1995b; Thompson and Yiyun 1991) offer a relatively significant cue for the identification of attitude in discourse reporting because they can indicate a neutral, positive or negative attitude (Thompson 1996) as the three examples below from TG5 24 March show, respectively.

(29) Reporter: Ho cominciato a tremare, *dice* la signora Anecita. (Neutral)
      (I started shaking, *says* Mrs Anecita.)

(30) News presenter: Saddam Hussein si mostra con un discorso alla nazione e al mondo durissimo, in cui *conferma* che darà battaglia fino alla fine (Positive)
      (News presenter: Saddam Hussein appears in public and delivers an extremely tough speech to the nation and to the world, in which he *confirms* that he will fight to the end)

(31) Reporter: Lo stesso generale Tommy Franks [. . .] *ammette* che i contatti con una parte della dirigenza irachena per convincerla ad abbandonare Saddam Hussein non hanno ancora sortito gli effetti sperati. (Negative)
      (Reporter: General Tommy Franks himself [. . .] *admits* that contacts with part of the Iraqi leadership to convince it to abandon Saddam Hussein have not yet produced the hoped for results.)

When interrogated, the programmes showed a total of 146 occurrences of neutral reporting verbs for TG5, 115 for RAI Uno, 77 for BBC and 70 for CBS, while the presence of other more evaluative verbs in the four programmes is very sporadic, as the Table 7.7 suggests.[9] Considering the different size of the four broadcasters, this indicates a small yet not insignificant difference in the use of framing verbs in that BBC, CBS and RAI Uno exhibit a greater preference for the so-called neutral reporting verbs.

In contrast with TG5's more evaluative style, CBS shows a preference for 'neutral' verbs and for a less interpretative modality of discourse reproduction exemplified by the use of DD and VDD, although this should not be taken as an absolute

Table 7.7 Reporting verbs on the four broadcasters by category

	TG5	RAI Uno	BBC	CBS
Approx. word count	24,883	22,361	22,481	15,263
Dire/Say-Tell	71	93	74	68
Dichiarare/State	13	1	–	–
Parlare/Talk about	50	12	2	2
Annunciare/Announce	7	9	1	–
Confermare/Confirm	5	7	–	1
Sostenere/Claim	4	1	4	4
Avvertire/Warn	6	4	6	5
Ammettere/Admit	3	4	1	1

measure of the representation of attitude. Let us consider TG5 correspondent's report on 24 March in example (32).

(32) Correspondent: Due micidiali macchine da guerra americane, gli Apache, dotati di sofisticati sistemi di offesa e di difesa, nonché di un radar potentis-simo, buttati giù dai contadini iracheni con i fucili. [. . .] L'Iraq annuncia questa mattina: alcuni agricoltori iracheni hanno colpito due elicotteri americani, abbiamo altri prigionieri nelle nostre mani, americani e inglesi, e presto li mostreremo. *Parole taglienti come lame che colpiscono al cuore Washington e Londra.*
(Correspondent: Two deadly American war machines, the Apache, equipped with sophisticated systems of offence and defence and extremely powerful radar, downed by the guns of Iraqi farmers. [. . .] This morning Iraq announces: some Iraqi farmers hit two American helicopters, we have more American and British prisoners in our hands and we'll soon show them. *Words as sharp as knives that strike at the heart of Washington and London.*)

If the reporting verb in the narrative frame 'annuncia' ('announces') can be taken as neutral, the journalist's stress on the potency of the American war machin-ery downed by the guns of simple Iraqi farmers seems to contradict the Pentagon's message that the Coalition is in control of the situation and so does the conclusive remark regarding the effect that she believes the statement by the Iraqi government will have on the American and British centres of power (*Parole taglienti come lame/ Words as sharp as knives*).

In conclusion, the data reported here suggest that the choice of framing verbs is a relevant measure for detecting stance although not sufficient *per se*. A close examination of the context together with a whole range of other elements within

the representing or 'primary' discourse (Fairclough 1988) can mark the journalist's affinity with or critical distance from what is represented, as, for example, in the following ID by the BBC Baghdad correspondent (example 33), marked by visible evaluation despite the use of the neutral verb 'say', which here suggests the correspondent's detachment from the truth value of the proposition reported (see Clark, this volume).

(33) Correspondent: *President Bush says* the Iraq army is *callously hiding* behind civilians in schools and mosques. But at Friday prayers today the only soldiers *I saw* in this mosque were *praying for salvation* (21 March, BBC)

7.5 Discussion of findings

The five days under study can be taken as an exemplification of the tendencies of the four broadcasters in representing other voices. Some of the differences that can be traced between the Italian and the English-speaking programmes are structural and dictated simply by the language of the sources and whether or not it is the same as that of their representation. Most information about the war in Iraq, in which the US and British forces are major players, is expressed in English and is therefore more immediately accessible to broadcasters operating in that language. This partly explains the higher frequency of VDD in the British and American news programmes, where both legitimated speakers and *vox populi* are used to a number of different effects: to praise the coalition on its victory on the day of the fall of Baghdad (9 April, CBS); to counterbalance the enemy's occasional high media profile as on the day of Saddam's first public appearance (24 March, BBC and CBS); to report on the everyday experiences of individual marines in a kind of human interest story (4 April, CBS); but also to voice recrimination for the war losses (21 March, CBS).

However, in contrast with TG5 and RAI Uno, other features of the discourse representation of CBS and BBC escape such a medium-based explanation. It is argued here that they can be attributed to cultural differences in the interpretation of the role of the journalist in Italy, the UK and the US (see Introduction, this volume), and to the particular style and image of the broadcaster. For instance, with some exceptions (e.g. BBC on 22 March and 4 April), CBS and BBC reporters generally seem to resort less to DD, despite the potential accessibility of direct quotes that might have been extrapolated from speeches in English. Examples (34) and (35) suggest the different techniques of BBC and TG5, on the same day of reporting, and the preference of journalism in the Anglo-Saxon tradition for direct documentation via VDD[10] in contrast to the Italian tendency to present discourse as verbatim reconstruction by journalists.

(34) Correspondent: In his distinctive voice he said that British and American forces were now trapped in a dead-end in the aggression against Iraq.

Saddam Hussein: (voice of the interpreter) Hit now according to what, according to what God has ordered you to do. Hit their heads off. And be patient. (24 March, BBC)

(35) Correspondent: 'Il nemico è entrato nella grande terra santa dell'Iraq, quindi colpite voi eroi, colpite il nemico con precisione e forza'. Ecco, di nuovo, stamane alle 11.00, il Saddam che era apparso un sopravvissuto dopo la prima notte di bombardamenti. (24 March, TG5)
(Correspondent: 'The enemy has entered the great holy land of Iraq, therefore hit him, you heroes, hit the enemy with accuracy and force.' Here's Saddam again, this morning at 11 a.m., the Saddam who looked like a survivor after the first night of bombing.)

CBS and, to a lesser degree, BBC seem to show a dispreference for ID and a preference for direct documentation of discourse attribution. By contrast, the slightly higher number of instances of ID and NSA for TG5 and RAI Uno seems to suggest the preference on the part of the Italian broadcasters for a more interpretative rendition of the events. TG5 journalists, especially male news correspondents such as the one in Amman or the correspondent at the White House and, to a degree, also such in-situ reporters as the correspondent in Baghdad are continuously solicited by the news presenters, as in examples (36) and (37) to interpret facts and relay them through the lens of their acknowledged expertise.

(36) News presenter: Queste immagini *secondo te che hai una lunga esperienza* evidentemente della situazione mediorientale, cosa stanno a significare, davvero che Saddam comanda ancora? (4 April, TG5)
(News presenter: *You clearly have a long experience* of the Middle East situation, *in your opinion* what do these images mean, that Saddam still is, really, in control?)

(37) News presenter: Scusami, abbiamo visto anche il tuo reportage proprio nella città, a Bagdad, tra la gente, *la tua impressione qual è*? Che c'è fedeltà cieca verso il dittatore, verso Saddam, o hai potuto notare, anche da piccole cose, qualche piccola incrinatura in questa fede? (24 March, TG5)
(News presenter: Excuse me, we also saw your report from Baghdad, you were with the people there, *what is your impression*? That there is a blind loyalty towards the dictator, towards Saddam, or have you been able to notice, even in small things, any small cracks in this faith in him?)

In TG5 news the programme director and number one news presenter is constantly in control of the message and tends to guide viewers through the process of news reception by instructing them to carefully sift through the verbal and visual information to give events their proper meaning. Ferrarotti (this volume) looks at the greater use of inclusive and exclusive *we* and *you* forms on the Italian broadcasters signposting news presenters' and reporters' discourse and signalling the relationship between the editorial board, the news staff and the television audience.

TG5's director appears to take on the symbolic role of '*vate* journalist'. For him news reporting is a moral duty ('c'era una sequenza che era doveroso mostrare'/ 'there was a sequence we had the obligation to show', 4 April), and so he feels the need to provide evaluations of events openly ('Abbiamo scelto di non mostrarvi la gran parte delle immagini; vi dico subito che sono quelle di una vera e propria carneficina'/'We have chosen not to show the majority of the images, I'll tell you right away these are the images of a real carnage', 28 March). He also inserts meta-reflections on the process of news presentation (È con queste immagini [of the bombing of a Baghdad marketplace] che abbiamo voluto aprire il telegiornale. Buonasera'/'It is with these images [of the bombing of a Baghdad marketplace] that we have decided to open the programme. Good evening.' 26 March), and reminds the television audience of their role as news evaluators both in terms of a generic ability to assess the significance of information ('dobbiamo valutare quello che stiamo per vedere insieme'/'we must assess what we are about to watch together', 4 April), and in terms of the ability to use visuals as a means of establishing the truth value of the verbal messages ('gli Americani sostengono di avere il controllo dell'aeroporto, gli iracheni negano con forza, le immagini sembrano parlare da sole, la battaglia infuria, nessuno in realtà controlla totalmente l'aeroporto'/'the Americans claim they control the airport, the Iraqis strongly deny that, the images seem to speak for themselves, the battle is violent, in reality no one has complete control of the airport', 4 April). The discourse of TG5 new presenters and reporters, and in particular the preference for ID modality, is, therefore, in line with an interpretation of the role of the journalist as commentator.

> (38) News presenter: Si, perché mai come oggi forse sembrano due guerre completamente diverse quelle in corso in Iraq stando alle dichiarazioni delle due parti. Pensate che Tareq Aziz, poco fa, ha detto che Saddam ha il controllo totale di tutto il paese e qualche ora prima, soltanto qualche ora prima, il Premier britannico Blair aveva detto che le truppe angloamericane sono a meno di 100 chilometri da Bagdad, questo per dire la grande confusione che regna sul campo e anche la propaganda che interviene come in tutte le guerre. (24 March, TG5)
>
> (News presenter: Yes, because maybe today as never before, on the basis of the statements coming from each of the two sides, there seem to be two completely different wars going on in Iraq. Just think that Tareq Aziz said, just a while ago, that Saddam controls the whole country and some hours earlier, only a few hours earlier, the British premier Blair said that the Anglo-American troops are less than 100 km from Baghdad; this gives you an idea of the terrible confusion that reigns on the battlefield and also the propaganda that accompanies all wars.)

DD, ID and NSA have different semantic values and the different functions they fulfil in representing voices are variously interpreted by linguists. Fairclough (1988) finds that DD is used when the quoted source is particularly significant, authoritative, dramatic or witty. Leech and Short (1981) believe that ID and NSA are faithful to the content of a statement rather than to its exact words, while

Fairclough (*ibid.*) questions such ideational function of these two modalities and suspects that at times the exact words of the original statement may be equally accurately incorporated into the new discourse and that when this is not done it is by choice. The observed data seem to corroborate the uncertainty surrounding the function of the various modalities of represented discourse as on all four broadcasters journalists have been found to express their stance to the events by using a range of techniques, including VDD.

In the five days under study, discourse representation on TG5 is also characterized by a use of FFD, albeit rather contained. With such a format of discourse, journalists take substantial liberties in reproducing the original wording although, as for ID and NSA, they are still faithful to the ideational level of the message. In FFD the message is deliberately manipulated and offered as a form of characterization (Scollon 1998) and made more vivid for the viewers to whose expected schemata the journalists appeal. Although they acknowledge attribution, hence delegate nominal 'principalship' (Goffman 1981), through the use of FFD reporters reappropriate the message and present themselves almost as authors. In example (39), for instance, the feature which is foregrounded is the journalist's reporting style, which nearly obscures the content of the reported discourse.

(39) Correspondent: La giornata è stata segnata anche dal fermo altolà di Colin Powell al governo turco. 'Non entrate in Iraq', ha detto in sostanza il Segretario di Stato. (21 March, TG5)
(Correspondent: The day was also marked by Colin Powell's firm warning to the Turkish government. 'Don't go into Iraq', said the Secretary of State basically.)

While FFD seems to characterize TG5's reporting throughout, CBS only occasionally resorts to such a modality of discourse representation as in example (40), reported by a journalist who is not part of the CBS news team.

(40) Correspondent: I think they're trying to leave an open door saying OK, we've been waiting for you, come in and then see what you can get. (3 April, CBS-affiliated British Sky News)

Clark and Gerrig's (1990) interpretation of the difference between ID and DD can contribute to understanding the journalist's choice of discourse modalities especially with reference to FFD. They propose looking at ID, or 'oratio obliqua', as a 'description' from the speaker's view, and at DD or 'oratio recta' as a 'demonstration' or 'depiction' of what someone said. The core of Clark and Gerrig's definition is that demonstrations are 'non serious' actions: in representing a discourse from what must appear the perspective of the person who originally produced it, they necessarily involve 'pretence' as in a game in which participants perform a particular role. Demonstrations are 'selective' in the elements they choose to represent (e.g. 'depictive', 'supportive') and may prioritize neutrally the propositional content of an utterance, or other aspects of it, for example, its intonation, or illocutionary force. Example (41), spoken by the TG5 correspondent in Brussels, represents the Iraqi Minister's response to a US charge of mistreating POWs. Prefaced by the

adverb 'prontamente' ('promptly') recognizing the Minister's quick reaction, this instance of FFD selectively focuses on the sarcasm of the Iraqi authority which the reporter colours with the colloquialism 'vengono a parlarci' ('they have the nerve to talk to us').

(41) Reporter: *Prontamente* oggi ribatte il Ministro iracheno: 'sostengono i criminali, il regime sionista, e *vengono a parlarci* della Convenzione di Ginevra'. (24 March, TG5)
      (Reporter: *Promptly* today the Iraqi Minister retorts: 'they support criminals, the Sionist regime, and *have the nerve to talk to us* about the Geneva convention'.)

Hartley (1982) argues that television news reinforces ideology by presenting information in a way that appears as accessible 'dramatic entertainment' to viewers who are drawn into the news discussion and invited to perceive the reporter's ideological position as natural because it is presented in a pleasantly 'fictional' manner (1982: 145). Hartley's exemplification is the ITN and BBC coverage of the 1980 SAS storming of the Iranian embassy in London, which was described in a dramatic way (e.g. everything was reported in the present tense) to give viewers the impression that they were eye-witnesses to the events. In line with Hartley's belief that 'ideology and entertainment are not incompatible' (*ibid.*), it can be argued that FFD functions as a technique for dramatizing and fictionalizing the news (example 42).

(42) Correspondent: Comunque dicevo, la gente non accetta che qualcuno altro decida per loro e questo ce l'hanno detto tutti anche quelli che sotto-voce ci hanno detto, '*noi non siamo molto d'accordo con tutto quello che succede qua, però non vogliamo che vengano gli Americani a dirci chi e come deve guidarci.*' (24 March, TG5)
      (Correspondent: As I was saying, people can't accept that someone else decides for them, and this is what everybody told us even those who under their breath told us, '*we don't really agree with what is happening here, but we don't want the Americans to tell us who should lead us and how.*')

In this TG5 reporter's instance of ventriloquism, the discourse invented by the correspondent is an instantiation (the term is Tannen's 1989) of the view shared by a number of people in Iraq about the war and the American involvement. By presenting such discourse in an interactive dialogic style that the viewers will find familiar, the reporter is 'pushing' the ideological position that, regardless of the lack of democracy in Iraq, American interference in the internal affairs of that country is to be condemned.

7.6 General conclusions

From the data observed, the Iraq war reporting clearly shows the journalists' critical awareness of the potential manipulation of words and of the power of language to

construe reality. The discourse of TG5's director and chief news presenter has been commented earlier. James Robbins' (BBC) quotation at the beginning of this chapter regarding 'the information war' confirms this concern, and TG5's Washington correspondent defines the ongoing war as a 'war of words': '*questa è una guerra di parole*'. Starting from the conviction that '[d]irect quotation is a marked form of encoding and thus an evaluative device through which speakers can communicate their point of view on the events in question' (Anderson 1993: 380), this study has focused on the words and voices of others, and the way they are represented in the discourse of the war journalists on four different television broadcasters in three different cultures.

Through a predominantly qualitative analysis of five days of news reporting, the study has attempted to respond to research questions concerning the particular way of representing other voices on TG5 and RAI Uno through a comparison with BBC and CBS. A functional approach to discourse representation has revealed several characterizing elements, in particular for the Italian commercial television broadcaster. As is widely known, TG5 is owned by conservative media mogul Silvio Berlusconi whose position in support of the Americans at the time of the Iraq war was always very clear. In spite of the broadcaster's political positioning, however, TG5's director Mentana leads his editorial board to express an often blatant anti-war stance, which at a later stage may have caused his rift with the broadcaster owner and then Prime Minister Berlusconi. This position is tangible in the amount of discourse attributed to Iraqi sources which, on several of the days covered by the study, exceeded the tally of occurrences on the other broadcasters including Italian state broadcaster RAI Uno.

Regarding the modalities of discourse representation, the investigation of the four programmes has suggested cultural, as well as language-driven and structural, differences especially in the journalistic discourse of TG5. While BBC and CBS journalists show a preference for transparent representation of other voices through the frequent use of VDD in actualities, the Italian preference, especially for TG5, goes to ID and FFD. This pattern was supported, although to a limited degree, by the preference of BBC and CBS for neutral reporting verbs, which exceeded the number of occurrences in TG5 and RAI Uno and attested to the apparently objective style of BBC and CBS reporting. By referencing Clark and Gerrig's (1990) notion of DD as 'non serious' pretence actions, I have argued that TG5 news operators use DD and FFD to perform and depict, hence entertain, while they also present themselves as text producers or authors, in Goffman's terms. It seems that, if compared with BBC and CBS, TG5 journalists – and in particular the director who presents himself as a charismatic 'news master' – view themselves as subjects entitled and expected not only to evaluate the information but also to guide the audience's interpretation of it.

Although not conclusive, the attention to the characterization of the newsmakers as credible individuals, or anonymous entities, highlighted a slightly better representation of Iraqi subjects on TG5. The conclusions reached are limited to the programmes examined; however, the findings seem to suggest a preference for the appearance of objectivity on the part of BBC and CBS in opposition to the socially and professionally accepted commenting of TG5 reporting and the less consistent

and predictable style of RAI Uno that alternates objective (DD) and interpretative (NSA) reporting. The analysis of the four broadcasters has also shown that the greatest disparity is between TG5 and CBS. Paradoxically, TG5 appears to be more balanced in representing a variety of voices, especially when compared with CBS, which is more focused on putting the Anglo-American forces in the spotlight. Such a divergence between the Italian and the American news programmes is also recognizable in the modalities of discourse representation they choose. This can be explained in terms of a contrasting interpretation of the journalist's role in the two cultural contexts. 'Cultural models [. . .] mediate between the 'micro' (small) level of interaction and the 'macro' (large) level of institutions' (Gee 2002: 58), therefore it seems reasonable to establish a correlation between the micro plane of the various reporting styles and the institutionalized role within which journalists operate. To conclude, this study has shown that the different modalities of reporting within the four cultural models, which can be related to institutional differences between the individual countries, appear to be instrumental in determining diverse construals and interpretations of reality.

Notes

1. Jakobson uses the term 'relayed or 'displaced' (1971: 130).
2. Caldas-Coulthard (1993: 199) defines quoted material as a mediated 'intertextual game'. Similarly, Tannen (1989: 101) stresses the manipulative element of reported discourse in which 'the words have ceased to be those of the speaker to whom they are attributed, having been appropriated by the speaker who is repeating them.' Like Caldas-Coulthard (1994), Charaudeau's (1997: 72) semiotic interpretation of the 'communicative contract' views the media treatment of an event as 'constructing' the event itself by means of its verbal representation and points out that, even if the exact words are cited, the insertion in a different context dramatically alters the original meaning. Calsamiglia and López Ferrero (2003) investigate attribution to scientific sources in the discourse of Spanish newspapers. They view quoted discourse incorporating 'other' discourse, as a form of polyphonic discourse construction (see, for example, Bakhtin [1952] 1981; Ducrot 1984; Kristeva 1986; Fairclough 1992), whereby texts are an echo of other texts and thus engage in an intertextual relation with those that precede them by building on and reworking them.
3. Méndez (1999a and 1999b cited in Calsamiglia and López Ferrero 2003: 154) argues a similar position vis-à-vis represented discourse and is against the neat separation between direct and indirect citation styles on the grounds that they are often combined.
4. Differently from studies of evidentiality for which perception and hearsay are the basis of attribution (Bednarek 2006a: 652), in this study verbs of opinion have not been regarded as introducing other voices unless a clear indication of derivation from a source was traceable in the relevant text.
5. CAPS indicate stress.
6. Bednarek (2006a: 642) calls for further studies to define this category.

7. In the attempt to rule out discourse that is not represented or reported but is the reporter's own reflection on or perception of a particular event, in this study mental process verbs and verbs of affect have not been considered as reporting verbs in ID, unless they were accompanied by an indication that they referred to actual speech by some source instead of reflecting the reporter's own assessment of a given situation on grounds other than press releases or direct source statements.

8. Lauerbach (2006) mentions 'scare-quote' prosody as marking FDD.

9. The above count also includes nominalizations in the case, for instance, of 'warning' or 'accusation' because, as noted by Scollon (1998: 222–3), attribution goes far beyond the use of verbs, as in the following example:

Correspondent: Il segretario alla difesa Donald Rumsfeld [. . .] ha anche dichiarato che non c'è stato nessun attacco alle centrali elettriche della città. La guardia repubblicana non sembra in grado di poter esibire una forte difesa, un'efficiente difesa della città, queste sono le *dichiarazioni.*
(Correspondent: Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld [. . .] also declared there has been no attack on the city's electrical power plants. The Republican guard doesn't seem able to provide a strong defence, an efficient defence of the city, these are the *statements.*) (4 April, TG5)

10. This can be interpreted as the preference of the American broadcaster for direct evidence (via visual data) that is generally accepted as the most reliable kind of knowledge (Sweetser 1984: 13 in Bednarek 2006a: 638).

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