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VOICES IN THE MEDIA

Discourse representation in articles about the case of Elián González in *Time* and *Newsweek*

A Pro Gradu Thesis

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Yleisesti uskotaan, että joukkoviestimet ovat puolueettomia. Kriittisen diskurssianalyysin kannattajien mukaan niiden tapa esittää asioita ei kuitenkaan ole aina täysin puolueetonta ja sen sekä joukkoviestimien suuren vallan vuoksi niiden kieltä tulisikin tutkia. Tämän tutkielman tarkoituksena oli analysoida joukkoviestimien tapaa esittää ihmisten diskurssia uutisartikkeleissaan. Materiaalina käytettiin *Time*- ja *Newsweek*-lehtien artikkeleita, jotka käsittelivät kuubalaisen Elián Gonzálezin huoltajuuskiistaan liittyviä tapahtumia. Materiaali koostui yhteensä kahdeksasta artikkelista.

Ihmiset, joiden diskurssia lehtiartikkeleissa esitettiin, jaettiin neljään ryhmään: kuubalaisiin, kuubalaisamerikkalaisiin, johonkin Yhdysvaltojen yhteiskunnalliseen instituutioon kuuluviin ihmisiin sekä muihin. Diskurssin esittämisen tapoja ja diskurssin kontekstia sekä niiden vaikutusta lukijan tulkintaan tutkittiin kussakin ryhmässä erikseen. Lopuksi tutkittiin, keiden diskurssia esitettiin eniten lehtiartikkeleissa. Suoraa esitystä käytettiin luomaan dramaattista tunnelmaa, lähentämään lukijaa puhujaan tai erottamaan selkeästi artikkelin kirjoittajan teksti lainauksesta. Epäsuoralla esityksellä esitettiin puheenvuoroja lyhyemmässä muodossa. Joskus sillä myös sekoitettiin journalistin tulkintoja ja diskurssin esittämistä keskenään siten, että oli vaikea erottaa, kenen diskurssista oli kyse. Kontekstin avulla lisättiin puhujien luotettavuutta, kuvattiin heidän emotionaalisia piirteitään, mutta myös ilmaistiin negatiivisia asioita. Kummassakin lehdessä Yhdysvaltojen yhteiskunnallisiin instituutioihin kuuluvien henkilöiden diskurssia esitettiin eniten. *Time*-lehdessä toiseksi eniten esitettiin kuubalaisamerikkalaisten diskurssia, kolmanneksi eniten kuubalaisten. *Newsweek*-lehdessä taas toiseksi eniten esitettiin kuubalaisten ja kolmanneksi eniten kuubalaisamerikkalaisten diskurssia.

Tutkimuksen mukaan eri ryhmiin kuuluvien ihmisten diskurssia ei esitetty tasapuolisesti lehtiartikkeleissa. Fidel Castron ja joissakin tapauksissa Elián Gonzálezin Miamissa asuvien sukulaisten diskurssin konteksti antoi negatiivisen kuvan heistä ja asetti heidän luotettavuutensa kyseenalaiseksi. Yhteiskunnallisten instituutioiden edustajien ammatin tai aseman mainitseminen antoi heidän diskurssilleen luotettavuutta. Myös heidän diskurssiaan esitettiin useammin kuin muiden ryhmien edustajien.

Asiasanat: access to the media, critical discourse analysis, discourse representation, media research, reported speech, setting, speech presentation

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List of abbreviations:

DD = direct discourse

DS = direct speech

DD(S) = slip into direct discourse

FDD = free direct discourse

FDS = free direct speech

FID = free indirect discourse

FDS = free indirect speech

ID = indirect discourse

IS = indirect speech

NRSA = narrated report of speech act

Introduction

What most people do as the first thing in the morning involves using some mass medium. Some read a newspaper while having breakfast or traveling to work. Others switch on the radio or TV to learn the morning news. Even during working hours some people listen to the radio or perhaps read the news in the internet versions of the newspapers. And most people watch news at least once after the day at work. According to Kunelius (1997, p. 92), an average Finnish person used seven hours a day with some mass medium in 1997. Mass media are thus very important in our everyday life nowadays.

Normally we take the news presented in the media for their face value and pay very little attention to the way a piece of news is represented. Generally we believe that news tell the events like they occurred and that they are objective representations of reality, especially the pieces of news published in the so called quality papers. The only type of press the reliability of which we sometimes suspect is the yellow press: sometimes the headlines on the first page of yellow press make us wonder whether a certain piece of news is true and written in an objective way.

Because of this general conception of objectivity and the major role the media play in our everyday life I find it extremely important to study them and the view of the world provided by them. I think it is very interesting to study something that is most often taken for granted and very rarely questioned. We should become more aware of the ways the media affect our everyday life. This thesis serves thus as one way of showing how awareness concerning the media can be raised.

In this study I will concentrate on investigating articles published in two magazines, *Time* and *Newsweek*. I am particularly interested in the way in which the voices of different persons are represented in these two magazines and who are the persons whose voices are represented. I want to study whether they are treated equally or whether their representation is biased in some way. In practice, this will be done by analyzing *discourse representation* in the articles. *Discourse representation* is a term introduced by Norman Fairclough and it

refers to representing other people's utterances or writings in news articles in the form of different types of quotations.

I chose articles describing the case of Elián González to serve as data for this study. I was personally very interested in the case because so many people were involved with it, especially towards the end. It was interesting also because of the tension between the United States of America and Cuba lead to a fact that a child became a weapon in the ideological war between those two countries. The complexity of this case resulted in a great amount of people commenting on the case and these people were from different social positions and countries.

I will start the present study by justifying the need for studying media in a critical way (chapter 1). In the second chapter I will give a brief description of Fairclough's view of the critical analysis of discourse and justification for studying media texts. Then I will move closer to the actual objective of the present study by discussing *intertextuality*, a phenomenon of inserting texts into other texts (chapter 2.1). *Discourse representation*, dealt with in chapter 2.2, belongs to the sphere of *intertextuality* since it involves the insertion of reported speech into the narration. I will also represent Leech's and Short's model of analyzing *discourse representation* in chapter 2.2. Then I will discuss *access* to the media, i.e. whose voices are represented and who are interviewed in news articles (chapter 2.3). The final part of the theoretical framework section includes four previous studies on *discourse representation* in newspaper articles. In chapter 3.1 I will describe two studies, one by Short (1988) and one by Short et al. (1996), in chapter 3.2 a study by Norman Fairclough and in chapter 3.3 a study by Linda Waugh (1995).

After the theoretical section I will introduce the framework that will be used in the present study (chapter 4). The model by Leech and Short as well as the previous research on *discourse representation* in the press will be used as a basis in my own framework of studying *discourse representation*. I will analyze the mode of *discourse representation* by dividing it into six categories: *direct discourse*, *indirect discourse*, *free direct discourse*, *free indirect discourse*, *slip into direct discourse* and *narrated report of speech act*. In addition, I will study the context of the discourse representation, i.e. the *setting*, and its effect on the

readers' interpretation of the reported person. Finally, *access* to media will be studied on the basis of discourse representation. I will use this framework in the analytical section, i.e. chapter 6, in which *discourse representation* and *setting* will be discussed, and chapter 7, in which *access* will be analyzed. My data will be described more in detail in chapter 5.

The present study aims at revealing something of the way in which different people are handled in the media. It will show whether those with more social power are quoted more often in the media than those with less power. It will also show whether *setting* is used and in which way it affects the readers' interpretation, if it is used. It will also show whether there are differences in the modes of discourse representation between different people. I think it is essential to know the above mentioned things to be able to evaluate the objectivity of the news media.

1. Need for a critical approach in the media research

There is a general belief that the media are objective and neutral reporters of different events. According to Caldas-Coulthard (1994: 300) people tend to think that the reporting of events in the media is somehow objective and impartial. We often think that journalists just transmit the message to us without any interference or bias. However, the production of journalistic reports involves several persons who can affect it in several phases. According to Caldas-Coulthard 1994: 303) and Väliverronen (1998: 32) a newspaper report has traces of principal sources of information, agencies, institutions, other media and authors, editors, copy editors, reporters, genres, assumed viewers or readers etc.

In Western capitalist societies the media are, however, businesses like any other type of business. They have to reach their audience and fight for the consumers with each other. For example, Golding and Murdock (1996: 11) describe the media, as 'cultural industries', which are "both similar to and different from other industries" thus emphasizing that the media are service providers. This of course affects the objectivity of the media. Ekecranzt (1997: 408) argues that market conditions affect media communication more nowadays than earlier.

The fact that the media are businesses can be seen in the news events they represent and in the way in which they are them. Kellner (1995: 199-201) maintains that mainstream media in the U.S.A are very careful as regards to what kind of stories to publish. According to him they do not want to go against the public opinion and the official government line. Therefore public opinion affects the media.

But the relationship between public opinion and the media is not one-sided. Also the media have a strong impact on our everyday life. According to Hartley (1988: 56), news affect people's opinions and the conception of what kinds of thoughts and actions are acceptable and thus contribute to the production of social knowledge and cultural values. Ekecranzt (1997: 410) emphasizes the media's power in the formation of societal models as well. Also Fairclough

(1995b: 2) acknowledges the power of the media and argues they are able to affect people's "knowledge, beliefs, values, social relations, social identities". Therefore the media are affected by the public opinion and the public opinion is affected by the media.

Because of the misconception of objectivity of the media, the great role they play and the relationship between public opinion and the media it is important to study the media and to take a *critical* attitude in the study of the media. Only by studying the media *critically* it is possible to see how objective the media are and how they affect the public opinion or are affected by it. Kellner (1995: 198) considers the critical attitude essential for democracy by stating that in order to keep a society democratic it is important that everyone learns to be critical about the media and knows the techniques of media manipulation and propaganda.

Berger (1998) defines *critical research* in the following way:

> Approaches to media that are essentially ideological, that focus on the social and political dimensions of the mass media and the ways they are used by organizations and others allegedly to maintain the status quo rather than to enhance equality (p. 194)

Also Fairclough considers social dimensions important in the critical study. Fairclough (1995b, 1989) uses the term *critical* to refer to the study of such connections between our use of language and social context that normally remain hidden. (The concept of *social context* will be explained in the following chapter.)

With the need for a *critical approach* I want to emphasize the need for becoming aware of the possible inequality in the way the media deal with different subjects and people. Like Fairclough, I believe that many aspects of the media texts remain hidden because people are not aware that news are not necessarily objective. A critical approach to the study of the media functions as an awareness raising tool. When people pay more attention to the texts they read they become also more aware of how those texts are constructed and start to also question why. In reality features of texts are not necessarily hidden, it is more often that we just do not pay attention to them.

2. Critical analysis of media texts

Media can be studied from several points of view. From the side of communication only, it is possible to study three aspects of media: *production*, *product*, and *reception* (e.g. Kantola et al 1998). *Production* refers to writing an article or making a TV show for example and the things that affect their production. In these cases the article and the TV show are the *products* of the process. By studying *reception* researchers study how the readers or viewers read, listen to or watch the product and how they interpret it.

Fairclough (1989: 24) uses the terms *production*, *text* and *interpretation* for the above mentioned aspects respectively. He uses *text* to refer to both written and spoken texts and I find this definition useful because the *products* in the media can be either written (for example in newspapers) or oral (for example radio interview). As Fairclough (1995b: 57) notes, the *texts* in television are visual in addition to being oral.

According to him *discourse* is "the whole process of social interaction of which text is just a part" (1989: 24). Therefore discourse analysis, ideally, cannot be restricted to studying texts only. Figure (1) presents Fairclough's (1989) view of the elements in discourse analysis.

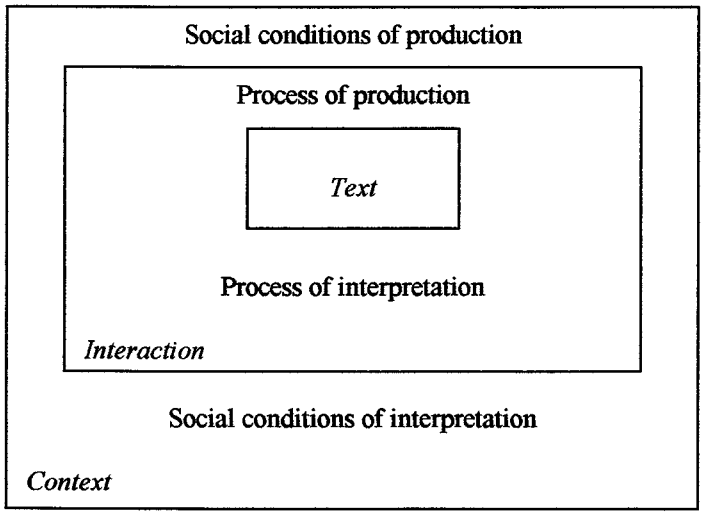

Figure 1. "Discourse as text, interaction and context" (Fairclough 1989: 25.)

As Figure (1) shows, *texts*, *interaction* and *context* are all constituents of *discourse*. He sees *text* as product of the *process of production* and as a resource for the *process of interpretation* (later Fairclough calls it *consumption*, for example in Fairclough 1995b: 59, but I find *interpretation* describes better what the readers or listeners of the media texts do) and they are all constituents in the analysis of *interaction*. According to Fairclough (1989:24), the analysis of *interaction* involves looking for *traces* of the productive process and *cues* of the process of interpretation in the *text*, which sets the analysis of text into a central position.

According to Fairclough (1989:25), the *social context*, i.e. the outmost circle in Figure (1), affects people's *processes of production* and *interpretation*. People have socially determined models which they use in these processes for instance, beliefs of how a newspaper report should be like or how a letter should look like. In his framework *interaction* has thus an mediating role between the *text* and the *social context*. *Social conditions of production* affect the *process of production* in which a text is produced. Consequently, *social conditions of interpretation* have an impact on the ways people interpret a text.

Even though Fairclough emphasizes the importance of complex study of discourse he raises the study of texts to the focus of attention. According to him, by studying texts it is thus possible to draw conclusions on *interaction* and *context* of the discourse as well. Also Kunelius (1996: 393-394) emphasizes that journalistic texts should be the focused on in media research. According to him, texts are what producers, consumers and researchers have in common, news texts describe subjects that belong to the everyday life and by studying them it is possible to connect the analysis on the everyday level to broader and more theoretical views of journalism. He also argues that "discourses are accessible through texts" (1996: 91) and thus agrees with Fairclough that practical analysis of journalistic discourse is possible only by studying texts. Therefore in the present study I will also concentrate on studying media texts. But since according to Fairclough it is possible to study the other dimensions of media discourse by analyzing texts I will try to draw conclusions of some of them as well.

Fairclough (1989: 26) divides discourse analysis into three phases: *description, interpretation* and *explanation.* In the first phase the researcher describes the formal features of a text. In the second phase the relationship between text and interaction are looked for. The last one refers to explaining the relationship between *interaction* and *social context.* Later Fairclough (1998: 144) refers to these phases as *analysis of text, analysis of discourse practice* and *analysis of social and cultural practices.* I find also in this case his earlier classification better because the second phase involves not only the analysis of *discourse practice* but also the interpretation of the relationship between *text* and *interaction,* the latter of which he later calls *discourse practice.*

In the present study I will not only describe the features of the media texts but also interpret the relationship between the text and interaction. According to Fairclough one part of *interpreting* the relationship between *text* and *interaction* is the analysis of a phenomenon called *intertextuality.* Since I will also study one form of *intertextuality* I will deal with the term in the following chapter.

2.1 Intertextuality

The concept of *intertextuality* has its roots in Bakhtin's notion that language is *dialogic.* According to Berger (1998: 24), by that Bakhtin meant that our speech is connected to something that has been said before and to things that we expect will be said in the future. Kristeva coined the term *intertextuality* in the end of 1960s on the basis of Bakhtin's notion. By introducing the term *intertextuality,* Kristeva broadened this view of language also to written language: no text is written in a vacuum but is always somehow affected by other texts that were written before it. Kristeva's view of *intertextuality* becomes clear from her definition of *text:*

> "The text is a *productivity,* and this means - - that it is a permutation of texts, an intertextuality: in the space of a given text, several utterances, taken from other texts, intersect and neutralize one another." (quoted in Mai 1991, p. 40)

Intertextuality refers thus to the fact that any text can be partly composed of other texts. Berger (1998) defines intertextuality as "the use in texts

(consciously or unconsciously) of material from other, previously created texts" (p. 23-24).

For instance, any thesis serves as an example of intertextuality. Normally a thesis has a background section, in which earlier studies made on the subject matter are referred to and reflected. The analysis may also refer to other texts, which may originate from literature, interviews of other people etc. A thesis is thus an *intertext*, which as Plett (1991) puts it means a text, which consists of elements that refer to elements of one or more other texts.

The degree to which intertextuality is visible in a text varies. Fairclough (1992: 85, 104) separates two types of intertextuality: *manifest intertextuality* and *constitutive intertextuality*. In the former type intertextuality is visible in a text, like in a direct quotation of somebody's words in a text. Normally a direct quotation is separated from the rest of the text by inverted commas and it is thus clear that it originates from another text. *Constitutive intertextuality* or *interdiscursivity* is less visible. It refers to the characteristic of a text to borrow a discourse type, genre, register, style, mode etc., i.e. conventions of text production, from one or more other texts.

Also Plett (1991) separates different types of intertextuality; *material, structural* and *material-structural*. The first seems to refer to the same kind of intertextuality as Fairclough's *manifest intertextuality*, since in it signs used in other texts are repeated. Also Plett uses quotation as an example of this type. *Structural intertextuality* refers to structural borrowing of another text and is thus similar to Fairclough's *constitutive intertextuality*. *Material-structural intertextuality* is something that Fairclough has not considered as a separate type. It refers to borrowing both the structure and the signs of another text into one text. According to Plett this is type of intertextuality is very common, since it is really difficult to borrow signs without the structure or vice versa.

One type of texts in which *manifest* or *material intertextuality* is used very often is a newspaper report. The articles in printed press are almost always combinations of the journalists' words and quotations of other people's speech. Actually, Ekecrantz (1997: 395) argues that majority of journalistic texts are representing the speech of other people. According to Waugh (1995: 144), people's words are represented in the news to give evidence for what the

reporter is writing and to make news more personal, according to Caldas-Coulthard (1994: 303) to legitimize the article and to implicate reliability of the report.

Since representing other people's words in a news article involves merging texts into another, i.e. into the media text, it is a form of *intertextuality* and can thus be seen as a sub-category of it. In the present study I will analyze *intertextuality* by studying how the voices of people are represented in news articles, i.e. by studying *discourse representation* or *speech presentation*.

2.2 Discourse representation / speech presentation and the model by Leech and Short

One way of analyzing the different voices in the media texts is the analysis of how the voices of different people are inserted into the text at hand and how the reported discourse relates to the reporting discourse and vice versa. Fairclough (1995a) calls this procedure the analysis of *discourse representation*.

According to Teo (2000: 20) quotation patterns can affect the reader's perception and interpretation of a text. Fairclough (1995b) and Caldas-Coulthard (1994: 303-305) argue that the different voices are not always represented equally in the media. The latter emphasizes that the reporters always choose the way in which to insert somebody's words into the narration of an article. Since the reporters decide how to insert the voices into the narration and since exactly this way of inserting reported discourse affects the readers interpretation the reporters have rather much power. They can affect the minds of their readers.

Leech and Short (1981) provide one way of studying *discourse representation*, or *speech presentation* like they call it. Their model is not specifically designed for studying discourse representation in the media but since it is rather thorough and used as a basis in some studies of discourse representation in the media I will present it here.

Leech's and Short's model for analyzing speech presentation

Leech and Short (1981) have studied the way the speech and thoughts are represented in novels. I will not discuss the thought representation here because

it is not relevant for this study since thoughts are not as frequently represented in media texts as speech.

Leech and Short divide the modes of speech presentation into **five** categories: **narrative report of speech action** (hereinafter **NRSA**), **indirect speech** (hereinafter **IS**), **free indirect speech** (hereinafter **FIS**), **direct speech** (hereinafter **DS**) and free direct speech (hereinafter **FDS**). They are differentiated from one another in the extent to which the author appears to be in control of the text (see Figure 2). The leftmost mode, narrative report of action, does not belong to speech representation and in it and in NRSA the narrator is in total control of the words. When moving rightwards in the picture the author appears to be all the time in less control of the reported speech and in the last case, free direct speech, it is the character who is addressing the reader directly.

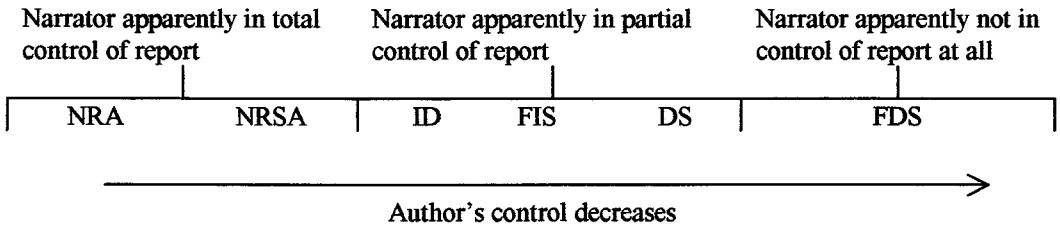

Figure 2. Leech's and Short's *cline of interference in report* (adapted from the model presented in Leech and Short 1981: 324). (NRA = narrative report of action)

Direct Speech. Leech and Short (1981: 344) consider DS as the norm for speech representation. Formally it is marked with quotation marks around the reported speech and a reporting clause (cf. the example below).

Example: "There was instant delight on Elián's face when he saw his father," Craig told NEWSWEEK. (*Newsweek* 1.5.2000)

When a writer uses DS s/he claims s/he is quoting faithfully the words of the reported person like they were uttered, i.e. "*a)* what was stated and *b)* the exact form of the words "(Leech and Short 1981, p.320).

Indirect speech. Leech and Short see that IS derives from DS and the transformation involves following changes:

(i) The inverted commas around the reported speech, -- are removed, thus making the reported speech dependent on the reporting verb.
(ii) That dependence is marked explicitly by the introduction of the subordinating conjunction *that*.
(iii) The first and second person pronouns change to third person.
(iv) The tense of the verb undergoes 'backshift', as does the time adverb, --
(v) The 'close' deictic adverb – changes to the more remote
(vi) The verb of movement changes from 'towards' to 'away from' –
(Leech and Short 1981, p. 319)

Example: Mills told Elián that it was O.K., that he was going to see his *"papá"* and take his first ever airplane ride – (*Time* 1.5.200)

According to Leech and Short (1981: 320), the effect of IS is that the narrator is intervening and functions as an interpreter between the reader and the reported person. In this mode the narrator claims only that s/he is representing what was stated but no longer the exact words. Since the same idea can be expressed with many ways there is more than one indirect version of one direct version.

Free direct speech. As figure 2 shows in FDS the author's control over the words of the character is the lowest. Formally this differs from DS with the omission of either the quotation marks or the reporting clause or both of them.

Example: "I will give you the boy; just put the guns down!" (*Time* May 1, 2000)

Leech and Short (1981: 322) argue that the effect the use of FDS is that the reported character appears to be addressing the reader more directly. The omission of the reporting clause may also cause confusion of the identity of the person who is reported. According to Leech and Short (1981: 323), the omission of the quotation marks on the other hand makes speech and narrative report more inseparable.

Free indirect speech. Leech and Short (1981: 325) define FDS as a freer version of IS. It has no single formal version but it can take several forms. Typically the reporting clause is omitted and the tense (i.e. past tense) and pronouns (i.e. 3rd person) are the ones that would be used in a corresponding IS version (Leech and Short 1981:325). Because of the omission of the reporting clause the reported clause can function as a main clause and can thus be reminiscent of DS.

Example: [Castro says he wants to send a large delegation to the United States with Elián's father.] **The entourage would include the boy's teachers, classmates, psychologists and a senior Cuban official**, presumably to keep an eye on the father. (*Newsweek* April 10, 2000, boldface added)

In the example above the text written in boldface represents FIS, the rest of the second sentence is very likely originating from the reporter than from Castro.

Leech and Short (1981: 334) argue that the effect of the use of FIS is sometimes ironic. They continue that when used in a context where other speech is represented in direct form FIS has a distancing effect (p. 335). On the other hand, if used with more indirect forms the voice represented with FIS is brought closer to the reader.

Narrative report of speech acts. In this mode the narrator is in total control of the reported speech. The sentences in this mode express that a speech act has taken place.

Example: When Craig refused -- (Time April 24, 2000)

According to Leech and Short (1981:323) narrator does not claim to present what was said nor the form of the words, she/he just reports that a speech act has taken place.

2.3 Access

If the analysis of *discourse representation* deals with studying how texts are merged into other texts, analysis of *access* concentrates on studying who are the quoted people, i.e. who have access to media. Not everyone has equal access to the media. According to Hartley (1988: 110-114) two different kinds of voices are heard in the media: *institutional voices* and *accessed voices*. The former refer to newsreaders, correspondents and reporters and they are generally believed to be neutral. The latter refer to quoted voices which are separated from the story itself even though they are shaped by it.

According to Lichtenberg (1996: 238), journalists use sources to create an impression of objectivity and to show that they did not make claims of the events themselves. Since the sources, i.e. the *accessed voices*, are used to give credibility to the news stories, the sources need to be considered reliable and

are thus usually official or government sources. Hartley (1988: 109) argues that it is usually the élite persons who are invited to comment on news events. Also van Dijk (1996: 97) argues that access to media is usually given to political elites and other politicians in addition to media elites, i.e. reporters and editors. In contrast, the public has only a passive access to the news, i.e. they are readers or viewers of news. Also Caldas-Coulthard (1994: 303) shares their view: "People linked to power relations and institutions, - - tend to be more 'reliable' and consequently more 'quoted' than others,--". According to Fairclough (1995b: 79), also police, lawyers and experts of various disciplines have access to media in addition to politicians. With experts Fairclough (1995b: 49) refers to "scientific and technical experts from universities".

On the other hand, people who do not belong to the power elite have less access to media. According to van Dijk (1996: 92-94), minorities have a limited access to media. He argues that this is due to the fact that most of the reporters are white and they also tend to use white sources (1996: 92). If representatives of minorities are quoted and they accuse the host society, their accusations are always challenged (van Dijk 1996: 94). For example, van Dijk (1996) found that a minority representative's access was rather passive and his credibility was lowered by embedding his words into a negative framework.

Van Dijk (1996: 86) goes on arguing that access to media also gives a possibility to control the public, i.e. the readers. Since people whose words are represented in the media, i.e. people with access to media, are able to let the public know their opinions and ways of seeing the world, they may also be able to influence the mental models, knowledge, attitudes and ideologies of the recipients. Therefore more access signifies also more power and it is important to study it.

In this study I will use the analysis of *discourse representation* as a basis for studying *accessed voices*. In my opinion those people whose speech is represented in the articles also have *access* to the media. I will draw conclusions on the *access* to the media in this case after having analyzed *discourse representation*. Therefore the analysis of *access* will not be as thorough as the analysis of *discourse representation*.

3. Previous studies on discourse representation in news articles

According to Baynham and Slembrouck (1999: 449) the study of discourse representation has focused mostly on the discourse representation in narrative fiction. The other types of texts in which reported speech is used have not been studied to a great degree until recently.

There are, however, some earlier studies on discourse representation in the press. Short et al (1996), Short (1988), Fairclough (1995a) and Waugh (1995) all base their studies on the model by Leech and Short (1981) presented in chapter 2.2. The two first studies follow Leech's and Short's model quite faithfully and introduce only minor changes. I will present them together. The studies by Fairclough (1995a) and Waugh (1995) introduce aspects that were not dealt with in Leech and Short (1981) and deviate relatively much from the model by the latter. I will present each of them in turn.

3.1 Mick Short's studies on speech presentation

Short (1988) and Short et al. (1996) have studied speech presentation in press. According to Short et al (1996) 43,7 per cent of the words in the press are speech presentation. Therefore they see it is crucial to study it.

Short (1988) and Short et al. (1996) base their approach to Leech's and Short's (1981) model. The main differences between the model by Leech and Short (1981) and Short (1988) are that:

1) Short (1988) considers FDS as a subtype of DS
2) Short (1988) adds one category to the speech representation modes: *speech summary*.

Short et al (1996) agree with Short (1988) in the first point, i.e. they consider FDS as a subtype of DS. There is, however, a difference between the two accounts: whereas Short (1988) introduces the category *speech summary*, Short et al (1996) introduce another category: *narrator's report of voice* (NV). In what follows, I will describe each of their categories in turn.

Direct speech. Leech and Short (1981) and Short et al. (1996) share the view that DS is the norm of speech representation. Like Leech and Short (1981) also

Short et al. (1996) see that DS consists of a reported clause and a reporting clause, the former of which is marked off from to latter with inverted commas. Short et al. (1996) emphasize that the former is deictically related to the original speaker's time and place and the latter to the narrator. Short et al (1996) and Short (1988) differentiate the modes of speech presentation with respect to faithfulness claims. Whereas Short and Leech see that with DS the narrator makes two faithfulness claims, Short (1988) and Short et al. (1996) see there three of them: claiming to represent faithfully "(a) the illocutionary force; (b) the propositional content; (c) the words and structures used in uttering the propositions concerned"(Short 1988: 70)

Free direct speech. Unlike Leech and Short who consider FDS as a separate category, Short et al (1996) and Short (1988) see it as a subtype of DS. Even though the indication of the narrator, i.e. the reporting clause, and/or the inverted commas are removed, Short (1988: 70-71) sees no functional difference between FDS and DS in his two latter studies. Both DS and FDS fulfill the same faithfulness criteria: representing the propositional content, the words and structures used to encode it and the speech act value of the reported clause (Short 1996: 118-119).

Indirect Speech. Unlike in DS where there are two deictic relations, in IS it is the reporter who is the deictic center of the utterance. Since the reported clause is subordinated Short (1996: 117) sees that the reader feels that there is more distance between them and the original speaker than when DS is used. According to Short (1988: 70) IS fulfills two faithfulness claims: the reporter claims to represent the illocutionary force and the propositional content of the reported clause.

Narrative report of speech acts. Short (1988: 70) finds more reporter involvement in NRSA than Leech and Short: he argues that the reporter commits her/himself to one faithfulness claim: indicating the illocutionary force of the reported speech. Short et al. (1996: 117-118) agree with Leech and Short in their finding that NRSA distances the reader from the reported speaker and integrates the reported speech into the narrative report. According to Short et al. (1996: 127) NRSA is the most frequently used mode of speech representation in press.

Free indirect speech. Like Leech and Short (1981) also Short et al (1996: 119) emphasizes the fact that FIS can take several forms: it is a mixture of features of IS and DS. When it comes to faithfulness claims, FIS is ambiguous: it is not possible to specify which words belong to the original speaker and which to the reporter. Like NRSA also FIS has a distancing effect which may make the reader more critical of the words of the original speaker.

Narrator's report of voice (hereinafter NV). This category is the other major difference between the model by Short et al (1996) and by Leech and Short (1981). Short et al (1996: 124) define NV as a category in which the narrator's control of the reported speech is even greater than in NRSA. In NV the reporter tells that a speech event occurred without indicating the speech acts that were performed. Leech and Short (1981) would probably categorize cases of NV as NRSA. According to Short et al (1996: 124) NV shows even greater distance between the reader and the original speaker.

Speech summary. Short (1988: 74) defines speech summary as "a string which reports in an abbreviated form some longer piece of discourse." He suggests that speech summary may be made of all the categories of speech representation (p.75) and it should therefore not be inserted into Leech's and Short's (1981: 324) cline of interference discussed in chapter 2.2.

Short (1988: 79-80) found that with slight modifications the model by Leech and Short (1981) can also be applied to the study of speech presentation in press. According to Short (1988: 64), all the categories of speech presentation, FDS, DS, DIS, IS and NRSA, occurred in his data. He (1988: 64) states, however, that the discourse situation in a newspaper article differs from the one in a fictional text, which results in differences in the semantic correlates. For example, DS and FDS may not be verbatim reports of the original speech but summarize what was originally said (Short 1988: 64).

3.2 Fairclough's study of discourse representation in the press

Norman Fairclough's (1995a) model differs from the models deal with in chapters 2.2 and 3.1 quite considerably. Fairclough uses the term *discourse representation* instead of *speech presentation* or *speech reporting*. He uses the term *discourse* because it is not only speaking but also writing that can be

reported. By using *representation* he wants to emphasize that the reporter always interprets and chooses the way in which to represent what was written or said. Leech and Short (1981), Short (1988) and Short et al. (1996) concentrate solely on studying the reporting of speech and have not considered the reporting of someone else's writing at all. What they have studied in addition to speech presentation is thought presentation. Fairclough, in turn, does not pay any specific attention to thoughts. This may be due to the fact the he concentrates on discourse representation in the media, i.e. factual communication in which thoughts are rarely quoted, unlike in narratives.

Fairclough (1995a) bases his approach on Volosinov's (1973) account of discourse representation. Fairclough uses the terms *primary discourse* and *secondary discourse. Primary discourse* refers to the reporting discourse, which includes the narration by the reporter as well as the reporting clause. *Secondary discourse* refers to the reported discourse. According to Fairclough (1995a: 55) in Volosinov's framework the following three aspects are of interest to the researcher:

1. What is the relationship between the *primary* and the *secondary discourse*? Are they *merged* or *differentiated*? (*Merging* means that the *primary* and the *secondary discourse* are not separated from each other clearly and therefore there is confusion as regards to what belongs to the *primary*, what to the *secondary discourse*. *Differentiating* them, on the contrary, means that they are clearly separated from each other.)
2. Do the type of representation represent only the *ideational meaning* (in Hallidayan terms) or also the *interpersonal meaning*? (With *ideational meaning* Fairclough (1995a: 55) refers to the message of the *secondary discourse*, whereas with *interpersonal meanings* he refers to stylistic and expressive meanings.)
3. The context of the secondary discourse affects how it is interpreted.

What Leech and Short (1981) and Short et al. (1996) call speech representation is only one part of Fairclough's discourse representation, i.e. the *mode of discourse representation* and actually only part of it, since Fairclough uses discourse to emphasize that the represented text may be both written and

spoken. Leech and Short (1981) and Short et al. (1996) do not consider the reporting of written original texts at all. In addition to mode Fairclough (1995a) analyses also *boundary maintenance, stylisticity and situationality* and *setting*.

3.2.1 Mode

Fairclough's study of mode of discourse representation differs from Leech's and Short's (1981) and Short's (1996) study. Where they concentrate on the form and truthfulness or faithfulness criteria claims Fairclough studies the extent to which primary and secondary discourse are kept separate or merged and their effects.

Direct discourse. Fairclough's direct discourse (hereinafter DD) corresponds to Leech's and Short's (1981) direct speech. He emphasizes the fact that in it the primary discourse and secondary discourse are clearly separated. Fairclough (1995a: 56) states that in his data DD is "used where (a) secondary source is important, dramatic, pithy, witty, etc., (b) the secondary discourse emanates from an authoritative source, (c) the representer wishes to associate with, or distance from, the secondary discourse - - (d) report has ample space assigned to it."

Indirect discourse. Fairclough makes the same formal distinction between *direct discourse* (hereinafter DD) and *indirect discourse* (hereinafter ID) as Leech and Short (1981): also he sees that the latter is a conversion of the former through 1) subordination and insertion of "that", 2) change from the 1st and the 2nd person pronouns to the 3rd person pronouns, 3) change of deictics and 4) change of tense to past (Fairclough 1995a: 55). However, he does not agree with Leech and Short (1981) about the semantic value of ID. He finds ID ambivalent in the sense that it is not sure whose words (i.e. the author's or a reported person's) are represented and whether they are represented like they were uttered or written originally (Fairclough 1995a: 58, 1992).

Slip into direct discourse. Fairclough's third mode is a 'slipping' between two modes. In his material 'slipping' is always into the direction of DD, i.e. the sentence begins with one mode (other than DD) and suddenly changes into DD. He calls it therefore DD(S).

Example: Elián, they said, was playing on the floor - "like any six-year-old boy." (*Time*, May 1, 2000)

In the example above the sentence starts with another mode, which in Leech's and Short's classification would be FDS, and continues as DD.

Unsignalled discourse. Fairclough calls his last mode unsignalled (hereinafter UNSIG). In it secondary discourse is inserted into the primary discourse without being separated from it in any way. UNSIG includes the mode Leech's and Short's (1981) and Short's (1996) called free indirect speech. Fairclough does not separate FIS from other cases of UNSIG because it is difficult to know whether a sentence really is a free indirect version of a secondary discourse or belongs to the primary discourse (Fairclough 1995a: 57). UNSIG is equally ambiguous as ID because even though it is secondary discourse it appears to be primary discourse. The difference between ID and UNSIG seems to be that former has a reporting clause, whereas latter does not.

Example: Castro says he wants to send a large delegation to the United States with Elián's father. **The entourage would include the boy's teachers, classmates, psychologists and a senior Cuban official, presumably to keep an eye on the father.** (*Newsweek*, April 10, 2000, boldface added)

The sentence in boldface in the example above is UNSIG. It is not specifically marked as discourse representation but the first sentence makes the reader interpret the words as Fidel Castro's words.

In his study Fairclough (1995a: 61) found that in his data consisting of articles in newspapers those modes of discourse representation in which there is an ambivalence of voice, i.e. it is unclear whether the voice belongs to the reporter or to another, reported person, were frequently used. These modes are ID and UNSIG. Since according to him socially dominant people have the best access to media he sees the use of ambivalent forms as a part of a wider tendency "to legitimize and reproduce asymmetrical power relationships by putting across the voices of the powerful as if they were the voices of 'common sense'." (Fairclough 1995a, p. 63)

3.2.2 Boundary maintenance, stylisticity, situationality and setting

The other aspects of discourse representation in Fairclough's model are *boundary maintenance*, *stylisticity*, *situationality* and *setting*. With *boundary*

maintenance Fairclough studies how primary and secondary discourse are separated. According to him, there is a tendency to low *boundary maintenance*, i.e. primary and secondary discourse tend to be merged and therefore it is difficult to tell which part of a text belongs to the reporter and which to the reported person.

Fairclough distinguishes two types of merging: *incorporation* and *dissemination*. When *incorporation* is used, the secondary discourse is represented in the voice of the primary discourse. This means that the reporter uses his/her own words to report what someone else said. *Dissemination* works vice versa, i.e. the secondary discourse affects the primary discourse. Fairclough (1995a: 58) gives the following example:

> "Neil Kinnock says 'Margaret Thatcher must resign' and this is represented in two headlines as *Maggie must get out, says Kinnock* and *Margaret Thatcher must resign*.

According to Fairclough, the first way of representing Kinnock's discourse is *incorporation* and the second *dissemination*. In the first representation Kinnock's words are transformed into the style of the newspaper, in this case into a more informal style. In the latter representation, on the other hand, Kinnock's words are directly quoted but since the quotation is not marked as a quotation it may be interpreted as the reporter's statement.

With *stylisticity* Fairclough (1995a: 60) studies "the extent to which the non-ideational, interpersonal meanings of secondary discourse are represented." In his studies Fairclough (1995a: 64) he found that the news concentrate more on the message and statements, i.e. the ideational features, than on the expressive and stylistic features, i.e. interpersonal features, of the reported situation. Therefore the interpersonal meanings were not very frequently represented.

A related aspect of discourse representation in Fairclough's model is *situationality* with which he studies whether and to what extent the context of the situation, in which the secondary discourse occurred, is described (Fairclough 1995a: 60). According to him, the context is represented more often than interpersonal meanings, but they both are used as devices for *setting*.

Setting (or *framing*, like he calls it in Fairclough 1995b: 83) is the fifth aspect of discourse representation in Fairclough's model. With *setting* he studies the textual context of the secondary discourse and how it affects the reader's/listener's interpretation of it. According to him, the writer can control the reader's interpretation of secondary discourse "by placing it in a particular context (or 'cotext')" (Fairclough 1995a: 60).

Example: **Fidel Castro launched his own propaganda campaign, declaring that Elián had been "kidnapped." (*Time*, May 1, 2000)**

In the example above, phrase *propaganda campaign* affect the reader's interpretation of the speaker, Fidel Castro. Also the reporting verbs can affect the reader's interpretation. If someone is reported to *claim* or *scream* something the reader is likely to draw conclusions of the reported person. In the first case the reader would probably not trust the person on the second case s/he would consider the reported person angry, hysterical etc. Fairclough (1995a: 61) found that *setting* was used to a high degree.

3.3 Waugh's study on the effect of the text type on reported speech

Linda R. Waugh (1995) has studied the use of reported speech in the articles published in the French quality newspaper *Le Monde*. Her main claim is that the reported speech in journalistic discourse differs from the reported speech in conversation and fictional narration and it should therefore be studied at its own right. Waugh (1995: 130-131) does not support the claims by some researchers, for example by Short 1988, that the reported speech in journalism has the same types and functions as in narrative texts with only slight modifications.

According to her, the differences are due to the fact that the function of news reporting differs from the function of narrative texts and conversation. Waugh (1995: 131) emphasizes that the purpose of a news article is to convey information to the readers. Readers have expectations regarding the pieces of news: they are expected to have a reference to the real world and to be true. Waugh (1995: 133 - 134) emphasizes that the readers of fiction and the listeners of conversation do not have the same expectations. They do not expect that fiction necessarily refers to the real world. The difference between conversation and journalism is that a journalistic text is a *public document*

whereas a conversation is usually not. By defining newspapers *public documents* Waugh (1995: 132) means that almost everyone, including those whose actions are described in them, can read them. Therefore reporters in newspapers have to be more careful with the way of reporting than people reporting what someone else said in a conversation. Even though both events may be based in reality, a conversation is not a public event and the reliability of the speaker is not controlled as effectively as the reliability of a newspaper article. The journalists are responsible for the articles they write and can be sued to court if the people whose speech is reported in the news article feel the representation of their speech is unfair or does not represent what they really said.

Waugh divides reported speech into two main categories: *direct* and *indirect* speech and separates them from one another with regards to *orthographic*, *grammatical* and *semantic-pragmatic* differences.

Orthographic differences. Waugh (1995: 138) argues that orthographically direct speech differs from indirect speech with the respect to quotation marks, which are used with the former, but not with the latter. She (1995:139) suggests that quotation marks are not used equally systematically to mark direct speech in fiction. She continues that, in addition to quotation marks, a dash may be used to mark direct speech in fiction and that sometimes direct speech is not marked at all. In newspaper articles, on the contrary, quotation marks were always used.

Grammatical differences. Waugh (1995: 134-135) distinguishes three different events that are present in reported speech: *reporting event*, in which the report is made (for example a newspaper article), *reported speech event*, "about which the report is made" and the *original speech event*, which took place in the real life and which is outside of the text. These events can be seen in the grammatical features of the reported speech. Waugh (1995: 140-141) suggests that in a typical instance of direct speech the *deictics* refer to the *reported speech event*, whereas in a typical instance of indirect speech deictic expressions refer to the *reporting speech event*. This results in the fact that in direct speech the original tense and pronouns are sustained whereas in indirect speech they are changed to suit the reporting speech (Waugh 1995: 140).

Example A: "This is one tough little kid", Goldman marveled. "**I** was shaking, he was not." (*Time*, May 1, 2000, boldface added)?

Example B: Goldman said **he** was stroking Elián's back, while Mills told him of his coming reunion with Papá. (*Time*, may 1, 2000, boldface added)

The quotation in example (A) is in direct speech and in (B) in indirect speech. In the second sentence of example (A) the deictic expression *I* (marked with boldface) is in its original form, whereas in example (B) it is changed to *he* (marked equally with boldface). A direct rendering of example (B) would have started: " **I** was stroking Elián's back while Mills told..."

There is also a syntactic difference between the typical direct and typical indirect speech. According to Waugh (1995: 140) a typical direct quotation is autonomous and paratactic whereas a typical indirect quote is hypotactic and nonautonomous. This is clearly visible in the examples above. In example (A) the reported speech is in the form of a main clause whereas in example (B) it is subordinated. Waugh (1995: 141) emphasizes, however, that there are many deviations from these basic forms. In direct speech the point of reference may be either the reported speech event or the reporting speech event, there can be paratactic instances of indirect speech and both direct or indirect speech in relative clauses and infinitival constructions (Waugh 1995: 141-142). The reporting clause, or *framing clause* as she calls it, can be left out as well (Waugh 1995: 143).

Like Fairclough (1995a), Waugh (1995: 146) suggests that it is possible to combine direct and indirect speech to form a full clause. Where Fairclough calls this slip into direct discourse, Waugh (1995: 146) calls it *combined direct/indirect speech* or *mixture of direct and indirect speech*. According to her it is used because the journalists usually need to modify the original text to make it better suit the narration. One reason for the need to modify is for example the fact that the original speech is not always in a form of a well-formed sentence. On the basis of the mixing of speech representation types Waugh (1995: 148) introduces a continuum, which is shown in Figure 3.

pure DS - - DS with IS - - equal DS/IS - - IS with DS - - pure IS

Figure 3. "Continuum of reported speech types in journalistic texts" (Waugh 1995: 148)

The abbreviations used above are the same as in Leech and Short (1981), that is DS refers to direct speech and IS to indirect speech. Therefore the continuum ranges from an instance of pure direct speech to an instance of pure indirect speech. The types in between are direct speech with some indirect speech, equal amounts of direct and indirect speech, indirect speech with some direct speech. According to Waugh (1995: 149) pure indirect speech, pure direct speech and indirect speech combined with some direct speech are the most commonly used types.

By allowing deviations from the typical forms of direct and indirect speech, Waugh (1995) makes the free indirect speech (FIS) category unnecessary in her analysis of reported speech in journalistic discourse. For example, Waugh (1995: 150) calls the type of FIS which occurs without subordination and with postposed reporting verb *paratactic indirect speech.*

Example C. By last week, a source close to Reno told NEWSWEEK, the attorney general had come to believe that Elián's Miami relatives – were unstable and not dealing in good faith, nor were they likely to. (*Newsweek*, May 1, 2000)

Example (C) fulfills one of these criteria: the reported speech is not subordinated even though it is indirect speech. I assume this kind of instances would be categorized as *paratactic indirect speech* even though the other criteria is not met: i.e. the reporting verb is not postposed.

Waugh (1995: 150-151) argues that the only type of speech representation that can be called *free indirect speech* involves the mixture of features of direct speech with the features of narrator's report. In it speech and thought are not separated clearly from each other. Reported speech is not separated from the narration either. Waugh (1995: 151) gives the following passage as an example of free indirect speech:

> 'So he had found his vocation! The object of his existence was now clear, and there could be no doubt about the future.' [translation taken from Flaubert, 1964: 61]

Waugh (1995: 151) suggests that this kind of speech representation does not occur in journalism, because it is essential for the journalists to separate their own voice from the voice of the reported person.

Semantic-pragmatic differences. Waugh (1995: 155) argues that prototypically direct speech is a verbatim report of what the reported person said whereas a prototypical instance of indirect speech is seen as a paraphrase of the original. However, she does not think that a typical instance of direct speech in journalism is a fully verbatim report of the original speech event. According to her, even direct speech is usually modified to make it fit the journalistic report which leads to differences between the original and the reported speech (Waugh 1995: 156). Reasons for changing may be as simple as the need to present the reported speech in a more formal way, to make it easier to understand. A further reason for changing may be that the original speech is in another language and the direct representation of it is a translation.

Waugh (1995: 156) defines indirect speech as "the journalist's own rendering of the words and structures, claims and assertion, of someone else." Therefore the journalist may change the words used, shorten the original text and express it in a compressed form (p. 157). Waugh (1995: 159) notes that compressing is very important for journalism, since the space for an article is always limited and compressing it saves space. This leads to a variety in the form of indirect representation. Some instances of indirect speech are similar to direct speech with only the change in deictic expressions, others are highly condensed. Waugh (1995: 161) argues that there is a continuum within indirect speech based on the extent to which the original utterance is changed. Indirect speech ranges from indirect speech that is only slightly different from the original to sharply condensed representation. Consequently, unlike Leech and Short (1981), Waugh (1995: 157) does not support the idea that indirect speech can always be derived from a corresponding direct speech with some minor changes. She argues that direct and indirect speech are both representations of the original speech event and should also compared with it and not only with direct representation of it.

3.4 Relevance of the previous studies to the present study

Fairclough (1995a), Short et al (1996), Short (1988) and Waugh (1995) have studied discourse representation in newspaper articles. In the present study articles published in magazines will be studied. Even though newspaper articles are usually shorter than articles in magazines I think they share several features with newspaper articles and the models described in chapters 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3 can therefore be used as a basis for my own framework for the present study. One common feature is for example, the fact that also articles in magazines are *public documents* and under control of the public at large.

The studies by Short (1988) and Short et al (1996) are most faithful to Leech's and Short's model of speech presentation. Short (1988) argues that the model for studying discourse representation in fiction can be applied to the study of discourse representation in media texts. Waugh (1995) does not agree with him and presents her own model for studying discourse representation in journalism. In this model she distinguishes only two modes of discourse representation: direct and indirect. This contrast between the ways of categorizing discourse representation reveals that there is not just one way of approaching a problem. It makes it possible to test the model by Leech and Short in the present study to see if it functions in the present data.

There is an interesting contrast between Waugh's and Fairclough's view of *boundary maintenance*. Waugh argues that the voice of the reporter is always separated from the voice of the reported person and that this is an essential feature of journalistic discourse. Fairclough, on contrast, found that the voices were merged in many cases and it was difficult to tell which part of a quotation originated from the reporter and which from the reported person. I will address this question to some degree in the present study and try to see if there are instances in which it is difficult to separate the voices or if they are always clearly separated.

What is unique to Fairclough's model is that in addition to *mode* he introduces other aspects of discourse representation, for example *setting*, *boundary maintenance* and *stylisticity*. Since it is not possible to study all of them thoroughly in the present study, I will study *mode* and *setting*.

4. The framework used in the present study

In my analysis of discourse representation I will selectively draw on the four models explained in chapters 2.2, 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3. I take Fairclough's term *discourse representation* into use in this study for the same reasons he used it: firstly, the reported text can be either oral or written (thus discourse) and secondly, the reporter always interprets and chooses the way of representing the reported text (thus representation). (Text refers here both to oral and written text.)

I will use Leech's and Short's (1981) model as a basis for categorizing the modes of discourse representation since the model is the best known. I also want to check if it functions in the analysis of articles in *Time* and *Newsweek* because Waugh (1995) claims that it is not valid for analyzing texts in news papers. Since Leech and Short have not, however, considered the possibility of mixing modes I also use Fairclough's notion of DD(S) and Waugh's concept of *mixture of direct and indirect speech*. Because Fairclough's term follows the naming conventions of Leech and Short and therefore suits better the model, I will use it and add it into Leech's and Short's (1981) five categories. Even though I agree with Short (1988) and Short et al (1996) that *free direct discourse* (or *direct speech* like he calls it) can be considered as a subtype of *direct discourse* (or *direct speech*, like he calls it) I will treat it as a separate category because it can occur in DD(S). If FDD was considered a subtype of DD, the following sentence would be classified as DD, even though the addition of inverted commas makes a difference in my opinion:

Example: Elián, they said, was playing on the floor - "like any six-year-old boy." (*Time* May 1, 2000)

Therefore the following categories will be used in my study: *direct discourse* (**DD**), *free direct discourse* (**FDD**), *slip into direct discourse* (**DD(S)**), *indirect discourse* (**ID**), *free indirect discourse* (**FID**) and *narrative report of speech act* (**NRSA**). Since I think Short's (1996) *narrator's report of voice* does not really belong to discourse representation I will not include it into my framework. I will not use Short's (1988) *speech summary* either because

the category is somewhat unclear and Short (1988) himself is not sure whether it belongs to the continuum speech presentation at all.

Clayman (1990) and Pietilä (1992) (as stated in Ekecranzt (1997), emphasize that describing the forms of discourse representation is not enough if more profound analysis is sought for. Also Fairclough (1989) highlights the need to *interpret* and *explain* in addition to *describing* when analyzing a text. Therefore I will not confine my study only to the description of the modes of discourse representation but also try to look for the effects of the use of certain discourse representation mode. In addition, I will also analyze the use of *setting* where applicable. I will first study whether setting is used and then continue by analyzing how it affects the reader's interpretation of the reported person.

In addition to studying *discourse representation* I will also study the *access* to the media. I will study the access on the basis of discourse representation, i.e. those whose discourse is represented in the articles also have access to media. I will try to see to which groups people with access to media belong to.

My main research questions are:

1. With which mode is the discourse of the people involved in the case of Elián González represented? What is the amount of each mode? What is the effect of the use of certain mode or why is it used?
2. Is setting used with discourse representation? What is its effect?
3. Who has access to the media in the articles describing the case of Elián González?

First I will divide the persons whose discourse is represented in the articles into groups to make it easier to analyze the discourse representation and to be able to compare the groups. Then I will calculate the frequencies and percentages of each discourse representation mode in each group. I will consider one sentence as once instance of discourse representation in all the other modes except in DD. When there are several consecutive sentences within the same quotation in DD they will be considered one instance of discourse representation.

Example: "He is not the son he knew five months ago. That boy had no fears. He was never afraid of his father. What has been done to the boy by these relatives is unspeakable," Craig told NEWSWEEK. (*Newsweek*, April 24, 2000)

The example above will be considered as one instance of discourse representation. Since the indirect modes are by nature condensing, one sentence in FID, ID and NRSA will be considered as one instance of discourse representation. Since DD(S) is a mixture of modes it is not likely to that the same speech event crosses the borders of a sentence and therefore one sentence of DD(S) is considered as one instance of discourse representation. Unlike Fairclough (1995a) who counted each instance of DD(S) twice – once as the mode with which the sentence started and once as a separate mode of DD(S) – I will consider it only as one instance of discourse representation.

After the quantitative analysis, I will start a more detailed analysis of discourse representation by looking at some interesting examples. At this phase, I will analyze the effects of discourse representation modes in my data. Simultaneously, I will study the setting and its effects. Finally, I will draw conclusions on access on the basis of discourse representation.

In my opinion it is important to study the *discourse representation* and *setting* since they may reveal some aspects of the journalists attitude towards the people whose speech is represented in the articles. By studying access it is possible to see whose comments the journalists think are worth quoting and compare if all the sides in this case are equally represented.

5. Material

My data consists of articles published in the international editions of magazines *Newsweek* and *Time* between December 13, 1999 and July 10, 2000. The articles deal with the case of Elián González.

Elián's mother tried to escape with him from Cuba to the United States of America. She got drowned on the way but Elián survived. He was taken to his relatives in Miami. These relatives included his father's uncle Lázaro and Delfín González and Lázaro's daughter Marisleysis. They took care of Elián in the United States. Elián's father Juan Miguel González wanted his son to return to Cuba but the relatives refused to return him. A battle over Elián's custody followed, and because of the special relations between Cuba and the United States this case gained a lot of publicity. For example, many people who were not directly involved with the case wanted to comment on it. Finally the agents of immigration and naturalization service (INS) broke into Lázaro's house and took Elián to his father who had come to the United States to get his son back.

I chose the case of Elián González because of the complexity of the case. It started as a custody battle which normally concerns only the two sides who want to claim for the custody of a child. However, in the end there were many people commenting the case in media, which resulted in rather high amount of discourse representation. The case is interesting also because the events took place in Miami where there is a strong Cuban American community, i.e. a minority community, and this community was greatly involved with the case.

The articles published in the two magazines cover the case more or less from the beginning till the end. There were altogether 13 articles or shorter stories in *Newsweek* and 7 in *Time* that described the case. I chose the following four articles from each magazine as an object for more detailed analysis:

- *The Elián endgame* (*Newsweek*, 10 April 2000, pp. 20-23)
- *The end of innocence* (*Newsweek*, 24 April 2000, pp. 28-31)
- *Raid and reunion* (*Newsweek*, 1 May 2000, pp. 18-28)
- *Cashing in on Elián* (*Newsweek*, 8 May 2000, pp. 32-33)

- *Homeward bound?* (*Time*, 3 April 2000, p. 39)
- *Reno's showdown* (*Time*, 24 April 2000, pp. 48-50)
- *The Elián grab* (*Time*, 1 May 2000, pp. 20-27)
- *The raid in replay* (*Time*, 8 May, 2000, pp. 40-42).

The above mentioned articles were chosen because they had a counterpart in the other magazine. Six of them had a counterpart published on the same day. Further, the first articles in both magazines were published relatively close to each other. Having equal amount of articles made it possible to compare the magazines in a systematic way.

6. Discourse representation in *Newsweek* and *Time*

It was possible to divide the people whose discourse was represented in the articles in *Time* and *Newsweek* into four groups: Cubans, Cuban Americans, representatives of some institutions within the American society (lawyers, politicians, police and experts) and others. Below, I will analyze the discourse representation of each group in turn. I will start by analyzing the discourse representation of the Cubans, then go on to the groups of Cuban Americans and the prominent people. Finally I will analyze briefly other voices that were represented but which I could not include into any of the above mentioned groups.

In each group I will first analyze the frequencies and percentages of the discourse representation modes in the entire group and make comparisons between the magazines. Then I will divide each group into subgroups for more detailed analysis. The frequencies and percentages of discourse representation modes in each subgroup will be provided with. After that I will start a qualitative analysis of the discourse representation modes and setting by studying interesting examples.

6.1 Cubans

This group includes all the Cuban people quoted in the articles ranging from Fidel Castro and other Cuban people to Elián and Juan Miguel González. Because there were some differences within this group I thought it useful to divide it into three subgroups: Cubans in general, Juan Miguel González and Elián González. I will first analyze the discourse representation modes in the group as a whole and then continue to a more detailed analysis of the subgroups.

The table below demonstrates the frequency of each mode of discourse representation in this group.

Table 1. Frequencies of the discourse representation modes in the group of Cubans

Type	Time		Newsweek	
	Number	%	Number	%
NRSA	1	7.7	1	2.8
ID	1	7.7	5	14.3
FID	0	0	11	31.4
DD(s)	3	23.1	5	14.3
DD	7	53.8	12	34.3
FDD	1	7.7	1	2.8
Total	13	100	35	100

Time. The Cuban's speech was quoted 13 times in *Time*. In more than half of the cases DD was used and the second most frequent mode was DD(S) (used in 23.1 per cent of the cases). NRSA, FDD and ID were used only once (7.7 per cent) each. The proportion of the direct modes was 84.6 per cent and indirect modes 7.7 per cent. This shows a clear tendency to represent Cuban's speech in direct modes.

Newsweek represented the discourse of people belonging to this group altogether 35 times. DD was the most frequent type (34.3 per cent) in *Newsweek* like in *Time* but the second most frequently used type was FID (31.4 per cent). DD(S) and ID were used equally often, i.e. in 14.3 per cent of the cases. There seems to be more balance in the proportion of the direct and the indirect modes of discourse representation in *Newsweek* than in *Time*. Direct modes were used in 51.4 per cent and indirect modes in 45.7 per cent of all the cases.

6.1.1 Elián González

In *Time,* Elián's speech was represented four times whereas *Newsweek* represented his speech far more often, i.e. fourteen times. Table 2 below represents the frequency of each mode of discourse representation.

Table 2. Frequencies of the discourse representation modes used to report Elián's discourse

Type	Time		Newsweek	
	Number	%	Number	%
NRSA	0	0	1	7.1
ID	0	0	3	21.4
FID	0	0	1	7.1
DD(s)	0	0	0	0
DD	4	100	8	57.1
FDD	0	0	1	7.1
Total	4	100	14	100

In *Time* Elián's speech was always reported in DD. In *Newsweek,* in turn, DD was used eight times, i.e. in 57.1 per cent of the quotations. The second most frequently used mode was ID (21.4 per cent). NRSA, FID and FDD were used equally often, i.e. in 7.1 per cent of the cases. Indirect modes were used in 28.5 per cent of all the quotations and direct modes in 64.2 per cent, which shows a clear tendency to represent Elián's speech in direct modes of discourse representation.

Example 1: (1) On the other, there was a nasty sense last week that what his Miami relatives warned would happen to him in Cuba was already happening to him here. (2) Was that really his idea to sit on a bed, wave his finger at his father and defy him - the father who must, surely, have played some role in making him the delightful kid everyone says he is? (3) "*Papá,*" he said, "I do not want to go to Cuba. (4) If you want to, stay here. I am not going to Cuba." (*Time*, April 24, 2000, numbering added)

Example 2: "Help me!" Elián cried. "Help me!" (*Time*, May 1, 2000)

Example 3: "I'm not going to Cuba," he declared. He said it again, then again, waving his index finger like a tiny proud orator. (*Newsweek*, April 24, 2000)

Like the examples above show, DD is used to create a dramatic effect. Additionally, in example (1) Spanish is probably used to make the reader feel that it is truly a word by word representation of what Elián said, i.e. to create an illusion of immediacy. This is of course not completely true since Elián's mother tongue is Spanish and he probably said all the reported speech in it, not in a mixture of Spanish and English. In example (3) the second sentence, which is in NRSA, emphasizes the dramatic effect.

Examples (1) and (3) represent the same situation. The setting in both of them gives the reader a feeling that what Elián is saying is not really something that a six-year old child would normally say. In example (1) the setting seems to hint that the relatives made him speak in front of TV-cameras and put the words into his mouth and are thus manipulative. It also emphasizes the importance of Juan Miguel González to Elián's development and therefore suggests that Elián would not normally be so indifferent of his father.

Also in the choice of word *orator* in example (3) seems to hint to manipulation by the relatives. According to *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (1989) (hereinafter referred to as *OAD*) *orator*, used in example 3, is a *person who makes formal speeches in public* and the word thus normally refers to an older person.

In example (2) the setting is not so important since the message itself is so dramatic. Already the use of exclamation marks creates a very dramatic effect and the use of *cry* as a reporting verb does not add very much to it.

Also ID and FID were used in *Newsweek* to represent Elián's words:

Example 4: (1) Prodded to draw a picture, Elián drew a boat and some waves and explained his mother had not drowned and gone to heaven but had washed ashore and lost her memory. (2) As he floated for two days in his rubber tube, Elián recounted, he was protected from the sharks by friendly dolphins.
(3) It could have been a touching fantasy spun by a traumatized boy. (4) Or it could be a piece of crude agit-prop cooked up by his various guardians in Miami's fierce and defiant Little Havana. (*Newsweek*, April 10, 2000, numbering added)

In example (4), ID in the first sentence and FID in the second sentence are used to present Elián's words in a shorter and clearer form. The context makes the

reader imagine a child drawing and at the same time telling an imaginary story of the drawing. In this kind of situations children tend to talk a lot and be even unclear an therefore the use of ID as summarizing mode seems appropriate.

Because of the setting created with the third and fourth sentence, the reader probably starts to feel sorry for Elián and see him as a victim of his relatives. The use of phrases like *agit-prop cooked by his various guardians* and adjectives like *fierce and defiant* also seems to show a negative attitude towards the people in Miami. Especially the former makes them look very manipulative since *Agit-prop* refers to *Russian Communist propaganda* (*OAD.* 1989)

6.1.2 Juan Miguel González

Juan Miguel González's speech is reported only three times in *Time*. *Newsweek*, in turn, represents also his speech far more often than *Time*, i.e. fourteen times.

Table 3 demonstrates the frequency of each mode of discourse representation.

Table 3. Frequencies of the discourse representation modes used to report Juan Miguel González's discourse

Type	Time		Newsweek	
	Number	%	Number	%
NRSA	1	33.3	0	0
ID	0	0	1	7.1
FID	0	0	8	57.1
DD(s)	0	0	2	14.3
DD	1	33.3	3	21.4
FDD	1	33.3	0	0
Total	3	100	14	100

Time represented Juan Miguel's discourse once in NRSA, once in DD and once in FDD (each used thus in 33.3 per cent of the quotations). In *Newsweek* FID was the most often used mode (it occurred eight times, 57.1 per cent),

second most often was DD (three times, 21.4 per cent), DD(S) was used twice (14.3 per cent) and ID once (7.1 per cent).

There was a difference between the magazines in the frequency of direct and indirect modes. Direct modes were more frequent in *Time*, used in 66.7 per cent of the cases, whereas indirect modes were used more often in *Newsweek*, i.e. in 64.2 per cent of the cases.

Example 5: Arriving at the interview unaccompanied by handlers, he was animated, forceful and at times tearful as he denied allegations that he had abused his wife or that Castro is directing his actions. "I love Cuba," he said. "My judgment as a father is that Cuba is the best place for Elián to be." (*Time*, April 24, 2000)

Example 6: González leaned forward and put his fingers to the bridge of his nose and began to tear up. "Why do they keep running this?" he asked Craig. (*Newsweek*, April 24, 2000)

Example 7: By the time his father Juan Miguel González had watched it for the fourth or fifth time in his lawyer's office Thursday morning, he put his head down, his hands on the bridge of his nose, and cried. "Can we make them stop showing it?" (*Time*, April 24, 2000, boldface added)

When representing Juan Miguel's speech DD may be used for several reasons. In example (5) it may be used to separate Juan Miguel's voice from the reporter's voice and thus remove the responsibility of the words from the reporter. Usually in cases where the reporters use DD to remove the responsibility of the words to the reported person, this person is described in a negative light. However, the setting in the first sentence gives rather a positive image of Juan Miguel. He is described as an emotional and suffering person. His denial represented in ID is in no way challenged. Therefore DD is more likely used to give a more authentic feeling than to separate the reporters' voice from Juan Miguel's voice.

In example (6), in turn, DD and in example (7) FDD creates a feeling of despair. The importance of the contexts can clearly be seen in the two latter examples: the first sentences in both describe Juan Miguel's emotional pain and thus create the feeling of despair and the second sentence in DD and in FDD emphasizes the effect.

Examples (6) and (7) seem to represent the same event in two magazines. Strangely enough, Juan Miguel seems to utter a different sentence in the same situation. One explanation might be that the magazines translated Juan Miguel's Spanish sentences in a different way into English. It is, however, likely that Greg Craig gave information of the situation to the public, which would not support this explanation. Anyway, these examples make it clear that even though DD and FDD purport to be word by word representations of the original discourse it is not necessarily the case. The exact form of the utterance seems to be less important than the creation of a dramatic and desperate atmosphere. The use of DD and FDD gives the reader a feeling of being close to the reported person. It seems that the reporter was there when the words were uttered. In reality this is hardly the case and it is more likely that the reporter either participated in a press conference concerning the situation or interviewed Juan Miguel or Greg Craig later. Giving the impression that the reporter was observing the original situation creates a sense of authenticity which makes the article more interesting and dramatic.

Example 8: (1) But lately, the Miami relatives and their spokesmen have been painting Juan Miguel as a wife-beater and an abusive father. (2) "Elián is scared to go with his father because his father beat him up," says Jose Garcia Pedrosa, one of the family lawyers. - - - (3) A Justice Department official dismissed the allegations as "nothing but atmospherics." (4) Craig said the charges against Juan Miguel were "not true" and "just awful". (5) The father told Craig that he "never needed to discipline" his son. (6) Juan Miguel described his son to Craig as "a good boy, a courteous boy." (*Newsweek*, April 24, 2000, numbering added)

DD(S) is used several times in example (8). In sentences (5) and (6) it is used to represent the discourse by Juan Miguel González. Its function seems to be giving the impression of immediacy. The fact that the message is reported via Craig distances the reader from the original source but the use of short passages in DD(S) brings Juan Miguel closer to the reader. On the other hand, using Craig as a mediator gives more credibility to Juan Miguel's words: if a famous lawyer repeats his words in public, he must be a trustworthy person.

The setting for the discourse representation is interesting. First accusations by the Miami family and the family lawyers against Juan Miguel are presented. However, the accusations do not sound very convincing since both Justice

Department official and Greg Craig, both belonging to the legal system of the United States, deny the accusations. This probably increases the credibility of Juan Miguel's discourse.

Example 9: (1) Craig also balked at the time frame for the joint living arrangement, which could be as long as two months. (2) One week was acceptable to Juan Miguel. (3) No more. (4) Juan Miguel also objected to the location. (5) The father wanted the boy to come to Washington. (6) He did not want to go to the chaos of Miami. (*Newsweek* May 1, 2000, numbering added)

Sentences (4), (5) and (6) in example (9) are in FID. Its use seems to result in insecurity of the origin of the words. The context created with the first three sentences suggests that the words may be delivered to the publicity by Juan Miguel's lawyer Greg Craig even though the words are represented as Juan Miguel's discourse. If the words reached the publicity via Greg Craig, the use of FID is understandable because the reporter is not aware of the exact form of the original utterance. FID may also be used to express the discourse in a shorter form.

Example 10: Unable to speak to his son, Juan Miguel began to speak instead to the rest of the country. (*Time*, April 24, 2000)

Example (10) presents the only occasion in which NRSA was used to represent the speech of Juan Miguel González. Here it is used to describe an action and has really very little to do with speech presentation. NRSA does not even seem to refer to any particular speech act, it just denotes that a speech act was performed. Therefore in this case the setting seems unimportant: it cannot affect the reader's interpretation of somebody's words since no words are represented.

6.1.3 Fidel Castro and other Cubans

This subgroup includes Fidel Castro as well as all other Cubans interviewed in the articles. Actually the majority of the discourse in this group originates from Fidel Castro but since there were some other Cubans whose discourse was represented as well I included them all in this subgroup.

The discourse of the people belonging to this group was represented six times in *Time* and seven times in *Newsweek*. Table 4 below presents the frequency of each mode of discourse representation.

Table 4. Frequencies of the discourse representation modes used in the group of other Cubans

Type	Time		Newsweek	
	Number	%	Number	%
NRSA	0	0	0	0
ID	1	16.7	1	14.3
FID	0	0	2	28.6
DD(s)	3	50.0	3	42.9
DD	2	33.3	1	14.3
FDD	0	0	0	0
Total	6	100	7	100

The words of other Cubans were reported mainly in DD(S) (three times, 50.0 per cent) and in DD (twice, 33.3 per cent) in *Time*. DD(S) was the most frequent mode of discourse representation in *Newsweek* as well (used three times, 42.9 per cent). The second most frequently used mode in *Newsweek* was FID (used twice, 28.6 per cent). ID was used once in each magazine (represents 14.3 per cent in *Newsweek* and 16.7 per cent in *Time*) and DD once in *Newsweek* (14.3 per cent).

Direct modes were used more frequently to report the discourse by other Cubans in both magazines. The difference between the frequency of direct and indirect modes was, however, greater in *Time*, in which 83.3 per cent of the discourse representation was direct, than in *Newsweek*, in which direct modes was used in 57.2 per cent of the cases and indirect modes in 42.9 per cent of the cases.

DD(S) was used to report especially Fidel Castro's discourse:

Example 11: Fidel Castro launched his own propaganda campaign, declaring that Elián had been "kidnapped." He vowed to bring home the "boy hero" and "reprogram" him into Cuban culture. (*Newsweek* April 10, 2000)

Example 12: (1) Nevertheless, Fidel thanked Clinton, Reno and "American public opinion." (2) He added, "The child may have cried for five minutes, but at least he's now spared from crying the rest of his life." (3) Cuban TV lost no chance to broadcast images of "the hysterical behavior of Marisleysis...and the desecration of the American flag by the Miami Mafia." (4) Echoing Little Havana's piety, Cuban citizens like Virginia Sotolongo, 42, said, "The Virgin of Charity has done this miracle. (5) I always believed that the child would be with his father." (*Time* May 1, 2000, numbering added)

Example (11) and the first three sentences of example (12) demonstrate that DD(S) and DD may be used to separate the reporter's voice from Castro's voice and the voice of the Cuban TV and thus giving the responsibility of the words to them. The reporters probably want to emphasize that the words belong to the Cubans and they are reporting them like they were uttered. In my opinion DD is not used for the same purpose in the fourth and fifth sentence of example (12). Virginia Sotolongo's words may be used to create a feeling of authenticity. They also describe the religious reaction of the Cuban people: like some of the Cuban Americans also some Cubans see some holy aspects in Elián's case. According to *Newsweek* April 10, 2000 '*some Cuban American radio commentators refer to Elián as "Baby Jesus"' (p. 21).*

The reader's interpretation is probably affected by the choice of words like *propaganda campaign* in example (11). Defining Castro's discourse as a part of *propaganda campaign* sheds rather a negative light on Castro as a person and especially on the words he supposedly said. The setting in example (12) is quite interesting as well. First of all Fidel Castro is referred to by his first name only, which is rather strange considering that he is a head of state. Normally people that high on the social ladder are referred to with the title and the family name, e.g. 'President Clinton'. The use of the first name may reflect some disrespect towards Castro. Secondly, also the use of phrase *lost no change* may give a somewhat negative vision of the Cuban television. It seems to suggest that the Cuban television enjoys mocking the Miami Cubans and their loyalty to the USA.

Example 13: (1) Castro has made a show of Elián, parading schoolchildren in the streets in cardboard handcuffs to illustrate the boy's plight. (2) He has also played dirty, trying to plant smear stories about Lázaro González with the American media, including NEWSWEEK. (3) When the U.S. press refused to bite, Castro held a press conference and described the man as a "pervert." (4) Castro says he wants to send a large delegation to the United States with Elián's father. (5) The entourage would include the boy's teachers,

> classmates, psychologists and a senior Cuban official, presumably to keep an eye on the father. (6) Elián's teachers would even bring along his school desk, which has become something of an icon to the Cuban people. (*Newsweek,* April 10, 2000, numbering added)

Several modes of discourse representation are used in example (13). The third sentence is in DD(S), the fourth in ID and the fifth and the sixth in FID. The passage as a whole seems to make Fidel Castro look like a manipulative and not a very reasonable person. DD(S) seems to be used to give the responsibility of the word *pervert* to Fidel Castro. The use of FID in sentences (5) and (6) makes it unclear who is responsible for them. They seem to be a continuation of sentence (4) in ID and belong thus to Castro. On the other hand, the clause *presumably to keep an eye on the father* was probably not uttered by Castro but added by the reporter. The use of FID makes it possible for the reporter to integrate his/her interpretation to the discourse representation of another person. Since the two voices are integrated and the reporter's part is not clearly separated the reader may interpret the whole passage as description of the facts.

The setting reveals quite clearly how trustworthy person Castro is according to the reporters. Referring to Castro's actions as *playing dirty* and *trying to plant smear stories* gives the readers an image of a manipulative and dishonest person. Interestingly enough the reporters want to emphasize that *Newsweek* did not believe in Castro's accusations against Lázaro González. This is probably done to emphasize the reliability of the magazine.

6.1.4 Summary of the representation of Cubans' discourse

There were no great differences between the two magazines in the qualitative side of discourse representation. Both used DD and FDD to create a dramatic effect and an impression of immediacy. It was also used to describe the despair of Juan Miguel González. In Castro's case DD and DD(S) were used to give the full responsibility of the words to him. ID was mainly used to represent the words of the speaker in a shorter form. The use of FID resulted in an insecurity of the source of the discourse. It also made it possible for the reporters to integrate their own interpretation into the reported discourse.

The setting in both magazines gave rather a positive picture of Juan Miguel and Elián González. The child was described as a victim of the relatives in

Miami. Juan Miguel was described as an emotional person who was desperate to get his son back. Fidel Castro, on the other hand, was always described in a negative light. He was not seen as an honest, but lying and manipulative person who wanted to turn Elián's case into a political question. Therefore there was always a doubt of the reliability of his words.

There was rather a remarkable difference between the magazines in the quantitative side of discourse representation in this group. In *Newsweek* the discourse of this group represented 29.7 per cent of the total amount of discourse representation, whereas in *Time* the proportion was only 9.4 per cent. Especially Elián's and Juan Miguel's discourse was reported far less in the latter than in the former magazine. This seems to suggest that *Time* did not consider their comments as important as *Newsweek*. Their discourse most often had rather a dramatic effect. It might be that *Time* did not consider creation of dramatic effect that important. The other Cubans, on the other hand, were quoted almost equally often in both magazines.

6.2 Cuban Americans

This group includes the González family members living in Miami, like Elián's great-uncles Lázaro and Manuel González and his father's cousin Marisleysis. It also includes all other Cuban Americans quoted in the articles. To make a qualitative analysis more detailed I thought it useful to divide also this group into two subgroups: Elián's relatives in Miami and other Cuban Americans. The table below represents the use of each mode of discourse representation in this group.

Table 5. Frequencies of the discourse representation modes used to report the Cuban Americans' discourse

Type	Time		Newsweek	
	Number	%	Number	%
NRSA	0	0	0	0
ID	8	20.5	7	33.3
FID	7	17.9	2	9.5
DD(s)	4	10.3	4	19.0
DD	18	46.2	7	33.3
FDD	2	5.1	1	4.8
Total	39	100	21	100

Time. Cuban Americans were quoted altogether 39 times, which is three times the amount of the quotations of Cubans. The most often used mode was again DD. Indirect modes of discourse representation, i.e. ID and FID, were also used quite often (in 20.5 and 17.9 percent of the cases respectively). NRSA was never used and FDD was used rather seldom. DD(S) was used in approximately 10 per cent of the cases. The proportion of direct modes (DD, DD(S) and FDD) was 61.6 per cent of all and the proportion of indirect modes 38.4 per cent. Thus *Time* used much more direct than indirect modes.

Newsweek. Cuban Americans were quoted 21 times, which is less than the amount of quotations of the Cubans (35). DD and ID were used equally often; i.e. in third of the cases each. Since DD(S) was also widely used (19 per cent of the cases) *Newsweek* used more the direct modes of discourse representation. The free versions of direct and indirect speech were used quite seldom (twice and once respectively) and NRSA never. Direct modes were used in 57.1 per cent of all the cases of discourse representation and were therefore more frequent than indirect modes, which were used in 42.8 per cent of the cases.

6.2.1 Elián's Miami relatives

The discourse of the González family members living in Miami (Lázaro, Marisleysis and Manuel González) was represented twenty-one times in *Time* and fourteen times in *Newsweek*. Table 6 below presents the frequency of each discourse representation mode.

Table 6. Frequencies of the discourse representation modes used to represent the discourse by Elián's Miami relatives

Type	Time		Newsweek	
	Number	%	Number	%
NRSA	0	0	0	0
ID	7	33.3	6	42.9
FID	5	23.8	1	7.1
DD(s)	1	4.8	2	14.3
DD	7	33.3	4	28.6
FDD	1	4.8	1	7.1
Total	21	100	14	100

The most frequently used modes of discourse representation in *Time* were DD (seven times, 33.3 per cent), ID (seven times, 33.3 per cent) and FID (five times, 23.8 per cent). *Newsweek* mainly used ID (six times, 42.9 per cent) and DD (four times, 28.6 per cent) to represent the discourse of this group. Both magazines used also DD(S) (*Time* once, which represents 4.8 per cent and *Newsweek* twice, which represents 14.3 per cent) and FDD (occurred once in each magazine, which represents 4.8 per cent in *Time* and 7.1 per cent in *Newsweek*).

Interestingly enough indirect and direct modes were equally frequent in *Newsweek,* i.e. both were used in 50 per cent of the cases. In *Time* indirect modes were somewhat more frequent, since they were used in 57.1 per cent of the cases whereas direct modes were used in 42.9 per cent.

Example 14: He snuggled next to Lázaro, who stroke the boy's hair. "I'm afraid. Are they coming for me?" Elián asked again and again. Lázaro tried to comfort him, explaining in a calm voice that everything would be O.K. "Relax," Lázaro said in Spanish. "Relax Eliancito." (*Time*, May 1, 2000)

Example 15: The INS agents, armed with 9-mm MP5 submachine guns, looked first for Elián's cousin Marisleysis, assuming she would be the one to lead them to Elián. "Where the f__ is the damn boy?" Marisleysis says they shouted at her. She begged them to hold off, she says. "I will give you the boy; just put the guns down!" (*Time* May 1, 2000)

Example 16 The Miami relatives and their supporters were on the air instantly, telling their harrowing story and denouncing the government "If this had been your son, would you have wanted a gun to be pointed at his head and have him dragged out of your house that way?" Marisleysis said. "Bill Clinton and Janet Reno betrayed this country- not just my family, but this country!" (*Time* May 1, 2000)

Examples (14), (15) and (16) demonstrate again how different an effect the use of DD has in different contexts. Whereas in examples (15) and (16) its effect is dramatic, in example (14) DD serves as emphasizing the intimate and caring relationship between Lázaro and Elián created in the setting. The mixture of English and a Spanish pet name seems to give an impression of immediacy, let the readers see and feel the moment just before the raid. The setting given in the example creates a peaceful but excited atmosphere; Elián seems to be afraid of what is going to happen and Lázaro is calming him down.

Example (15) is interesting since its second sentence seems to represent the words of the INS agents in a direct form. However, it is not a direct quotation of the discourse by the INS agents but transmitted by Marisleysis González. This may suggest that the reporters want to emphasize that Marisleysis claims the agents shouted like that but that it might not be true. Thus the reporters do not take the responsibility of the truthfulness of the quotation. However, they did not want to exclude the quotation because it is essential for the dramatic atmosphere created in the setting of the example (15). The agents are described as brutal and dangerous by describing the guns they are carrying and the kind of language they are using. Since agents are frightening, it is justified that Marisleysis is shocked and scared. Giving a direct quotation of her speech not only adds to the dramatic effect but also gives an impression of immediacy.

In addition to creating a dramatic atmosphere, in example (16) DD removes the responsibility of the opinion expressed in the second sentence to Marisleysis. This may be done because the reporters did not want to criticize politicians directly but gave Marisleysis a possibility to do so in their article. The setting in this example sets the Miami relatives and their supporters (whose

personality is not revealed) into rather a negative light. By writing that they *were on the air instantly* the reporters probably hint that the relatives were hungry for publicity. Also the phrase *their harrowing story* reduces somewhat the reliability of the relatives by suggesting that what they say may also be partly invented or exaggerated.

Example 17: The closest the family came to averting the raid was with the Friday-night fax, which said, "We understand that you have transferred temporary custody of Elián to his father." But lawyers close to the family acknowledge that this was a concession in theory only; the family intended to share custody during the transition period and perhaps beyond - hence the word temporary. (*Time*, April 8, 2000)

Example (17) presents one of the few cases in which written discourse is represented. DD is used not so much to create a dramatic effect but to create an illusion of immediacy. The magazine wants to show that they had access to first hand information, i.e. the fax sent by the family. The setting, i.e. the last sentence reduces the reliability of the family's message and represents the family members as unreliable since even the lawyers close to them do not trust their words. Interestingly enough the first sentence seems to suggest that the family was actually responsible for the raid because it did not *avert* it.

Example 18: Torricelli said the Miami wing continued to insist that if Juan Miguel wanted Elián, he would have to go to Miami to get him. (*Time*, April 24, 2000)

Example (18) is very interesting because in it ID is used twice and the second occasion is embedded into the first one. In other words, there is an indirect representation of Torricelli's discourse, in which he reports indirectly what the Miami relatives said. This embedded structure makes it impossible to know what the relatives originally said; it is not possible to know if they used the word *insist* themselves by saying for example. *We insist that Juan Miguel comes to Miami to get Elián.* Interpreting what the relatives said as insisting may originate from at least three sources: the relatives themselves, Torricelli or the reporters. Therefore the use of ID leads to confusion of the source and the exact form of the reported discourse.

Example 19: (1) As Torricelli tells it, when the crowd surrounding Lázaro's house in Little Havana heard that Elián was going to Washington the next day, "the cord began to unravel." (2) There were angry rumors that Lázaro was

> "selling out." (3) When an official car arrived at 8 a.m., Lázaro would not leave his bedroom. (4) Eventually he said the family would not be going at all. (5) Elián had refused to get dressed, Lázaro claimed; the boy didn't want to go. (*Time*, April 24, 2000)

In example (19) there is a slight confusion of the voice as well. It is unclear whose discourse is in reported the third sentence which is in FID. It is unlikely that Lázaro said: *I will not leave my bedroom*. It seems that this sentence is a summary of something else Lázaro that said or the journalists conclusion based on the fact that he did not come out of the room, in which case it is not discourse representation at all. The use of FID thus leads to a confusion of voice.

The fourth sentence in ID and fifth sentence in FID could have originated directly from Lázaro but given the context they were probably also reported by someone else. One possible source of information could be Torricelli mentioned in the first sentence. It is not very clearly stated whether he is responsible only for the first sentence or the entire passage. This example serves very well as an example of the confusion with respect to voice caused by the use of indirect discourse modes.

In the last sentence Elián's words are embedded into Lázaro's words. The use of reporting verb *claim* suggests, however, that the reporters doubt Lázaro's report. The setting created in the two first sentences helps the reader interpret that according to the reporters, Lázaro is probably not willing to leave because the people outside his house would not accept it. According to the magazine, they interpreted handing Elián over as betrayal as suggested by the DD(S) of their discourse in the end of the second sentence: *that Lázaro was "selling out"*.

Example 20: In Miami, the forgotten great-uncle - Manuel, 58, the third oldest of the González brothers and the one who, from the beginning, believed that Elián should be returned to his father - was quietly satisfied. "This should have been done some time ago," he told NEWSWEEK. "It pains me to see what happened to [his relatives Lázaro, Delfín and Marisleysis] but they brought it on themselves. This wasn't necessary. But," he went on, "the boy is happy." (*Newsweek*, May 1, 2000)

The setting has an important role in example (20). Before the DD there is a sentence summarizing Manuel González's opinion and relation to the rest of the family. This information may be regarded important since Manuel was not as

actively involved in this case as the other relatives in Miami. *Time* for instance does not mention Manuel González at all. All in all the setting seems to describe Manuel González as the family member who was right from the beginning, and thus his discourse is not challenged by the setting. His comment is probably added to inform the readers that not all the family members were against returning Elián to his father.

The part of the first sentence in which Manuel's opinion is represented in ID *(who --- believed that Elián should be returned to his father--)* shows once again the summarizing nature of ID.

Example 21: The fiery Marisleysis, who had been hospitalized at least eight times for stress, had told some community-relations workers that if the Feds came into the house, they could be "hurt." (*Newsweek*, May 1, 2000)

The setting plays an important role in example (21) as well. As opposed to the setting in example (20), the setting in this example gives a rather negative picture of the person whose speech is reported. It seems to suggest that Marisleysis is not a very balanced person mentally. In an indirect way it also implies that she can be dangerous to other people and this effect is emphasized with the DD(S) quotation of her discourse. The quotation as a whole has a very dramatic effect and representing one word in DD emphasizes this effect. By representing *hurt* as a direct quotation of Marisleysis's speech the reporters also try to justify the description of Marisleysis as a dangerous person: if she threatens the federal agents like that, she must be dangerous.

6.2.2 Other Cuban Americans

Time gave more space to the discourse of other Cuban Americans than *Newsweek.* The former represented the discourse of other Cuban Americans altogether 18 times and the latter 7 times. Table 7 below presents the frequencies of discourse representation in this subgroup.

Table 7. Frequencies of the discourse representation modes used to describe the discourse by other Cuban Americans

Type	Time		Newsweek	
	Number	%	Number	%
NRSA	0	0	0	0
ID	1	5.6	1	14.3
FID	2	11.1	1	14.3
DD(s)	3	16.7	2	28.6
DD	11	61.1	3	42.9
FDD	1	5.6	0	0
Total	18	100	7	100

The most frequent mode was DD (*Time* 11 times, 61.1 per cent and *Newsweek* 3 times, 42.9 per cent) and the second most frequent type DD(S) (*Time* 3 times, 16.7 per cent and *Newsweek* 2 times, 28.6 per cent). Additionally FID (*Time* twice, 11.1 per cent and *Newsweek* once, 14.3 per cent) and ID (once in each magazine, represents 5.6 per cent in *Time* and 14.3 in *Newsweek*) were used in both magazines and FDD (once, 5.6 per cent) in *Time*.

Both magazines used direct modes of discourse representation far more frequently than indirect modes. In *Time* direct modes were used in 83.4 per cent and in *Newsweek* in 71.5 per cent of the cases. Discourse of this subgroup was thus represented indirectly only in 16.7 per cent of the cases in *Time* and in 28.6 per cent in *Newsweek*.

Example 22: (1) Student Fausto Vilar, 18, was hit with the butt of a rifle as he jumped over the bars. (2) "They grabbed me and an older man behind me and pushed us down to the pavement. (3) I couldn't breathe or see.(4) I had to go to go to a house and spray a water hose in my face." (5) Gustavo Moller, an NBC audio technician, suffered a gash above his left eye when an agents pressed the barrel of an automatic rifle into his face as he stood in the front door. (6) "It was the ugliest thing I've ever seen," Moller says. (7) "This is the most inhumane way to get at justice." (*Time* May 1, 2000)

Example (22) represents discourse by eye-witnesses of the raid performed by the INS agents. They are interviewed to give the impression that the reporters have first-hand information of the events that took place. Like in many other

cases in which FDD and DD are used, also in this case they create a dramatic effect. The FDD representation of Fausto Vilar's speech is dynamic and describes the action whereas the DD representation of Gustavo Moller's discourse is more evaluative.

The setting does not decrease the readers' interpretation of the reliability of the speakers, since only the occupation of the persons is stated. What seems to give an idea of the reliability of the reported person is the fifth sentence. At the first glance it looks like a representation of events that the reporters witnessed. When thinking more, one realizes that the information given in it must originate from Mr. Moller, since in addition to the agents he is the only person who knows what caused the gash. The fact that fifth sentence does not have a form of discourse representation but is represented as part of the narration of the article seems to show trust in Mr. Moller as a source of information.

Example 23: The hotheads around Lázaro had long warned that if Elián went to Washington, he risked getting hijacked by Cuban diplomats. "They would put Elián in the trunk of a car with diplomatic plates, and the next thing we know he'd be back in Cuba. Taking him to see his father is like taking him to Fidel Castro," said Ramón Saúl Sánchez, a militant who led chants and organized human chains outside the bungalow. (*Newsweek*, May 1, 2000)

In example (23), in turn, the setting seems utterly more important. The first sentence in ID summarizes the quotation in DD which follows it. The reader's interpretation of Ramón Saúl Sánchez's words is affected by describing him as a *militant* and including him into the group of *hotheads around Lázaro*. The reader is persuaded to believe that since Sánchez is described as *hothead* he is a person who does not really think before acting and his fears of Cuban diplomats kidnapping Elián are without reason or at least exaggerated. This reduces the credibility of his words. Therefore, DD is used to give the full responsibility of the words to Sánchez.

Example 24: And while relatives say they admire the mothering that Lázaro's daughter Marisleysis, 21, has given Elián, they complain, in the words of one of them, that "she doesn't make him a glass of chocolate milk without telling him that his grandmothers can't buy that for him in Cuba." (*Time*, April 3, 2000)

I analyze example (24) in this subgroups since I considered only the immediate family members as representatives of Elián's Miami family. The relatives related

to in this example seem to be more remote. This example is an interesting case of DD(S). In it one person's words are interpreted as an expression of the thoughts of several persons. Even though normally when DD(S) is used, the reported person is identified, in this case the identity of the person is not revealed, maybe because the person wanted to remain anonymous. All that the reader knows is that this mysterious person is a relative of the González family. The example above first expresses the good side of Marisleysis's behavior in ID and then the negative side in DD. The change of mode of discourse representation in the middle of the quotation emphasizes the change from positive side to negative side. The mode of discourse representation and the order of the quoted parts also affect the reader's interpretation: the second part is clearer and more emphasized than the first part. There is nothing in the setting that would affect the readers interpretation of the reported person's reliability. On the other hand the whole quotation functions as a description of Marisleysis González's personality and behavior and thus sets her into a negative light by making her look rather manipulative.

Example 25: (1) A devastating profile of the fisherman who rescued Elián, Donato Dalrymple, in The Washington Post portrayed him enjoying his celebrity a little too much (he had just bought a safari jacket from Banana Republic to appear on "Geraldo") and disclosed that he wasn't really a fisherman at all, but a housecleaner. (2) He did not jump in the ocean to save Elián; his cousin, Sam Cianci, did. (3) Cianci dismissed Dalrymple as "a phony, a liar, a Kato Kaelin figure." (*Newsweek* May 8, 2000, numbering added)

Example (25) presents a different use of DD(S). The last sentence expresses the accusation against Donato Dalrymple described in the first two sentences in few words. It seems that the reader is expected to conclude from the first two sentences that Dalrymple is *a phony, a liar, a Kato Kaelin figure.* The use of DD(S) emphasizes the accusations in the last sentence but also gives a more immediate impression. Even though the setting does not reveal anything of Cianci's reliability this passage reduces Dalrymple's reliability even though his discourse is not represented in the immediate textual context.

Example 26: (1) As Dalrymple tells it, when the Immigration and Naturalization Service agents stormed into the house just after 5 a.m., he grabbed Elián and fled to a bedroom, locking the door and then trying to duck into a closet. (2) But the closet was crammed too full of clothes, and they could not close the door. (*Time* May 1, 2000)

FID is used in example (26). By placing *As Dalrymple tells it* in the beginning of the passage the reporters wants to imply that they do not take responsibility of the report but that what follows is Donato Dalrymple's version of the events. In this case the use of FID has a more dramatic effect than the use of ID would have had since it makes it possible to tell the events in a more dynamic way. The second sentence is probably also a FID representation of Dalrymple's words even though this is not directly expressed. In the second sentence there is therefore a confusion of voice.

6.2.3 Summary of the Cuban Americans' discourse representation

Like in the group of Cubans, also in the group of Cuban Americans, there were no real qualitative differences between the magazines in discourse representation. In both subgroups DD was used to create a dramatic effect, to give an impression of immediacy and to remove the responsibility of the words from the reporter to the reported person. In the group of other Cuban Americans, DD(S) was used to emphasize some part of the message and to change the point of view. When representing Elián's Miami relatives discourse in DD(S) the effect was dramatic. FID resulted in a confusion of voice and had also a more dramatic and dynamic effect than the use of ID would have had. Also the use of ID caused a confusion of the exact form and source of the discourse. It also functioned as a summarizing mode.

In both subgroups the setting was used sometimes to shed a negative light on the Cuban Americans. Elián's relatives were described as hungry for publicity and according to the magazines especially Marisleysis was hysterical. The reliability of the Cuban Americans was also often reduced and Elián's relatives were reported to lie. On the other hand, the tender side of the Marisleysis's and Lázaro's personalities was also shown, and therefore the setting was not always negative. Sometimes the setting for other Cuban Americans was rather neutral as well. When *Time* reported the discourse by eye-witnesses it just stated the occupation of the persons and did not give any evaluation of their reliability.

In *Time* this group's proportion of the total amount of discourse representation was greater than in *Newsweek*. In the former this group's

discourse formed 28.3 per cent of all the discourse representation in *Time* whereas in *Newsweek* its proportion was 17.8 per cent. The fact that Cuban Americans were much more frequently quoted than the Cubans in *Time* seems to hint that it wanted to concentrate on the events and people inside the United States of America.

6.3 Politicians, police lawyers and experts

This group includes people that Fairclough (1995) calls "prominent people", i.e. politicians, police, lawyers and experts of various disciplines. Table 8 below presents the amount of each mode of discourse representation in this group.

Table 8. Frequencies of discourse representation modes when reporting the discourse by politicians, police, lawyers and experts

Type	Time		Newsweek	
	Number	%	Number	%
NRSA	5	6.2	5	8.6
ID	30	37.0	11	19.0
FID	7	8.6	12	20.7
DD(s)	11	13.6	9	15.5
DD	23	28.4	19	32.8
FDD	5	6.2	2	3.4
Total	81	100	58	100

Time. There were 81 occasions in which the discourse of the representatives of state was quoted. The most frequently used mode of discourse representation was ID which was used in 37.0 per cent of the cases. DD was the second most frequent mode and it occurred in 28.4 per cent of the cases. FID and DD(s) were used less frequently (8.6 and 13.6 per cent of the cases respectively). NRSA and FDD, in turn, were used as a mode of discourse representation only in 6.2 per cent cases in this group. Direct modes of discourse representation were used in 48.1 per cent of the cases and indirect modes in 45.7 per cent. Thus their use was balanced.

Newsweek. In *Newsweek* there were 58 occasions of discourse representation of the people belonging to this group. DD occurred in 32.8 per cent of all the cases and it was thus the most frequently used mode. ID was used in 19.0 per cent, FID in 20.7 per cent and DD(s) in 15.5 per cent of the cases. NRSA and FDD were used rather seldom (in 8.6 per cent and 3.4 per cent of the cases respectively). In *Newsweek* direct discourse modes was somewhat more frequent, since they were used in 51.7 per cent of the cases whereas only 39.7 of the discourse was represented in indirect modes.

I divided this group into four subgroups: persons related to the legal system, politicians, police and experts. Table 9 represents the division of the occasions of discourse representation into subgroups in the two magazines.

Table 9. The division of discourse representation into subgroups

Subgroup	Time		Newsweek	
	Number	%	Number	%
Lawyers	51	63.0	30	51.7
Politicians	10	12.3	13	22.4
Police	19	23.5	5	8.6
Experts	1	1.2	10	17.2
Total	81	100	58	100

The representatives of the legal system are most frequently quoted in this group in both magazines (*Time* 63.0 per cent and *Newsweek* 51.7 per cent). There is a difference as regards to the second most quoted subgroup: in *Newsweek* the politicians are the second most frequently quoted subgroup (22.4 per cent) whereas in *Time* it is the subgroup of the police (23.5 per cent). In turn the subgroup of the police is the least frequently quoted group in *Newsweek* (only 8.6 per cent). The politicians are quoted surprisingly seldom in *Time*, only in 12.3 per cent of the cases. Maybe the most interesting result is that the experts are quoted only once in *Time*. Since, nevertheless, their discourse is represented so frequently in *Newsweek* (17.2 per cent) I will treat them as a separate group.

I will analyze the use of discourse representation of each subgroup in turn.

6.3.1 Persons belonging to the legal system

I will analyze the representation of the discourse by lawyers and other persons belonging to the legal system first. Even though Attorney General Janet Reno is a strong political figure I consider her primarily a part of the legal system and analyze the representation of her discourse in this subgroup.

In both magazines the discourse by this subgroup was most frequently presented within the whole group. This group's proportion of the total amount of discourse representation of all the "prominent" people was 63.0 per cent in *Time* and 50.8 per cent in *Newsweek*. Table 10 presents how often each mode of discourse representation was used within this subgroup.

Table 10. The frequencies of discourse representation modes used to represent the discourse by people belonging to the legal system

Type	Time		Newsweek	
	Number	%	Number	%
NRSA	3	5.9	3	10
ID	20	39.2	3	10
FID	5	9.8	7	23.3
DD(s)	7	13.7	3	10
DD	13	25.5	13	43.3
FDD	3	5.9	1	3.3
Total	51	100	30	100

In *Time* the two most frequently used modes were ID, DD and DD(S) (used in 39.2, 25.5 and 13.7 per cent of the cases respectively). In *Newsweek* the most frequently used modes were DD and FID (used in 43.3 and 23.3 per cent of the cases respectively. The other modes were used in 10 per cent of the cases or less. In *Time* there was no great difference between the frequency of direct (, i.e. DD(S), DD and FDD,) and indirect (, i.e. ID and FID,) modes. The former modes were used in 45.1 per cent and the latter in 49 per cent of the cases. In *Newsweek* direct modes were used in 56.6 per cent and indirect modes in 33.3 per cent of the cases, i.e. direct modes were more frequent.

Example 27: (1) Reno has said all along that she wouldn't play tricks. (2) "You don't go in and pick up little boys like that," she told reporters weeks ago. (3) "You work through the issue, and then everybody sits down and figures out how we comply with the law." (*Time*, April 24, 2000, numbering added)

The first sentence in example (27) is ID. In this case it serves as a summary for the sentences in DD that follow it. If following strictly Short's and Leech's categorization the third sentence would represent FDD since it does not have any reporting clause. In cases like this, i.e. when FDD follows a sentence in DD, I considered both sentences as DD, because the reporting clause of the first sentence makes it clear who the represented person in the second sentence is. The use of DD does not have any specific effect in this case. The setting is completely neutral and the reason why DD is used may be that the reporters want to provide the readers with a feeling of immediacy.

Example 28: (1) There is no evidence that Elián has anything to fear from his father. (2) According to his lawyer Greg Craig, Juan Miguel worries that his son is, in effect, being brainwashed. (3) "He's not the son he knew five months ago. (4) That boy had no fears. (5) He was never afraid of his father. (6) What has been done to the boy by these relatives is unspeakable," Craig told NEWSWEEK. (*Newsweek* April 24, 2000, numbering added)

In example (28) the use of DD has a more dramatic effect. The message delivered in the first sentence is legitimized in Greg Craig's discourse, since it presents an attack against the relatives' accusations. The quotation itself is rather dramatic since in it Craig accuses the Miami relatives of brainwashing Elián. What is also very interesting in this example is that what is represented as DD by Greg Craig actually seems to originate at least partly from Juan Miguel González. The first three sentences of the quotation may have originated also from Elián's father. It is unclear whether the last sentence belongs to Juan Miguel or whether it is Craig's interpretation of the message transmitted in the third, fourth and fifth sentence. The words are transmitted via Craig probably to make them sound more reliable since, as a part of the legislative system, Craig belongs to the power elite.

Example 29: (1) For Juan Miguel and his allies in Washington, the pain of Saturday morning was an awful means to a joyous end. (2) The reunion of father and son would, as Juan Miguel's lawyer Greg Craig said, "revive" Elián. (*Time* May 1, 2000, numbering added)

At first glance the second sentence in example (29) seems to represent DD(S). If it is considered fully as a representation of Greg Craig's words, the major part the sentence is in a mode which could be either FDD or FID. If it is FDD the reporter claims that Greg Craig said: *"The reunion of father and son would revive Elián."* The inverted commas around *revive* serve as a means of emphasizing the word. If this sentence is to be seen as FID, Greg Craig supposedly said something like: *"The reunion of father and son will revive Elián."*, i.e. used the future tense which transformed into conditional in reported discourse.

The sentence can also be seen as the reporter's interpretation of what the people mentioned in the first sentence of the example, i.e. Juan Miguel and his allies, are feeling. In this interpretation the only part of the second sentence originating from Greg Craig is the word *revive.*

Example 30: (1) Last week Miami Federal Judge K. Michael Moore dismissed the relatives' case and agreed with Attorney General Janet Reno that only the Cuban father, Juan Miguel González, can speak for a child that young. (2) "Each passing day," Moore wrote, "is another day lost" between Juan Miguel and Elián. (*Time* April 3, 2000, numbering added)

The second sentence in example (30) presents a clear case of DD(S). It is a rather peculiar example of DD(S) since it starts with direct discourse. Normally the direction is the opposite one: the discourse representation starts with some mode and the end is in DD.

The setting provided in the first sentence is rather neutral and the reporting verbs are neutral as well. However, the use of the full title of the judge, i.e. *Miami Federal Judge* K. Michael Moore, as well as comparing his opinion to Attorney General's opinion makes him sound more powerful and his words more reliable. In this case DD(S) seems to be used to emphasize the message from a powerful source and to give a dramatic effect.

Example 31: (1) But her legal power to make that happen, by force if needed, was hostage to her fear of a scene too ugly to imagine, of armed marshals and enraged crowds and a desperate child in the middle. (2) Wouldn't it be nice if all the family could just sit down and work this out? (*Time*, April 24, 2000, numbering added)

It is difficult to define which mode the second sentence in example (31) represents. It appears to present something Attorney General Janet Reno said.

It is, however, unclear if she really said it or if the sentence is the reporters' interpretation of what Janet Reno is supposedly thinking on the basis of her behavior. If she really said these words this sentence represents FDD. If it is the journalists' interpretation of Janet Reno's supposed thoughts it is FID. Given the context provided by the first sentence the latter alternative seems more likely. The first sentence describes Reno as willing to find some other solution to deliver Elián to his father than a violent raid. The second sentence purports to express her view in a form of a speech act. It makes the message clearer but also somewhat more dramatic and creates a feeling of immediacy.

6.3.2 Politicians

This subgroups consists of political characters, both on the federal level as well as on local level. In *Time* the discourse by politicians was 12.5 per cent of the all the discourse representation within this group, in *Newsweek* it was 22.4 per cent. Table 11 presents how often each mode of discourse representation was used within this subgroup.

Table 11. The frequencies of discourse representation modes used to represent the discourse by politicians

Type	Time		Newsweek	
	Number	%	Number	%
NRSA	1	10	2	15.4
ID	3	30	4	30.8
FID	0	0	0	0
DD(s)	1	10	4	30.8
DD	4	40	3	23.1
FDD	1	10	0	0
Total	10	100	13	100

In *Time* the most frequently used modes were DD (40 %) and ID (30 %) and in *Newsweek* DD(S) and ID (both 30.8 %). DD was used in 23.1 per cent and NRSA in 15.4 percent of the cases in *Newsweek*. FDD was never used in *Newsweek* and FID was never used in either magazine. In *Time* DD(S), NRSA

and FDD were used in 10 per cent of the cases each. There is a clear tendency towards using direct modes of discourse representation (i.e. DD(S), DD and FDD); in *Time* their proportion is 60 per cent, in *Newsweek* 53.9 per cent. Indirect modes, in turn, were used in approximately 30 per cent of the cases in both magazines.

Example 32: (1) But Al Gore, in his most significant break yet with President Bill Clinton, declared that the law should be changed to permit Elián to stay in the United States. (2) Gore's opponent in November, George W. Bush, scoffed that the veep was a Johnny-come-lately, chasing Florida's 25 electoral votes by trying to cater to the Cuban-American community. (3) Bush and various other politicians have already gone on record declaring that Elián should not be returned to Cuba. (*Newsweek* April 10, 2000, numbering added)

In example (32) ID is used to represent the discourse of Al Gore's discourse in the first sentence and George W. Bush's and other politicians' discourse in the third sentence. ID seems ideal in a situation, in which the reported person changes fast, since it makes it possible to express the message in a shorter form. DD would require more involvement with one speaker but since in ID writer appears to be more in control, it is possible to change the referent.

The representation of Bush's discourse in the second sentence is interesting. It is represented as an indirect version of something he said. The reporting verb *scoff* is definitely not neutral but gives an impression of a person who is malicious. Also the choice of the reported words is peculiar: it is possible that Bush used words like *veep* (for *vice president*) and *Johnny-come-lately* but they sound somewhat out of the normal vocabulary of a politician. The use of ID makes it possible to integrate the politicians words into the reporters language.

Example 33: (1) Reno does not want to start a riot, but she is under pressure from the White House to bring the defiant spectacle to an end. (2) "The rule of law has got to be upheld," President Clinton told reporters, in a gentle nudge at Reno. (*Newsweek* April 24, 2000, numbering added)

Example 34: (1) "Janet," he said, "I think you're right." (2) And a few hours later in the Rose Garden, he began to prepare the nation. (3) "I think [Elián] should be reunited," Clinton said, " and in as prompt and as orderly way as possible." (*Time*, May 1, 2000, numbering added)

Like examples (33) and (34) show, President Clinton's words appear to be represented more faithfully, i.e. in a direct form. As a matter of fact there was

only one occasion on which Clinton's discourse was reported in any other mode than DD. The reporting verbs are neutral and so is the setting in general. The only other means of setting in example (33) is the use of the title *President*. It and the reference to the *White House* remind the reader of Clinton's position and importance.

Example 35: (1) Last week Miami-Dade County major Alex Penelas vowed that he would hold "the federal government and specifically Janet Reno and the president of the United States responsible." (2) Sounding like a Southern governor resisting school integration 40 years ago, Penelas went on to irresponsibly declare that "our local law-enforcement resources will not participate in the forced removal or repatriation of Elián González, which we could consider illegal." (*Newsweek*, April 10, 2000,numbering added)

Example (35), in which DD(S) is used, gives a completely different treatment to the reported person than examples (33) and (34) above. The reporters' message of major Penelas is confusing. On one hand, the use of his full title, *Miami-Dade County major Alex Penelas,* makes him look important and powerful. On the other hand, the setting in the beginning of the second sentence (*Sounding like a Southern governor resisting school integration 40 years ago – irresponsibly declare*) makes Penelas's words sound old-fashioned and ridiculous, maybe even racist. The latter part of the context makes it clear that the reporter uses DD(S) to give the full responsibility of the words to major Penelas.

Example 36: The government points out one certain thing: as often as the family promised to obey the law, it also warned that if the feds wanted Elián, they would have to use force. (*Time*, May 8, 2000)

Example (36) represents either FDD or FID. The reported discourse seems to represent discourse by the government. The exact source of information is, however, unclear. What is also interesting in this example is the insertion of Elián's relatives' discourse into the discourse by the government. Especially in the passage *it also warned that if the feds wanted Elián, they would have to use force* even the choice of words like *feds* (instead of federal agents) seems to reflect the language of the relatives rather than the language of the government.

6.3.3 Police

This group includes all the representatives of different police authorities ranging from the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) agents and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) agents and officials to local policemen. In *Time* police officers were the second most frequently quoted "prominent" group, i.e. 23.8 per cent of all of them. *Newsweek* gave much less space for their discourse, i.e. only 8.6 per cent of the quotations of the "prominent" group originated from police.

Table 12. The frequencies of discourse representation modes used to represent the discourse by police

Type	Time		Newsweek	
	Number	%	Number	%
NRSA	1	5.3	0	0
ID	6	31.6	2	40
FID	2	10.1	1	20
DD(s)	3	15.8	1	20
DD	6	31.6	1	20
FDD	1	5.3	0	0
Total	19	100	5	100

ID was the most frequently used mode in *Newsweek* (used in 40 per cent of the cases). It and DD were the most frequently used modes in *Time* (31.6 per cent each) . DD(S), FID and DD were used equally often, i.e. in 20 per cent of the cases, in *Newsweek* . In *Time*, in turn, DD(S) was used more often (15.8 %) than FID (10.1 %), FDD (5.3 %) and NRSA (5.3 %). NRSA and FDD were never used to represent the discourse of this subgroup in *Newsweek*. Direct discourse modes were used in 52.7 per cent and indirect modes in 41.7 per cent of discourse representation in *Time* and were thus more frequent. In *Newsweek* indirect modes were used more often, i.e. in 60 per cent, than direct modes, 40 per cent.

Example 37: (1) "Where the f__ is the damn boy?" Marisleysis says they shouted at her. – – (2) As they raced through the rest of the house, the agents knocked over

a statue of the Virgin Mary and a huge picture of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in the living room. (2) Finally they kicked their way into the bedroom, breaking the door in half. (*Time*, May 1, 2000, numbering added)

Example 38: (1) Goldman said he was stroking Elián's back, while Mills told him of his coming reunion with Papá. (2) "This is one tough little kid," Goldman marveled. (2) "I was shaking. He was not." (*Time*, May 1, 2000, numbering added)

Example 39: Or so they thought, before two federal agents in black body armor jumped the back fence, and eight more burst through the front, firing pepper spray and shouting, "Get down! Get down! Give us the boy!" (*Newsweek*, May 1 2000)

DD is used in all the three examples above. Examples (37) and (38) are both direct quotations from the same article in *Time*. They characterize the same INS agents in two different ways. The first one describes them almost brutal and violent whereas the second describes their human side. In example (37) the setting that comes after DD emphasizes the dramatic effect created with the quotation. On the other hand, from example (38) one could conclude that the agents were, in fact, more scared of the situation than Elián. The picture of the agents given in these two examples is contradictory. In example (37) the direct quotation is not, however, represented as originating directly from the agents but transmitted via Marisleysis González. The fact that she is presented as a transmitter seems to add an element of doubt as regards to whether they really said so. The fact the the quotation is inserted in a setting in which the agents are described violent and brutal seems to make it likely that they did utter the words.

In *Newsweek* DD was used only once and example (39) presents this occasion. Its effect is very dramatic and corresponds more or less the effect created in the situation represented in example (37).

Example 40: The well-regarded chief of police, William O'Brien, quit, denouncing Carollo as "divisive and destructive." (*Newseek*, May 8, 2000)

In example (40) DD(S) is used. Describing O'Brien *well-regarded* in the beginning of the sentence affects the reader's interpretation of his reliability in a positive way. Since he is well-regarded he also seems like a person who can be taken seriously and whose words can be trusted. Nevertheless, his words of

contempt towards Carollo are represented in a direct form. This may be done to remove the responsibility of the words from the reporters to O'Brien. Even though his words are trusted, the reporters do not want to take the risk of criticizing Carollo directly in the narration.

Example 41: (1) In briefings with reporters, federal officials involved in the raid made a fairly convincing case for approaching the González bungalow with a surfeit of caution. (2) For about a week before the raid, federal agents had infiltrated the Little Havana neighborhood, probing and testing security. (3) The agents claim that they did not use any electronic listening devices or employ any moles inside the house. (4) But they did fly overhead in helicopters and fixed-wing craft and use street informants. (5) They had learned that Elián was protected by a coterie of five bodyguards, four with licenses to carry concealed weapons. - - (6) The Feds even spotted five members of a paramilitary groups called Alpha 66, which had shot up a hotel in Cuba in 1995. (*Newsweek*, May 8, 2000, numbering of sentences added)

Like example (41) shows, sometimes it is really difficult to define which part of a text reflects the thoughts of the reporter and which reports the words of someone else. The first sentence in this example is clearly the reporter's voice and works as an introduction to the sentences that follow. The third sentence is clearly ID and representation of the words of the federal agents. The reliability of the words is, however, reduced somewhat with the reporting verb *claim*.

Sentences (2), (4), (5) and (6) are more problematic. There is nothing in the sentences themselves showing that they refer to somebody's speech. They seem to be the reporter's representation of facts. Only the first sentence in this example gives an indication that the following sentences may refer to the speech of the federal agents. Even though it is in no way signaled, sentences (2), (5) and (6) probably originate from the federal agents and represent FID. Sentence (4) can originate from the federal agents, in which case it also represents FID, or it can be the reporter's statement. It is possible that the reporter has seen the helicopters and fixed-wing craft flying or agents interviewing people on the street.

6.3.4 Experts

This group includes mainly academic and mental health experts. Strangely enough their discourse was represented only once in *Time*. In *Newsweek* their

discourse formed 17.2 per cent of the discourse representation of all the so called prominent people in *Newsweek*, and therefore I decided to analyze them as a separate subgroup.

Table 13. The frequencies of discourse representation modes used to report the discourse by experts

Type	Time		Newsweek	
	Number	%	Number	%
NRSA	0	0	0	0
ID	1	100	2	20
FID	0	0	4	40
DD(s)	0	0	1	10
DD	0	0	2	20
FDD	0	0	1	10
Total	1	100	10	100

FID was used most frequently to represent the discourse by experts in *Time* (four times, 40 per cent). DD and ID were the second most frequently used modes (used twice each, 20 per cent) followed by DD(S) and FDD (used each once, 10 per cent). NRSA was never used. Thus indirect modes were used more frequently, in 60 per cent of the cases, than direct modes, 40 per cent. The only occasion of discourse representation in *Time* was represented in ID.

Example 42: (1) Some mental-health professionals were chilled by the boy's performance on the videotape. (2) In contentious custody battles after a divorce, one parent - typically, the mother - may try to turn the child against the other parent. (3) "One parent may keep the child loyal by finding ways to make the child fear the other parent, " says Dr. Janice Aberbanel, a Washington, D.C., psychologist. (4) The child, especially a small child still dependent on the mother, will play along to please the mother. (5) In particularly rough cases, children have been known to make up charges of sexual abuse against their fathers. (*Newsweek* April 24, 2000, numbering added)

The third sentence in example (42) is DD representation of Ms. Aberbanel's discourse. It is difficult to define whose voice is represented in the rest of the sentences in this example. The first sentence seems to be written in the reporters' voice, even though it reflects something the mental-health professionals said. The second sentence looks already like discourse

representation of the professionals even though it is not signaled in any way. However, it seems deliver the same message as the direct quotation in the following, i.e. third, sentence. The fourth and fifth sentence seem to continue Dr. Aberbanel's discourse even though they are not marked as discourse representation. This confusion as regards to voice is a feature of FID, and therefore I consider the second, fourth and fifth sentence as FID. In this case the use of FID makes the words more reliable because they are integrated into the narration and are considered as generally accepted facts.

Example 43: Most professionals believe that the boy needs a careful, calm transition from his Miami family back to his father. (*Newsweek* April 24, 2000)

Example 44: The psychiatrists involved in the case are worried that no one is ready for the endgame – not Elián, who has come to bond with his Miami relatives, and not the Cuban exiles, who have had their hopes raised by each delay. (*Time* April 24, 2000)

What is interesting in examples (43) and (44) is that the exact identity of the reported group is not specified. They are referred to with their profession in example 44 which seems to give credibility to them since they are professionals in their field. In example (43) not even their profession is revealed.

ID is used as a mode of discourse representation probably because its summarizing nature makes it possible to combine statements of several persons. Referring to a large group of professionals gives more credibility to the reported discourse and the article as a whole.

Example 45: (1) Still, Reno's hopes were raised a bit when she got a phone call last Wednesday from Edward (Tad) Foote, president of the University of Miami. (2) A tall, distinguished-looking man who has been a friend of Reno's for almost two decades, dating back to her days as the Dade County state attorney, Foote had a common-sense idea. (3) Why not put Elián's two families at some safe, neutral place, together with a team of professional facilitators, and let them try to work out a peaceful transition? (*Newsweek* May 1, 2000, numbering added)

Only the third sentence in example (45) is discourse representation. In it Mr. Foote's discourse is reported in FDD. Like in many cases in which FDD is used also in this case the reported discourse seems like part of the narration because quotation marks are not used.

What is extraordinary in this example is the extend to which setting is used. The two first sentences give a lot of information about Mr. Foote. In addition to describing his profession, also his looks and his relation to Janet Reno are described before giving his discourse.

6.3.5 Summary of the representation of discourse by politicians, police, lawyers and experts

There were no differences between the magazines in the qualitative side of discourse representation. DD was used to give an impression of immediacy and a dramatic effect when representing the discourse by policemen and the representatives of the legal system. It was also used to show faithfulness to the original form of the discourse in the group of politicians. DD(S) was used to remove the responsibility of some parts of the message to the reported person and also to emphasize the part of discourse represented as a direct quotation. ID was used to summarize the quoted discourse and it also made it possible to integrate the reporters words into the reported discourse. Also the use of FID resulted in a confusion of voice. FDD made it possible to see the quotation as a part of the narration since it was not separated from it with quotation marks.

There was quite a lot of variation in the setting. The position or occupation of the reported person was quite often described, especially in the groups of politicians, experts and the representatives of the legal system. This seemed to show their power and to increase the reliability of the reported person. The discourse of the policemen was in some occasions described in rather a negative setting. Especially during the raid they were described very brutal and violent. In other occasions the setting was also positive and they were regarded as reliable sources of information.

This group was the most frequently quoted group in both magazines. Its proportion of the total amount of discourse representation was greater in *Time*, 58.7 per cent, than in *Newsweek*, 49.2 per cent. Therefore *Time* probably valued their discourse more than the discourse by other sources. *Time* also quoted the discourse by police far more often than *Newsweek*. Policemen were interviewed after the raid and therefore *Time* probably wanted to more emphasize the raid and the policemen's part in it than *Newsweek*. The latter wanted to gain more

reliability to its analyses of the events by giving relatively much space to the comments of experts. Especially the mental health experts were invited to evaluate the situation. Also politicians' discourse was a little more often reported in *Newsweek* than in *Time*. It might be because it wanted to show how political the issue ended up being and how many politicians wanted to comment the case even though they were not directly involved. For example the candidates for the presidential election, Al Gore and George W. Bush, both gave statements of the case, possibly to help their own campaign for presidency.

6.4 Others

This group includes all the people who do not belong to the three groups dealt with above. Some of the people were identified, others were not. It might have been possible to analyze some of the unidentified persons' discourse under another group if their name had been stated. Table 14 below presents the frequencies of discourse representation modes in this group.

Table 14. Frequencies of discourse representation modes when representing the discourse by others

Type	Time		Newsweek	
	Number	%	Number	%
NRSA	0	0	0	0
ID	2	40	2	50
FID	0	0	0	0
DD(s)	0	0	0	0
DD	2	40	1	25
FDD	1	20	1	25
Total	5	100	4	100

The most frequently used discourse representation mode was DD (40 per cent) in *Time* and ID (50 per cent) in *Newsweek*. ID, FDD and FID were each used once in *Time* (20 per cent each) as were DD and FDD (25 per cent each) in *Newsweek*. In *Newsweek* the use of direct and indirect modes was balanced, since half of the cases were reported in each. Direct modes were used more frequently in *Time* (direct 60 per cent, indirect 40 per cent).

Example 44: (1) That didn't necessarily mean, however, that exploitation of Elián was winding down. (2) The Feds' seizure of the small boy was roiling politics from Miami to Washington, and the Internet auction service, eBay, was auctioning off Elián curios. (3) "100 per cent Genuine Raft Used by Elián!!!" declared a seller who claimed to have bought the boy's inner tube from government warehouse. (*Newsweek* May 8, 2000, numbering added)

Example (44) truly reflects the present day since the media in which the reported discourse first appeared is the internet. The third sentence starts with a direct discourse representation by an unidentified seller and the sentence continues in ID. The use of *claim* as a reporting verb seems to show that the person is not very reliable. The setting given in the first two sentences frames the person whose discourse is represented as one of the persons exploiting Elián's case. Therefore DD is probably used to create a dramatic effect and especically to point out that the reported person is fully responsible for the claim.

Example 45: By last week, a source close to Reno told NEWSWEEK, the attorney general had come to believe that Elián's Miami relatives – his great-uncles Lázaro and Delfín and his cousin Marisleysis – were unstable and not dealing in good faith, nor were they likely to. (*Newsweek* May 1, 2000)

The reported person remains unidentified in example (45) as well. The fact that the person is described as a source close to Reno would suggest that this person belongs to the legal system. However, it is not clearly signaled and therefore I treat him/her as a part of this group.

FDD is used to report the discourse in this case. Its effect is that the reported discourse appears as a part of the narration and is not clearly separated as discourse representation. Since the person is not identified it is probably not so important to separate the reported discourse clearly from the narration either. Using a source close to the attorney general seems to make it possible for the magazine to represent her thoughts. This quotation seems to add the impression of immediacy, not to the speaker him/herself but to Janet Reno.

Example 46: Still, ordinary Cubans say they're tired of being herded into Havana's streets for "Free Elián!" rallies; and many Americans feel CANF's zealotry has worsened Miami's dysfunctional image. (*Time* April 3, 2000)

In example 46 there are two groups of people whose discourse is represented: the Cubans and the Americans. I had a separate group for Cubans but I analyze

the latter part of discourse representation here. It is in no way indicated who these Americans exactly are. It seems rather strange that several people said the same thing, i.e. the statement that is represented in example 46. It is more likely that this is the reporters' summary of several persons' statements and therefore the use of ID as a summarizing mode is justified.

Since this group consists of completely different persons in each magazine it is not possible to draw very reliable conclusions on discourse representation on its basis or compare it with the other groups.

7. Access

In this chapter I will study who has *access* to the media in this case. This will be done on the basis of discourse representation. Those whose discourse was represented also had *access* to media. In the analysis of *discourse representation* I already divided the people whose speech was represented in these articles into four groups: Cubans, Cuban Americans (including Elián's relatives), powerful people (lawyers, politicians, police and experts) and others. Table 15 below presents how frequently their discourse was represented in each magazine.

Table 15. Discourse representation as a way of showing access to media: amounts and percentages of discourse representation of each group.

	Time		Newsweek	
Group	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Cubans	13	9.4	35	29.7
Cuban Americans	39	28.3	21	17.8
Lawyers, politicians, police, experts	81	58.7	58	49.2
Others	5	3.6	4	3.4
Total	138	100	118	100

Lawyers, politicians, police and experts had most access to media since their discourse was most frequently represented. In *Time* their discourse was cited 58.7 per cent of all the discourse representation. Also *Newsweek* reported their speech most frequently and their discourse represented 49.2 per cent of the total amount of discourse representation. This seems to support previous studies on *access*, according to which the people with social power have more access to the media.

Cuban Americans were the second most frequently quoted group in *Time* and their discourse formed almost 30 per cent of all the discourse representation. In *Newsweek* their proportion was around 18 per cent. The fact that their discourse was represented to such a high degree seems to argue against van Dijk's findings that the representatives of a minority have very

limited access to media. Cuban Americans cannot, however, be compared with the minority representatives in van Dijk's study. First of all Cuban Americans are a very powerful minority in the United States. Secondly, they generally agree with the official U.S. policy towards Cuba. And finally, they were closely involved in this case because some of Elián's relatives are Cuban Americans who fled from Cuba. Cuban Americans in general seem to be strongly against Cuban society and did not seem to understand why the child should be returned and commented the case widely.

There is a remarkable difference between the magazines as regards to how often the discourse of the Cubans is reported. Their proportion of the total amount of discourse representation was almost 30 per cent in *Newsweek*. In *Time*, on the contrary, their discourse represented less than ten per cent of the total amount of discourse representation. There was thus a tendency to concentrate on the people living in the United States in *Time*. This might have been caused by the fact that their comments were more easily accessed.

The voices of others, i.e. the people whose identity was either not revealed or who did not belong to any of the other groups, were represented rather rarely in both magazines. Their proportion of the total amount of discourse representation was less than four per cent in both magazines.

8. Conclusion

The present study dealt with discourse representation in media texts. Articles published in *Newsweek* and *Time* served as the data. The articles published in magazines rather than in newspaper were chosen because as far as I know they have not been used as data in the analysis of discourse representation before. All in all there was more discourse representation in *Time* than in *Newsweek.* The former reported the speech or writing of someone else than the reporter altogether 138 times while the latter reported it 118 times. The difference is, however, not a significant one and it is not possible to draw a conclusion that *Time* would generally use more discourse representation since the articles were not of equal length in the two magazines. The result makes it possible to state that both magazines use discourse representation to rather a great degree.

The discourse of different people was represented with several different modes. I have given rather thorough numeric information of the different use of discourse representation modes in the chapters 6.1 to 6.4 dealing with each group as well as in the appendix and therefore there is no need to go into that in detail here. *Time* used direct modes of discourse representation more than indirect modes when representing the discourse by Cubans and Cuban Americans, whereas there was a balance in the representation of the discourse by the powerful group. In *Newsweek,* on the other hand, direct modes were more frequently used when representing the discourse by Cuban Americans and the powerful people, whereas there was a balance between direct and indirect modes in the group of Cubans.

The effects of the different discourse representation modes were similar in different groups. In every group the use of FDD and DD resulted in a dramatic effect and created an impression of immediacy. DD(S) was used for the same purposes and additionally to give the responsibility of the message to the reported person. ID was used to represent the reported speech in a shorter form in each group. FID resulted in an insecurity of the origin of the discourse in each group and made it also possible to integrate the reporters evaluation into the reported discourse. In the group of Cuban Americans it was also used in a

way that created a more dramatic and dynamic effect than the use of ID would have done. In this group also ID resulted in a confusion of the form and source of the discourse. The confusion of voice seems to support Fairclough's notion of low boundary maintenance in media texts rather than Waugh's argument that the voice of the reported person is always clearly separated from the voice of the reporter.

Setting was used to a relatively high degree. Its effects varied within the powerful group, sometimes having a positive, sometimes a negative effect. A positive effect was given by identifying the social position or profession of a person belonging to this group. In addition, positive adjectives, like *well-regarded*, were used. In the article reporting the raid, the policemen were described brutal and violent, otherwise the setting around their discourse was neutral or positive.

In the group of Cuban Americans the reliability of especially Elián's relatives was quite often questioned. On the other hand, setting presented the tender side of their personality as well. The difference between the setting for the discourse representation of the Cubans Americans and for the first group was that the Cubans Americans were most often described with emotional features, whereas a typical setting for a member of the first group was description of a title or a social position.

There was a great degree of variation in the setting within the group of Cubans. Elián and Juan Miguel González were described in a positive way whereas Fidel Castro was almost exclusively set into a negative light. This of course was expectable knowing that Castro is seen as "the" enemy of the United States. The setting around Elián's and Juan Miguel's speech, like Elián's Cuban American relatives, mostly described emotional features.

The access to the media was given to Cubans, Cuban Americans and the so called prominent people as well as a few persons who do not belong to any of these groups. As expected, the group of so called prominent people included different politicians, police officers on both local and federal level as well as mental health and academic experts. Also according to expectations this group was the most frequently quoted single group and the representation of its discourse ranged up to half of all the total amount of discourse representation

in *Newsweek* and to more than half in *Time*. This supports e.g. Hartley's and van Dijk's view according to which the prominent people are invited to comment on media events.

The discourse by Cubans and Cuban Americans was represented rather frequently, especially in *Time*. The discourse of Cuban Americans ranged up to 28.3 per cent of all the discourse representation in *Time* and 17.8 per cent in *Newsweek*. The group of Cuban Americans was thus the second most frequently quoted group in *Time*. Whereas *Time* reported the speech of Cuban Americans somewhat more, *Newsweek* reported the speech by Cubans more than *Time*, their discourse was 29.7 per cent of all the discourse representation in the latter magazine and only 9.4 per cent in the former. That Cubans were quoted more frequently in *Newsweek* and Cuban Americans in *Time* was maybe the greatest quantitative difference between the two magazines.

The model by Leech and Short was widened by adding DD(S) mode. On the basis of this study I can conclude that this addition was necessary since DD(S) was used several times in both magazines. In general, I think the model worked rather well on my data. All the modes of discourse representation were used in the articles (cf. the table in the appendix). There were some problems in categorizing some instances of discourse representation but that resulted usually from the ambiguity of the instance rather than from an incomplete model for categorization. Even though I agree with Waugh's assumption that the type of FID in which thoughts and narration are mixed does not occur in journalistic discourse, I still think that the model functioned well in the data. Since I used Leech's and Short's categorization I found also instances of FID. Waugh would have considered them ID with some modification.

The power of the reporters to influence readers was visible in my data. Their opinions were maybe the most obvious in cases they were reporting something Fidel Castro had said. The setting around his discourse revealed a very negative attitude towards him. Rather negative setting was used also in some descriptions of Elián's Miami relatives. Setting was quite an obvious way of trying to influence the readers whereas another, more hidden, method was also used. In some instances of ID and FID the reporters had merged their own interpretation or opinion of the situation into the discourse representation. It

was difficult to see it at first hand but when taking a closer look the sarcasm revealed in some instances that the reporter wanted to say something without specifically separating it from the voice of the other person.

The facts that the group consisting of police, politicians, lawyers and experts was most frequently quoted, that setting was used to affect the readers interpretation and that FID and ID were used to insert the journalists' opinion and interpretation into discourse representation seems to imply that the reporters of *Time* and *Newsweek* were not completely objective when writing about the case of Elián González. Their bias is very evident only in the description of Fidel Castro and the other ways of influencing the readers are less obvious. Therefore the closer analysis of discourse representation, setting and access was rather fruitful since it revealed also other ways of being biased.

I have to admit that interpreting the possible effects of different discourse representation modes was rather difficult. It cannot be done in an objective way but the analyzers subjective conception has to be used. Therefore another person might have interpreted the use of certain mode in a different way. I also think that a more thorough analysis of setting would have been quite valuable. By studying setting it is usually possible to see quite clearly the reporters' bias.

Of course studying *discourse representation*, *access* and *setting* are not the only ways of studying media. Even my data could have been studied from several other points of view. Already a closer analysis of *setting* would have probably resulted in interesting findings. One way of analyzing setting more closely is to study the verbs used in the reporting clause. We are bound to have a different view of a person who *screams* and of a person who *affirms*. Also the way of referring to the reported persons and wider textual context belong to the setting.

Critical analysis of media texts is at its most interesting when controversial issues are handled in the media. Especially in the present situation in the world politics there is most likely a great amount of interesting material for those interested in the critical study of media texts. The ways of reporting the demonstrations against G8 meetings and, more recently, the attacks to the World Trade Center and Pentagon in the USA and their consequences have already resulted in interesting material for future research. Comparing the ways

different media deal with those events would be of interest. A comparison between the ways the media in the opposite sides of the conflict deal with the events would probably be even more interesting.

I found studying media texts very interesting task. My findings emphasized my initial consideration that it is extremely important to study the media and their effect on our everyday life. I hope I was able to show that by taking a closer look to a media text we can find more than meets the eye at first hand.

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Appendix: Modes of discourse representation in the total data

The table below presents the frequencies and percentages of each discourse representation mode in the entire data.

	Time		Newsweek	
Group	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
NRSA	6	4.3	6	5.1
ID	41	29.7	25	21.2
FID	14	10.1	25	21.2
DD(S)	18	13.0	18	15.3
DD	50	36.2	39	33.1
FDD	9	6.5	5	4.2
Total	138	100	118	100