Indirect discourse in Greek news articles:
Voices and reporting verbs

Maria Kakavoulia & Periklis Politis
Panteion University & Aristotle University of Thessaloniki

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

Στο παρόν άρθρο μελετάται ο πλάγιος λόγος (ΠΛ) ως η στατιστικά επικρατέστερη μορφή αναπαράστασης λόγου σε ειδήσεις δύο ελληνικών εφημερίδων μεγάλης κυκλοφορίας, της *Καθημερινής* και των *Νέων*. Στόχος του είναι η διερεύνηση γλωσσικών χαρακτηριστικών του ΠΛ και η επισήμανση του ιδεολογικού τους ρόλου στη δημοσιογραφική γραφή. Ειδικότερα, μελετώνται συγκριτικά οι λειτουργίες του ΠΛ με βάση: α) τις σημασιολογικές κατηγορίες των ρημάτων αναφοράς, β) τον χαρακτηρισμό των αναφερόμενων πηγών (γραπτών κειμένων ή ομιλητών) και γ) το σύστημα σχέσεων ανάμεσα στα ρήματα αναφοράς και τις αναφερόμενες πηγές. Συμπερασματικά, ο ΠΛ έχει ρυθμιστικό ρόλο όσον αφορά τις υφολογικές και ιδεολογικές διαφοροποιήσεις των δύο εντύπων. Τα *Νέα* προσανατολίζονται σε μια προσωποποιημένη εκδοχή της πολιτικής μέσα από γλωσσικές επιλογές που βρίσκονται στα όρια μιας ανεπίσημης/προφορικής ποικιλίας, ενώ η *Καθημερινή*, με γλωσσικές επιλογές κοντά στα όρια της τυπικότητας και της υψηλής ποικιλίας, υιοθετεί μια κοινωνικά και θεσμικά πιο διευρυμένη άποψη της πολιτικής.

ΛΕΞΕΙΣ-ΚΛΕΙΔΙΑ: discourse analysis, ideology, indirect discourse, speech and thought representation

1. Introduction[*]

Indirect discourse (henceforth ID) is the statistically dominant form of reported discourse of both primary (newsmakers, witnesses) and secondary (news agencies or other media) news sources (Bell 1991: 209). ID allows the news reporter to draw on a speech event in order to assert the factuality of a news item, without at the same time having to prove its faithfulness to an original speech event as in the case of direct discourse (Politis & Kakavoulia 2006). While traditional accounts studied mostly the grammatical and syntactic transformations of ID (Olivares 1979), more recent studies underline the pragmatic, semantic or functional aspects of ID (Wierzbicka 1974, Coulmas 1986, Fairclough 1995: 54 ff., Güldemann & Roncador 2002, Semino & Short 2004).[1] In this type of discourse (X *said* that P) the reporting clause is basically organized around two paradigmatic axes: lexical and grammatical choices made by the journalist to characterize a) the source as voice (*who* said P) and b) the speech activity of the voice (*how* s/he said P). The projected clause representing the ideational content and *not* the form of the reported discourse (Halliday 1985: 232) is syntactically and pragmatically subordinate to the interpretative frame of the projecting clause. The journalist undertakes full responsibility for the discourse s/he is reporting and, in this sense, ID in news texts is a *monological* discourse (Bakhtin).

The aim of our paper is to study the linguistic construction of ID in news reports and its ideological impact on journalistic writing (Fairclough 1995). More specifically we will examine:

a) the semantic categories of the speech reporting verbs (henceforth SRVs) and how these introduce various ideological stances towards the reported message,

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[*] The authors wish to thank the anonymous reviewers for their improving suggestions.

[1] ID has been approached from various perspectives as, for instance, Davidson's classical logico-philosophical account (Davidson 1968, Johnson 2009) or Sakita's cognitive linguistic analysis (Sakita 2002). It has also been studied in different domains: in a variety of genres and registers (López-Muñoz et al. 2004), in journalistic discourse (Waugh 1995), in literary narratives (Fludernik 1993) or in academic texts (Hyland 2000: 20 ff.).

     b) the linguistic description of news' sources in relation to their social status, and
     c) the system of interrelations between SRVs and news sources.
Our research is based on two newspapers of broad circulation with different linguistic
and ideological profiles, namely *I Kathimerini* (K) (an up-market paper) and *Ta Nea* (N)
(a mid-market paper). We believe that a comparative study of ID will reveal more
clearly the ideological implications of its different uses. Our data were collected by
random daily selection of three or four news articles from the above mentioned
newspapers for the period of one month (January 2004).

2. Theoretical framework

It is generally acknowledged that the reporting verb (*verbum dicendi*) plays an
important role in the strategies of discourse reporting (Olivares 1979). Even though in
the past there have been several attempts to classify reporting verbs according to their
illocutionary force (Austin 1962, Travis 1975, Katz 1977, among others), the
classification of speech and thought reporting verbs remains still an unresolved
theoretical issue.[2]

     For the purposes of our analysis of ID, however, we found particularly useful
Caldas-Coulthard's typology (1994), which classifies SRVs according to their function
in relation to the reported clause (1994: 305). Her category of SRVs concerns both the
locutionary and the illocutionary components of a speech act and it is further subdivided
into a) neutral reporting verbs (*say*, *report*) and b) metapropositional reporting verbs
(further subdivided into assertives, directives, commissives etc.). Apart from the SRV
categories, Caldas-Coulthard's typology comprises another category of reporting verbs,
namely *transcript* verbs, which are metatextual or meta-discoursal verbs that signal
parts of a document or a speech event (*repeat, add, continue*).

     Moreover, for the frequently appearing category of assertive SRVs, we used
Monville-Burston's (1993) verb classification into *clarification assertives* and *diffusion
of information assertives*. As for the thought-reporting verbs category, we adopted
Leech's (1977) category of *psychological (cognitive) predicates* subdivided into two
types of epistemic verbs: namely, *propositional* and *dubitative* verbs.

     The issue of the journalist's or the newsmaker's attitude as expressed by the
choice of specific verbs remains methodologically problematic. In other words, the
choice of SRVs theoretically allows the writer to construct a specific (positive, negative,
neutral) image of the agent whose words are reported.[3] While some studies approach the
matter on the basis of the verbs' prototypical semantic features (Geis 1987, Thompson
1996), others adopt a context or co-text dependent approach (Floyd 2000). Possibly, a
combined approach −that is both systemic and context oriented− would provide a more
legitimate interpretation and classification of attitudes expressed by the reporting verbs.

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[2] Various classifications of SRVs have been used to explore the role of the reporting verb in
scientific/academic discourse, in science media articles, in medical journal articles etc. The relevant
studies have shown a significant variation among genres and registers in the choice of the reporting verbs
(Thomas & Hawes 1994, Calsamiglia & Ferrero 2003, among others).
[3] In particular, a number of studies of ID in scientific articles and academic papers have focused on the
choice of the reporting verb considered as marker of the writer's stance or her/his evaluation of the
reported speech (Thompson & Ye 1991, Thomas & Hawes 1994, Hyland 2000, Calsamiglia & Ferrero
2003).

Finally, concerning the linguistic representation of news sources which is linked to the register of each newspaper (hence their ideological status), we adopt a basic semantic categorization into animate, inanimate and zero/unclear agents (Pöppönen & Ståhlberg 1993). Each one of these categories includes grammatical forms that attribute a name/label to the sources' identity (Jucker 1996). The social and professional status of the news sources is further classified according to Bell's empirical typology (1991: 193-5).

3. Quantitative and qualitative analysis of the speech reporting verbs

Statistical information concerning the distribution of categories and subcategories of various SRVs –in both newspapers– shows interesting differences and similarities between them. As can be seen in Table 1, both newspapers use speech rather than thought reporting verbs since the former constitute the actual raw material for most news reports. This is in line with the journalistic convention that narration of internal states of news' actors does not privilege objective information. However, K uses statistically more thought reporting verbs than N, a preference that implies a rather unconventional attitude towards journalistic writing.

Table 1. Distribution of reporting verb types

		TA NEA (211)	I KATHIMERINI (87)
1.	**SPEECH REPORTING VERBS**	*192 (91%)*	*76 (87,35%)*
1a.	NEUTRAL	33 (15,63%)	13 (14,94%)
1b.	METAPROPOSITIONAL		
	Assertives (*clarification*)	51 (24,17%)	14 (16,09%)
	Assertives (*diffusion of information*)	59 (27,96%)	22 (25,28%)
	Directives	24 (11,37%)	16 (18,39%)
	Commissives	9 (4,26%)	5 (5,74%)
	Expressives	9 (4,26%)	3 (3,44%)
1c.	TRANSCRIPT (*discourse-signalling*)	8 (3,79%)	3 (3,44%)
2.	**THOUGHT REPORTING VERBS**	*19 (9%)*	*11 (12,64%)*
2a.	PROPOSITIONAL	14 (6,63%)	10 (11,49%)
2b.	DUBITATIVE	–	1 (1,14%)
2c.	VOLITIONAL	5 (2,36%)	–

Concerning the major category of SRVs, two important differences arise between the two newspapers: N uses significantly more clarification assertives than K, possibly because N addresses a public not only interested in the diffusion of institutional information, but also in its well-explained, clarified content. In K, instead, there are significantly more metapropositional directives than in N, a difference indicating that the newspaper entrusts discourses of powerful social actors.

Table 2 in the following page gives details about the specific verbs used in each newspaper. Next, in order to explore ideological attitudes implied in the reporting clause, we will examine the most frequently appearing SRVs and we will focus on the interaction between their grammatical and semantic features.

Table 2. Reporting verbs in the two newspapers

		TA NEA	I KATHIMERINI
1. SPEECH REPORTING VERBS			
1a.	NEUTRAL		
	léo 'to say'	21/33	4/13
	anaféro 'to state'	8/33	6/13
1b.	METAPROPOSITIONAL		
	Assertives (*clarification*)		
	tonízo 'to stress'	20/51	4/14
	simióno 'to note'	10/51	2/14
	episiméno 'to point out'	9/51	8/14
	δiefkrinízo 'to clarify'	4/51	–
	paratiró 'to remark'	4/51	–
	Assertives (*diffusion of information*)		
	δilóno 'to declare'	16/59	3/22
	ipostirízo 'to maintain'	15/59	10/22
	anakinóno 'to announce'	5/59	2/22
	ipenθimízo 'to remind'	4/59	–
	isxirízome 'to claim', 'to argue'	4/59	–
	Directives		
	zitó 'to ask to'	11/24	5/16
	kaló 'to call somebody to'	6/24	6/16
	protíno 'to propose', 'to suggest'	4/24	3/16
	Commissives		
	δiaveveóno 'to assure'	4/9	1/5
	δezmévome 'to commit oneself'	1/9	3/5
	Expressives		
	katiɣoró 'to accuse', 'to blame'	5/9	–
	katanĝélo 'to denounce'	2/9	2/3
1c.	TRANSCRIPT (*discourse-signalling*)		
	prosθéto 'to add'	5/8	–
	epanalamváno 'to repeat'	2/8	3/3
	simbliróno 'to add, to fill in'	1/8	–
2. THOUGHT REPORTING VERBS			
2a.	PROPOSITIONAL		
	θeoró 'to think'	5/14	–
	provlépo 'to anticipate'	3/14	–
	ektimó 'to estimate'	–	5/10
	kríno 'to consider'	1/14	3/10
2b.	DUBITATIVE		
	anarotxéme 'to wonder'	–	1/2
	ekfrázo fóvo 'to fear that'	1/1	1/2
2c.	VOLITIONAL		
	arnúme 'to refuse'	2/4	–
	apofévɣo 'to avoid'	2/4	–

3.1. Speech reporting verbs
3.1.1. Neutral verbs
Neutral verbs are the most frequently used SRVs (Leitner 1985: 195, Bell 1991: 206). In our data, two of them show high frequencies: 'léo' (to say) and 'anaféro' (to report, to state). The verb 'léo' (to say) has the following grammatical features: a) perfective aspect, b) third person singular, past tense, and c) that ('oti' or rarely 'pos') complement.

Concerning the attitudes attributed by the reporter to the news source, these are related to the prototypically neutral meaning of the verb 'léo' that bears no evaluative or interpretative properties (Pedersen 1996: 44), as in example 1:

(1) Ο Ντενκτάς *είπε πως* θα γίνει προσπάθεια να λυθεί το Κυπριακό. (Ν, 11/1/04)
    'Denktash said that there will be an effort to solution of the Cyprus problem.'

'Léo' is also related to a contextual meaning formulated by the description of the performance conditions of the speech event, attributing thereby a tinge of formality to the verb, as in example 2:

(2) *Μιλώντας γι' αυτό το θέμα σε δημοσιογράφους στη Γερμανία*, ο κ. Παπανδρέου *είπε*
    πως έκανε μια πρόταση την οποία θα συζητήσουν... (Ν, 8/1/04).
    'Talking about this issue to journalists in Germany, Mr. Papandreou said that he made a proposal which will be discussed...'

The verb 'anaféro' –frequently in K– grammatically appears in past or present tense, while in passive form ('anaférete oti', *αναφέρεται ότι*) this reporting verb introduces official documents. The use of 'anaféro' entails a certain attitude of the reporter towards the news source. This attitude, clearly demarcated in N, is mainly related to either a public act of reference usually attributed to a powerful actor in a formal setting or to a plausible concealing of the lack of specified information sources, as in example 3:

(3) Πηγή της ΕΛ.ΑΣ. *ανέφερε ότι* στο προξενείο εργάζονται κανονικά οι υπάλληλοι.
    (Ν, 16/1/04)
    'A Greek Police source stated that the employees of the consulate are regularly working.'

'Anaféro' is never attributed to an anonymous eye-witness.

3.1.2. Metapropositional verbs
3.1.2.1. Assertive reporting verbs (*clarification*)
This reporting verb subcategory is basically characterized by the clarification and emphasis of the locution of an assertive speech act in various ways.

The verb 'tonízo' (stress, underline), grammatically bound to an already completed speech event, occurs in past or gerund forms. The use and meaning of 'tonízo' depends on the co[n]text of the speech event (time, number, focalization adverbials) or on a twofold argument in which 'tonízo' always adds a new and more specific item. Assigned to powerful actors who engage in criticizing their opponents,

'tonízo' is used to particularize and specify a point in an argumentative process as in example 4:

> (4) Όσον αφορά στη δημιουργία νοσοκομειακών γιατρών δύο ταχυτήτων, ο κ. Λαοπόδης
> *τονίζει ότι* η σχετική εμπειρία του διαστήματος 1990-1993 έδειξε ότι το μέτρο δεν είναι αποτελεσματικό. (K, 16/1/04)
> 'Concerning the creation of hospital doctors of two levels, Mr. Laopodis stressed that the relevant experience from the 1990-1993 period has shown that the measure is not effective.'

'Simióno' (to note, to indicate) is a reporting verb mostly appearing in N to report an extract of discourse originating from official documents. All its uses rely on the prototypical meaning of the verb, which marks the complement as a signal (*semeion*). Especially, the passive voice of the verb ('simiónete', σημειώνεται) introduces in the text the impersonal, 'objective' voice of the newspaper, using at the same time a kind of prestigious language, as in example 5:

> (5) *Σημειώνεται ότι* ήταν η πρώτη φορά που συναντήθηκαν οι υπουργοί Παιδείας των δύο
> κρατών στην έδρα του Οικουμενικού Πατριαρχείου. (N, 23/1/04)
> 'It is noted that this was the first time the Ministers of Education of both countries met in the Holy See of the Ecumenical Patriarchate.'

The verb 'episiméno' (to point out) −most favoured by K among clarification assertives− shares with the verb 'simióno' a "gesture of deixis", as they both direct the addressee's attention towards specific aspects of a situation (Monville-Burston 1993: 62-3). However, 'episiméno' highlights even more strongly the foregrounded aspects and thus ascribes to the addressee a significant role, because something is indicated on her/his behalf. Moreover, 'episiméno' is considered to indicate that the reporter agrees with the contents of the projected clause without necessarily undertaking responsibility for these (Pedersen 1996: 46). In K the verb 'episiméno' often introduces technical or expertise information attributed to knowledgeable experts, as in example 6:

> (6) Η «Ευρωπαϊκή Δυναμική» προσέφυγε στο ΣτΕ, *επισημαίνοντας ότι* η προσφορά της «Ιντρακόμ» έλαβε μεγαλύτερο βαθμό όχι μόνο στα κριτήρια που ζητούσε αναβαθμολόγηση αλλά και σε άλλα τρία για τα οποία δεν είχε υποβάλει σχετικό αίτημα. (K, 29/1/04)
> '"European Dynamics" had recourse to the Council of State pointing out that Intracom's offer received a higher ranking...'

3.1.2.2. Assertive reporting verbs (*diffusion of information*)

According to Monville-Burston (1993: 65) verbs denoting the diffusion of socially interesting information share the following features:

  a) an illocutionary intention, mainly that of making something known to the wider public (in various ways),
  b) the non-individualization of the addressee, by which the speech act is rendered as an impersonal act,

c) a focus on the content of the message, something that entails the acceptance of its truth claim,

d) a tone of formality which increases the power of the message.

In N, the above features are ideally expressed by the verb 'δilóno' (to declare). This verb introduces opinions, decisions and, more rarely, factual information stated by politicians, officials or powerful nation states. The verb 'δilóno' precludes answers, excludes counterarguments, since it imposes the content of an authority discourse (a value judgment or an official decision) as indisputable.

The verb 'ipostirízo' (to maintain), appearing mostly in K, expresses a publicly stated opinion. Even though the reporter knows that the content of the supported claim is disputable, s/he wants to present the source's views in a stable and well-intentioned manner.

In our data, the next three verbs of this subcategory, namely 'anakinóno' (to announce), 'ipenθimízo' (to remind) and 'isxirízome' (to claim, to argue) are underrepresented. The verb 'isxirízome' is the SRV that most clearly expresses the reporter's doubts and scepticism about the truth claims of the reported discourse (Floyd 2000: 50). Therefore, it is attributed only to persons of low reliability (eye-witnesses, legally involved persons etc.), as in example 7:

> (7) Ο 29χρονος οδηγός του φορτηγού *ισχυρίστηκε ότι* εγκατέλειψε αβοήθητο το θύμα του
> επειδή φοβήθηκε. (N, 9/1/04)
> 'The 29-year old truck driver claimed that he abandoned his victim helpless because he was afraid.'

3.1.2.3. Directive reporting verbs

Directives –in our data– are used to further demonstrate the illocutionary force of indirectly reported discourse (*na*-complement) in the cases of a public request, a command, a plea or an urging.

The verb 'zitó' (to ask to, to request) is used in both newspapers mainly to introduce requests of powerful or less powerful actors made to various addressees, whether these are named or anonymous (citizens, state services, government, politicians etc.), as in example 8:

> (8) Ο κ. Τσοβόλας *ζήτησε* από τους πολίτες *να* καταψηφίσουν το ΠΑΣΟΚ.
> (N, 12/1/04)
> 'Mr. Tsovolas asked the citizens to vote against PASOK.'

The verb 'kaló' (to call somebody to) expresses institutional commands stemming from vague or unconfirmed sources. In K all uses of 'kaló' express different types of plea – not necessarily political, as in example 9:

> (9) *Να τοποθετηθεί* προεκλογικά σε ζητήματα προστασίας των ανθρωπίνων δικαιωμάτων
> *καλεί* τον πολιτικό κόσμο η Διεθνής Αμνηστία. (Κ, 27/1/04)
> 'Amnesty International calls upon the political world to publicly state an opinion before the elections on issues of human rights' protection.'

Finally, the verb 'protíno' (to propose, to suggest) −only in K− is a "performative" verb representing "real" proposals of usually legal content.

3.1.2.4. Commissive reporting verbs
In our data, commissives make explicit the illocutionary force of an indirectly reported discourse related to public commitments and promises. Commissives are the most 'performative' of all SRVs, because they perform a response to an already stated request and are oriented towards the agent who takes the responsibility of a promise. The verb 'διαveveóno' (to assure) and its noun form ('διαvevéosi') is mostly used by N to express commitments of politicians, while K prefers instead the synonym 'δesmévome' (to commit oneself).

3.1.2.5. Expressive reporting verbs
Expressives in our data, such as 'katiγoró' (to accuse, to blame) in N and 'katanǧélo' (to denounce) in K, demonstrate the illocutionary character of ID (with *oti*-complement) when this discourse constitutes a public critique of ethical or legal content.

3.1.3. Transcript verbs
Verbs of this category −infrequent in the written press− transcribe and emphasize parts of a reported discourse according to the reporter's interpretation. Among the verbs of this category, the verb 'prosθéto' (to add) describes an internal addition in the sense that the statement after this verb is thematically bound to a formerly mentioned statement considered −as such− more important (Monville-Burston 1993: 59-60). Moreover, in both newspapers, the verb 'prosθéto', framed by contrastive connectives, is used in a context of argumentation, as in example 10:

> (10) Ο κ. Αλιβιζάτος *πρόσθεσε* εξάλλου *ότι* σε κάθε περίπτωση οι κατάλογοι
> συντάσσονται με ευθύνη των δημάρχων. (N, 21/1/04)
> 'Mr. Alivizatos added that in any case the lists are compiled under the
> responsibility of the mayor.'

3.2. Thought reporting verbs
3.2.1. Propositional verbs
In general, the verbs of this category interpret the propositional content of the complement as a cognitive act of public character and common interest. As expected, for reasons of journalistic commitment to objectivity, the verbs that interpret the thoughts of a source are underrepresented in our corpus. In N there are some appearances of the verbs 'θeoró' (to think) and 'provlépo' (to anticipate) expressing respectively important political judgments and political speculations. K prefers the verbs 'ektimó' (to estimate) or 'kríno' (to consider) in order to introduce inferences and logical or evaluative judgments.

(11) Ο Πρόεδρος Μπους *θεωρεί ότι* ο Τούρκος Πρωθυπουργός Τ. Ερντογάν έχει
αποδεχθεί τους όρους... (Ν, 6/2/04)
'President Bush believes that Turkish Prime Minister T. Erdogan has accepted
the conditions....'

(12) ...η (ευρωβουλευτής του ΠΑΣΟΚ) κ. Καραμάνου *κρίνει ότι* μοναδική λύση είναι η
ποινικοποίηση της χρήσης προϊόντων της βιομηχανίας του σεξ.
(Κ, 30/1/04)
'...Ms. Karamanou, PASOK member of the European Parliament, considers that
criminalizing the use of sex industry products is the only solution.'

4. News actors labelling in relation to their social status

Table 3 shows all news actors distributed according to their social/professional status
(Bell 1991), their semantic categorization (Pöppönen & Ståhlberg 1993) and their
linguistic description (Jucker 1996).

Table 3. Correlation between news actor labelling and news actor social status

News actor status / News actor labelling	Political figure		Official		Professional/ Public figure		Criminal/ Accused		Participant (victim/ witness)		Ø	
	N	K	N	K	N	K	N	K	N	K	N	K
A. Animate agent												
1. PERSONAL												
a. Name:												
- title + surname	43	4	7	3	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
- title + full name	–	3	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
- surname	12	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
- full name	19	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	1	–	–	–
b. Descriptive label	30	1	2	2	1	1	2	–	5	–	–	–
c. Apposition	25	13	3	9	3	4	–	–	1	–	–	–
2. COMMUNAL												
a. Collective noun	4	4	–	3	–	1	–	–	1	1	–	–
b. Descriptive noun	3	1	7	7	3	8	–	1	3	–	–	–
c. Acronym	5	6	1	4	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
d. Metonymy/ Metaphor	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
B. Inanimate agent												
1. Concrete noun	2	–	3	4	–	2	–	–	–	1	–	–
2. Abstract noun	5	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
C. Unspecified agent												
1. Zero	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	6	1
2. Unclear	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	6	1
Total	151	32	23	33	8	17	4	1	11	2	12	2
%	72.2	36.7	11	37.9	3.8	19.5	1.9	1.1	5.2	2.2	5.7	2.2

A horizontal reading shows a gradually descending line starting from political figures or officials, ending with victims or witnesses. Priority is given to actors-agents, whose words constitute actual deeds rather than to actors-informers, who simply provide details about unexpected events (Meteva 2002).

Concerning the social status of news actors, the two newspapers slightly differ: K prefers officials (37.9%) and professionals (19.5%) rather than political figures (36.7%), while N prefers mostly political figures (72.2%) rather than officials (11%) or professionals (3.8%) and only occasionally victims (5.2%) or accused (1.9%), i.e. sources of negative events. In both newspapers, however, news actors categories such as celebrities, sportspersons or human interest figures (Bell 1991: 194) are totally absent. In their own way, therefore, both newspapers are evidently political newspapers: N presents politics as an activity of individual political actors, while K treats politics as a matter of institutionally determined procedures.

A vertical reading of Table 3 shows a descending line from animate to inanimate and from personal to communal agents. A title (Mr. or Mrs.) is attributed only to political figures ("Mr. Karamanlis") and state officials. Descriptive labels ("the American President") and appositions ("the Prime Minister Kostas Simitis") are also two favourite ways of actors' characterization.

Concerning communal agents, K prefers to characterize them by descriptive noun phrases ("the representatives of OTE") or acronyms. Inanimate agents are characterized by concrete or abstract nouns. N prefers to use political texts or decisions, while K takes more advantage of public state documents.

We will next examine the linguistic identity of news sources as social actors. Both newspapers avoid characterizations of their sources in terms of surnames, diminutives or nicknames. The structure *<title + surname>* ("Mr. Papandreou") is mostly used to characterize politically powerful persons. The structure *<title + full name>* ("Mr. Evangelos Venizelos") rarely appears. Especially in N, interesting are the cases of ideologically oriented characterizations of politicians only with their surname or their full name. For instance, Turkish or Turkish Cypriot politicians ("Erdogan", "Denktash") are mainly characterized with their surname, while full names are used to characterize almost exclusively a) the leader of the Turkish Cypriots (the nationally dangerous 'other'), and b) "Aleka Papariga" (the politically unwanted 'other'). In this latter case of the General Secretary of the Greek Communist party (KKE) the persisting usage of the popular diminutive 'Aleka' seems to be considered permissible for a woman politician.

5. News actors in relation to reporting verbs

So far, we have separately examined the two paradigmatic axes of the projecting clause of an ID structure, namely the reporting verbs and the news voices in both newspapers. However, a critical approach of ID in news texts has to take into account a combined examination of these two axes, because the right to perform different types of speech acts is typically assigned by the journalist to different news actors, and this combination clearly indicates the ideological orientation of each medium. The interrelation between reporting verbs and voices is shown in Table 4, which presents the number of animate agents (personal and communal) in relation to each category of speech reporting verbs.

In N the picture has as follows: neutral speech acts are performed only by political persons (no collective agents). The same picture is valid for the assertive, the directive, the commissive and the expressive speech acts, which are mostly attributed to

political actors (specifically individuals). In lower percentage only, the information diffusion is commissioned to other professionals or legally involved persons (accused, victims, criminals etc.). Finally, cognitive speech acts of epistemic character are equally attributed to both politicians and officials.

Table 4. Correlation between news actor status and reporting verbs

	Political figure		Official		Professional/ Public figure		Criminal/ Accused		Participant (victim/witness)	
	N	K	N	K	N	K	N	K	N	K
1. SPEECH-REPORTING VERBS										
1a. NEUTRAL	25/4	5/	1/2	1/2	–	2/	–	1/	–	/1
1b. META-PROPOSITIONAL										
Assertives (*clarification)*	32/3	1/1	2/1	2/1	1/	5/1	–	–	–	–
Assertives (*diffusion of information*)	39/5	1/4	5/	3/2	3/1	2/6	4/	–	1/	–
Directives	14/2	8/1	1/1	3/1	–	/1	–	–	3/	–
Commissives	5/	3/2	–	–	–	–	1/	–	–	–
Expressives	6/	1/	–	–	–	/1	–	–	–	–
1c. TRANSCRIPT	5/	1/	1/	2/	1/	–	–	–	/1	–
2. THOUGHT-REPORTING VERBS										
2a. PROPOSITIONAL	7/2	3/1	1/1	3/4	1/	–	–	–	–	–
2b. DUBITATIVE	–	1/	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2c. VOLITIONAL	2/	–	–	–	–	–	1/	–	1/	–

The picture of K has as follows: neutral speech acts are performed by almost every news source category in a descending line (from the more powerful to the less powerful actors). In K, as opposed to N, clarification assertives are attributed not to political figures, but to officials or to scientists and professionals. Moreover, for K diffusion of information is usually commissioned to collective actors, while directive speech acts are performed by politicians and by officials. Concerning commissive and expressive speech acts, the data of K are similar to those of N. Finally, cognitive acts are mostly attributed to officials and much less to political actors.

6. Discussion

Given the frame of news reporting practices, we have so far explored choices of SRVs and news voices. Thus, we can eventually compare the stylistic profile of the two newspapers in relation to the ways ID functions as a factor which affects register variation and constructs ideological attitudes.

Concerning N, neutral reporting verbs oscillate between neutrality and markedness, between a "formal" emphasis on the politicians' discourse and the effacing –by using passive voice– of the sources of reported discourse. Clarification assertives introduce a) political argumentation or critique, and/or b) the factuality of information through a deixis of written sources. Diffusion of information assertives mainly foregrounds the ritual and authoritative character of the politicians' discourse. In addition, both the *illocution* and the *locution* of all non assertive speech acts (requests,

commitments etc.) are affected by an argumentative perspective and/or a political information orientation.

N relies mainly on news sources such as political figures or political institutions. However, only rarely is voice also given to news actors involved in legal cases (accused, victims etc.), something that legitimizes the mid-market tradition of the newspaper. At any rate, the modes of linguistic labelling of the sources show that N adopts a basically personalized view of politics holding ideological prejudice about the leaders of 'hostile' states or the representatives of opposite political views. Moreover, there are indications of a rather biased approach towards women's voices. Concerning the inanimate sources, the newspaper often cites legal or political texts and decisions, serving thereby the journalistic conventions of objectivity.

Concerning K, the use of neutrals indicates a greater consistency of register: neutrality here is in accordance with the formal and official character of discourse configuration. Clarification assertives are often used in a precise contextual frame of the discourse instance, something that implies a careful control of news sources, while 'deictic' assertives such as 'episiméno' (to point out) are attributed mainly to scientists or experts, but not to politicians. The use of information diffusion assertives is kaleidoscopic: every social group with a public profile can state or support something. Directive, commissive and expressive speech acts bear a political, social or legal content, keeping also their ritual character. Finally, thought reporting verbs introduce logical (deductive or evaluative) inferences.

K relies on a wide range of voices: from politicians –leaders or not– to scientists and distinguished professionals or several syndicates. Individuals of low social prestige or reliability are not news sources, something that proves K to be an up-market newspaper. The linguistic representation of voices in K justifies an 'institutional' and socially oriented view of public affairs. Emphasis is placed on the institutional roles of political figures, but not on their personality. Moreover, the reference to non-political figures or groups shows that for K the affairs of public interest are not restricted only to the so called 'official' politics. Scientific knowledge, technology and its applications are authorized as equally important news sources. Finally, what concerns the inanimate sources, K takes advantage of a variety of written documents, official papers or announcements of non-governmental organizations or syndicates.

7. Conclusion
Indirect discourse in the media seems to constitute not just an established linguistic mechanism of monologic representation of the other's speech or thoughts. From the perspective of a critical approach, ID operates as a differentiating factor of stylistic profile and ideological stance. This is reinforced by the fact that reported discourse constitutes the real 'essence' of news reports, when these are mainly issue reports rather than news stories. Analysis has so far shown that N and K represent two different practices of journalistic writing within Greek news reporting. N privileges current politics among all fields of public life and expresses a personalized version of politics through specific linguistic choices that verge on non-formality and orality. Personalization as a news reporting and ideological value sustains the newspaper's preferences for negative events of private interest that actually serve to attract the emotional interest of the reader. K, on the other hand, proves to be a newspaper interested in social and not just in political democracy, in science and knowledge.

Without adopting a politically critical stance towards the 'system', K allows the voices of less powerful social and professional groups to be heard. Linguistic choices are far removed from low variety, while formality −excluding emotional language compromises or easy value judgments− does not prevent the newspaper to represent in detail news actors as roles rather than individualities.

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