Discourse, Context and Media 11 (2016) 27–37

Contents lists available at ScienceDirect

Discourse, Context and Media

journal homepage: www.elsevier.com/locate/dcm

Voices and values in the news: News media talk, news values and attribution

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ARTICLE INFO

Available online 2 December 2015

Keywords:
News values
News media
Attribution
Reported speech
Voicing
Broadcast news

ABSTRACT

This paper explores how discourse analysis can be used to investigate the construction of newsworthiness in news media talk via the establishment of nine news values: Timeliness, Consonance, Negativity, Impact, Proximity, Unexpectedness, Superlativeness, Personalisation and Eliteness. It compares linguistic approaches to news values and discusses cognitive, social, material and discursive aspects of news values. Focusing on broadcast news, the paper illustrates how discursive news values analysis can be combined with analysis of attribution strategies. Analyses show how voices are integrated and how news values are combined and packaged. The paper argues that bringing together news values analysis and attribution analysis can provide detailed insights into journalistic practice.

1. Introduction: news values

This paper concerns discursive news values analysis (DNVA) or the question of how we can use linguistically-informed discourse analysis to explore the construction of newsworthiness in news texts. It builds on previous joint research (Bednarek and Caple, 2012a, 2012b, 2014), but addresses some issues that have not yet been explored in great detail, with a particular focus on attribution and broadcast news.

While the concept of news values originated outside linguistics (Galtung and Ruge, 1965, using the term *news factors*), some – although not all – linguistic scholars who research news media have also provided definitions.[1] These scholars consider news values as principles of selection, professional criteria, cognitive constraints, audience preferences, and qualities of items:

- "principles of inclusion and exclusion may be summed up under the heading of news values" (Montgomery, 2007: 5);
- news values are "the criteria employed by journalists to measure and therefore to judge the 'newsworthiness' of events" and to "select, order and prioritise the collection and production of news" (Richardson, 2007: 91);
- news values are "the values by which one 'fact' is judged more newsworthy than another" (Bell, 1991: 155);
- news values are constraints that "have a cognitive representation" (van Dijk, 1988: 121), providing "the cognitive basis for decisions about selection, attention, understanding, representation, recall, and the uses of news information in general" (van Dijk, 1988: 119);
- "news values are the (*imagined*) preferences of the expected audience" (Richardson, 2007: p. 94, italics in original);
- news values are "the qualities that make a news item 'newsworthy'" (Cotter, 2010: 67).

From these definitions, it is apparent that news values are seen by linguists as playing an important role in the news process: journalists measure and judge the perceived newsworthiness of events based on what they imagine their audiences find newsworthy and use this judgment to select (include/exclude), order and produce news stories.[2]

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[1] For reasons of scope, I strictly focus on linguists here, therefore excluding scholars such as Bignell (2002), Conboy (2007) and Hartley (1982); see cross-disciplinary review in Caple and Bednarek (2013).

[2] Note that there is some debate about the extent to which journalists write *for* the audience and how informed they are about that audience. For instance, Green (1999) notes that the conditions in Australian newspaper newsrooms are not conducive to implementing audience research successfully, and Ewart's (1997) study of an Australian regional daily newspaper found that journalists have ideas about "typical" readers, but "say they did not generally consider readers when writing stories, but thought more about the editorial hierarchy and its members' reactions" (Ewart, 1997: 93). On the other hand, Bell (1991), a former journalist turned linguist, provides empirical evidence for what he calls *audience design* (how linguistic style is adapted to a news outlet's readership), which can also be seen in the linguistic differences between the 'popular' and the 'quality' press (Bednarek 2006a: 203). It is also clear that audience metrics (including information about most clicked, viewed, liked, shared, etc.) are influencing 21st century newsrooms (e.g. Bell, 2015).

http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.dcm.2015.11.004
2211-6958/

Table 1
Approaches to *news values*.

van Dijk (1988: 120)	Bell (199: 156–160)	Caple and Bednarek (2013)
"News values formulated in the economic terms of news production": e.g. sales/subscriptions, budgets, amount of advertising, limitations of space, beliefs/opinions of news actors and the public, number of reporters, agency subscriptions, competition		
"Closely tied to the social routines of newsgathering and organisational production": periodicity/deadlines, news organisation into sections, accessibility of sources (elites)	Values in the news process: continuity, competition, co-option, composition, predictability and prefabrication	News selection factors: *any* factor or criterion impacting on whether or not an event gets covered or a story becomes published, not necessarily values
	Values in news actors and events: negativity, recency, proximity, consonance, unambiguity, unexpectedness, superlativeness, relevance, personalisation, eliteness, attribution and facticity	News values: values relating to the newsworthiness of events and actors
	Values in the news text: brevity, clarity and colour	News writing objectives: general goals associated with news writing, such as clarity of expression, brevity, colour, accuracy, etc.

Table 2
Dimensions of news values.

Material: an event in its material reality holds potential news value	*What are an event's potential news values?*
Cognitive: news workers and audience members have beliefs about news values and newsworthiness	*What beliefs do news workers and/or audience members hold about news values?*
Social: news values are applied as selection criteria in journalistic routines and practices	*How do news workers apply news values as criteria in selecting what events to cover and publish?*
Discursive: news values can be established/constructed or negotiated through discourse	*How are news values communicated through discourse, pre-, during, and post-news production and in news products?*

However, linguists have included different aspects of the news process under the heading of *news values*. As Table 1 shows, van Dijk (1988) and Bell (1991) take a broad approach and include a variety of economic and newsgathering aspects. This contrasts with Bednarek and Caple (2012a: 41) and Caple and Bednarek (2013), who restrict the term *news values* to Bell's category of "values in news actors and events". They agree with Cotter (2010: 80) that factors such as space, content mix, deadlines and others are best treated as "factors other than newsworthiness" which impact on news production. The remainder of this paper makes use of the term *news values* in this narrow sense.

Like other values, news values can be considered to have cognitive, social and discursive aspects: in van Dijk's (1998) words, values are culturally "shared mental objects of social cognition" (74); they are "applied by social members in a large variety of practices and contexts" (74), and discursive strategies may establish (p. 262), select, or emphasise specific values (p. 286). While van Dijk makes these points about values in general, we may also consider *news* values to have these three dimensions (cognitive, social, discursive). In addition, a fourth dimension can be recognised: a 'material' dimension.[3] Each dimension corresponds to a different research perspective on news values, as suggested in Table 2.

However, in much news values research, these four dimensions are not clearly distinguished, and at times conflated. O'Neill and Harcup (2008) point out that "discussion of news values sometimes blurs distinctions between news *selection* and news *treatment*" (O'Neill and Harcup, 2008: 171, italics in original).[4] Montgomery (2007: 10) notes that "the epistemological status of the 'factors' [news values] is somewhat ambiguous" .

Following Bednarek and Caple (2012a), this paper takes a *discursive* perspective on news values, albeit with a focus on language and excluding other semiotic resources. Newsworthiness is thus treated as a quality of news media talk and text, and news values are conceptualised as the 'newsworthy' aspects of actors and events as constructed through linguistic resources. Most previous comments on the relationship between language and news values (Bednarek, 2006a; Bell, 1991; Cotter, 2010) appear to suggest that news values exist independently of language or prior to the news text and/or assume a mono-directional process, one where news values 'drive' or become 'embedded' in language. In contrast, referring to news values as 'constructed' or 'established' emphasises the constitutive dimension of texts in what Fairclough sees as the dialectical relationship between texts and society/culture, where "[t]exts are socioculturally shaped but they also constitute society and culture, in ways which may be transformative as well as reproductive" (Fairclough, 1995: 34). It is also in line with the assumption that cognitive representations are "(re)produced as well as (re)constructed by social practices" (van Dijk, 1998: 228), including discourse. Using the words 'construct' or 'establish' aims to emphasise the 'bottom-up' aspect of social reproduction, where social practices sustain, continue and change the system (van Dijk, 1998: 229), without denying that there is also a 'top-down' aspect of social reproduction. In sum, this constructivist approach is not intended to be anti-cognitivist, anti-material or anti-ethnographic, but rather presented as complementary to existing approaches.

In theory, a discursive perspective can be applied to the various phases of the news process: from story conceptualization, story construction, and story position to evaluation of the reporting (see Cotter, 2010: 73 for these stages). In practice, I have started by systematising the linguistic resources used to construct news values in published/broadcast news stories, working with a list of nine news values, as explained in Section 2.

[3] The use of the term *material* is inspired by John Richardson (Bednarek and Caple, 2012b: 103).

[4] Galtung and Ruge (1965) themselves distinguish three elements: *selection* (events that satisfy news factors will be selected); *distortion* (once selected, the news media accentuate what makes news items newsworthy), and *replication*, meaning that selection and distortion occurs "at all steps in the chain from event to reader" (p. 71).

Table 3
Comparing linguists' conceptualisations of news values.

van Dijk (1988): "cognitive constraints that define news values" (121)	Bell (1991): "values in news actors and events" (156)	Montgomery (2007): news values	This paper: news values
Novelty: "news should … be about new events" [not already known by readers] (121)		Recency/Timeliness: "News … deals by definition with 'the new' [new information of recent happenings]" (5)	Timeliness: The event is timely in relation to the publication date: new, recent, ongoing, about to happen or otherwise relevant to the immediate situation/time (current or seasonal)
Recency: "the events described be … recent, within a margin of between one and several days" (121)	Recency: "the best news is something which has only just happened" (156)		
Consonance: "News should be consonant with socially-shared norms, values, and attitudes" (121)	Consonance: "the compatibility with preconceptions about the social group or nation from which the news actors come"; "People have a mental script for how certain kinds of events proceed. Environmental issues, demonstrations, or superpower summits are all perceived to have a typical pattern which they follow. These events will tend to be seen in terms of the script" (157)	Consonance: "classes of event that trigger a 'news script' that strongly determines the shape of coverage" (8); "Even the unexpected event can in its coverage assume familiar contours" (8)	Consonance: The event (including the people, countries or institutions involved) is (stereo)typical in the view of the target audience
Deviance and Negativity: "much news is about negative events such as problems, scandals, conflict, crime, war, or disasters" (123)	Negativity: "the basic news value"; "news is bad" (156) [includes damage, injury, death, disasters, accidents, conflict, war reporting, deviance]	Negativity: "Bad news makes good news." [e.g. war reporting, crime, accident, earthquake, famine, epidemics, disaster, execution] (8) Conflict: "Conflict between opposing parties" [e.g. strikes, divorce, war, election campaigns] (7)	Negativity: The event is negative for the news publication's target audience, for example an environmental disaster, crime, act of violence, opposition, conflict, controversy, etc
Relevance: "information is preferred about events or actions that are relevant for the reader" (122)	Relevance: "the effect on the audience's own lives or closeness to their experience" (157)		Impact: The event has significant effects or consequences (including but not limited to *direct* impact on the news publication's target audience)
Proximity: "local [village, town, country, continent] and ideological proximity"	Proximity: "geographical closeness can enhance news value"; "related is … the cultural familiarity and similarity of one country with another" (157)	Proximity/Cultural relevance: "The further removed an event from the news centre the less relevance it has for the news outlet" [includes geographical distance and cultural distance] (8-9)	Proximity: The event is geographically or culturally near the news publication's target audience
	Unexpectedness: "the unpredictable or the rare is more newsworthy than the routine. Closely related is NOVELTY [in the sense of 'newness']." (157)	Unexpectedness: "the novel, the atypical and the unusual" (8)	Unexpectedness: The event is unexpected for the news publication's target audience
	Superlativeness: "the biggest building, the most violent crime, the most destructive fire gets covered" (157)	Scale/Scope: "of a scale large enough to warrant attention" (6)	Superlativeness: The event is of high intensity or large scope/scale (in the view of the target audience)
	Personalisation: "indicates that something which can be pictured in personal terms is more newsworthy than a concept, a process, the generalised or the mass" (158)	Personalisation: "People have news value in a way that processes do not" (7); human reactions create human interest (7)	Personalisation: The event has a personal or 'human' face involving non-elite actors, including eyewitnesses
	Eliteness: "reference to elite persons such as politicians or film stars"; "the elite nations of the First World are judged more newsworthy than the non-elite nations of the South" (158) Attribution: "the eliteness of a story's sources", "elite on some dimension, particularly socially validated authority" (158)	Power: "involves people with power – however this may be defined" [e.g. presidents, princesses, prime ministers, popes] (7), and "powerful organisations, powerful nations and power blocs of various kinds" (8)	Eliteness: The event (including but not limited to the people, countries or institutions involved) is of high status or fame in the eyes of the news publication's target audience.
	Unambiguity: "the more clearcut a story is, the more it is favoured." (157)	Meaningfulness/unambiguity: "material whose meaning can be presented as if clear-cut and unambiguous rather than cloudy and complex" (9)	
	Facticity: "the degree to which a story contains the kinds of facts and figures on which hard news thrives: locations, names, sums of money, numbers of all kind" (158)		
Presupposition: "The evaluation of novelty and recency presupposes extant knowledge and beliefs…. Presupposed information … may need partial expression" (121)			

Table 3 (*continued*)

van Dijk (1988): "cognitive constraints that define news values" (121)	Bell (1991): "values in news actors and events" (156)	Montgomery (2007): news values	This paper: news values
		Intensity/Discontinuity: events that are "sharper and more temporally bounded"; events that "go critical" and "can be condensed to a narrow event such as economic slump, famine or the melting of an ice-cap"; "an event which represents a sudden deviation from the norm" (6)	

2. Defining specific news values

Table 3 compares the nine news values used in this paper with those that other linguists have recognised, in no particular order.[5]

The nine news values used in this paper are Timeliness, Consonance, Negativity, Impact, Proximity, Unexpectedness, Superlativeness, Personalisation and Eliteness, as defined in Table 3. The organising principle behind their conceptualisation is Ockham's Razor, which states that we should use no more explanatory concepts than are absolutely necessary. This means that related concepts are included in one general news value rather than establishing an additional value for each related concept. Thus, van Djik's Novelty (in the sense of 'newness') is included in Timeliness, which covers a range of time-related concepts that are mentioned in news values research, including newness, recency, immediacy, and currency. Similarly, Montgomery's Conflict is included in Negativity, in agreement with van Dijk and Bell, who list conflict as an example of Negativity rather than postulating it as a separate news value. This is also the case for Bell's Attribution, which is included in Eliteness, because it relates to the eliteness of sources. To give a final example, Montgomery's Intensity/Discontinuity seems to refer both to an 'intense' event or 'a sudden deviation from the norm'. The former is covered in Superlativeness, while the latter is covered in Unexpectedness. The aim is a general framework of the basic underlying values. Sub-categories could be established by researchers if required for more delicate analysis (e.g. Fig. 1).

A further difference is that Impact is included, rather than Relevance. Relevance, as defined by van Dijk seems rather vague ('relevant for the reader'), while there is overlap with Proximity in Bell's definition, since he includes 'closeness' to the audience's experience. Note also Montgomery's use of the term *Proximity/Cultural relevance*. It seems a better solution, then, to avoid the relatively general term *relevance* altogether, and to restrict Impact to effects or consequences, while both geographical and cultural closeness are included in Proximity – which indeed has the meaning of 'closeness' or 'nearness'.

Further concepts that are excluded are Facticity, Presupposition (both listed by only one linguist in Table 3) and Unambiguity (listed by two). While there is no doubt that facticity is important in the language of news, it is excluded here because of our focussed definition of news values (cf. Section 1). Facticity does not concern actors or events; rather it concerns the amount of evidence gathered 'about' a story, its truthfulness/factual status, or the credibility of the news organisation, and might thus be considered a 'meta'-value (Bednarek and Caple, 2014: 152). This can be gleaned from Bell's (1991: 158) definition: "the degree to which *a story* contains the kinds of facts and figures on which hard news thrives: locations, names, sums of money, numbers of all kinds" (italics mine). Thus, I would say that a story, rather than a reported event, is (constructed as) factual and reliable through the use of numbers, etc. Presupposition and Unambiguity are also not concerned with news values in a narrow definition but rather with presupposed information and news writing objectives.

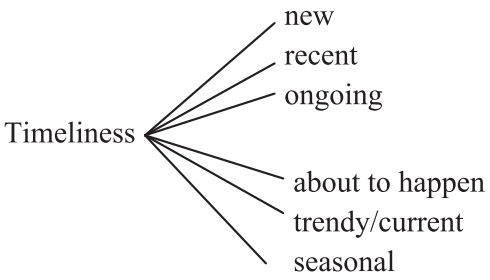

Fig. 1. Possible sub-categories for one news value.

Finally, the definitions aim to take into consideration contextual factors such as the time and place of publication and its target audience, since all news values are "situationally sensitive" (Montgomery, 2007: 6). For instance, a news story that mentions *New Zealand* will construct Proximity in a newspaper published in Australia with an Australian target audience, but not in a newspaper published in Germany with a German target audience. A reference to an event having happened *on Sunday* will construct more Timeliness in a news story published on the following Monday or Tuesday than one published on the following Friday. To give a final example, certain target audiences might perceive particular happenings as negative, while others would not (e.g. immigration, carrying a gun, marriage equality, deregulation of university fees, cycling infrastructure). Other events would probably be evaluated as negative by many (death, famine, crime). When considering news values it is thus important to consider the target audience, even if this may not always be a unified group – especially when controversial issues are concerned or issues that are relevant to particular sub-groups. Often, the news text will give clues how the audience is positioned (for further discussion of this issue see Bednarek & Caple, in progress).

3. Discursive news values analysis (DNVA)

Discursive news values analysis (DNVA) is concerned with how language and other semiotic systems establish newsworthiness. I provide here an updated summary of linguistic resources that have the potential to construct these nine news values, with more complete versions published elsewhere (e.g. Bednarek and Caple, 2014):

1. **Timeliness** (timely in relation to publication/broadcast): indications of newness or change (*fresh, new, latest, for the first*

[5] As explained above, news values are approached in this paper as relating to actors/events. Therefore, other aspects conceptualised by van Dijk, Bell or Montgomery as 'news values' (e.g. composition/fit) are not discussed here. While Table 3 focuses on researchers' lists, Cotter (2010: 68) makes the point that what she calls "in-group taxonomies" (textbook lists of news values, with the key news values of Timeliness, Proximity and Prominence) differ to those of "outsiders" (lists compiled by researchers).

time…); explicit time references (*today, yesterday, within days, now…*); implicit time references (*continues, ongoing, have begun to…*), verb tense and aspect (*have been trying, is preparing, is about to…*); references to seasonal or current happenings/ trends.

2. **Consonance** ([stereo]typical): evaluations of expectedness (*routine for, famed for…*); similarity with past (*yet another, markedly similar to, typical style, once again…*); constructions of stereotypes.
3. **Negativity** (negative aspects): negative evaluative language (*terrible, dangerous, slaughter…*); reference to negative emotion and attitude (*distraught, worried; condemn, criticise…*); negative lexis (*conflict, damage, death, crisis, abuse, controversial, row…*), other references to negative happenings (e.g. the breaching of socially approved behaviour/norms).
4. **Impact** (having significant effects or consequences): evaluations of significance (*momentous, historic, crucial…*); reference to real or hypothetical important or relevant consequences (*note that will stun the world, Australia could be left with no policy, leaving scenes of destruction…*).
5. **Proximity** (geographically/culturally near): explicit references to place or nationality near the target audience (*an Australian; Australia, Canberra woman…*); references to the nation/community (*the **nation**'s capital; **home**-grown…*); inclusive first person plural pronouns (***our** nation's leaders…*).
6. **Unexpectedness** (unexpected aspects): evaluations of unexpectedness (*different, astonishing, strange…*), comparisons that indicate unusuality (*the first time since 1958, Sydney's wettest August in 16 years*); references to surprise (***shock** at North Cottesloe quiz night; people just really **can't believe it**…*); references to unusual happenings (*British man survives 15-storey plummet…*).
7. **Superlativeness** (of high intensity or large scope/scale): quantifiers (*many, all, thousands…*); intensifiers (*sensational, dramatically, super, severe, extreme…*), including intensified lexis (*epidemic, smashed, stun, wreck…*); references to growth/escalation (*growing, raised…*), repetition (*building after building…*); some instances of metaphor/personification/simile (*a tsunami of crime; epidemic swallowing Sydney, looked like the apocalypse…*); comparison (*biggest counter-terrorism raid, most shocking child abuse case…*).
8. **Personalisation** (having a personal or 'human' face): references to 'ordinary' people, their emotions, experiences (*Charissa Benjamin and her Serbian husband; "It was pretty bloody scary'; But one of his victims* […] *sobbed; Deborah … said afterwards: 'My sentence has only just begun'…*).
9. **Eliteness** (of high status or fame): various status markers, including labels, recognised names, evaluations of importance, descriptions of achievement (*experts at Harvard university, a high-profile arrest, Barack Obama, the Oscars, a key federal government minister, top diplomats, were selling millions of records a year…*).

This list should not be taken as an automatic checklist and analyses must take into account context and use. This means paying close attention to the meaning potential of the linguistic resource as it is used in the news story, as well as to the intended target audience. Further, the list applies to prototypical news stories (rather than say, business or sports news or letters to the editor, obituaries, current affairs programs, etc) and additional resources for broadcast news bulletins may need to be added, as most previous work was undertaken on print news. For instance, I have not yet explored sound features such as stress/emphasis, intonation, prosody etc. (but see van Leeuwen, 1984, 1992).[6]

[6] NB: In examples 1 and 5 below, marked emphasis on words is clearly used to stress the news values of Unexpectedness and Negativity/Superlativeness, which

Two examples will be used to briefly illustrate how a discursive news values analysis of published/broadcast news stories might proceed, using radio news podcasts.[7]

(1) In an **unexpected** development **no** bodies **have been found** inside **Christchurch**'s **quake-ravaged** cathedral (Radio New Zealand Morning Report, Midday News for 5 March 2011)

In example 1, the evaluative adjective *unexpected* and the negative determiner *no* establish the development of events as contrasting to what one would have expected to happen (Unexpectedness). In addition, references to *Christchurch* construct the happening as geographically close to the New Zealand target audience. The use of the present perfect (*have been found*) suggests that the event has recently been completed (Timeliness) and the intensified adjective *quake-ravaged* encapsulates the negative impact of the earthquake on the cathedral, simultaneously constructing Negativity, Impact and Superlativeness.

(2) Correspondent: **Tokyo is a city well-known for its work ethic** but for another day company owners told some employees to stay home to conserve electricity.
(NPR 7 A.M. News Summary, 18 March 2011)

In example 2, the use of the timeless present and the reference to general knowledge (*is well-known for*) refer to received knowledge around Tokyo in particular and the Japanese in general (the stereotype of being hard-working). This establishes Consonance, which is, however, immediately countered through use of a contrasting statement introduced by the conjunction *but*. This contrast establishes the news value of Unexpectedness, since the event is in contrast to what one would expect the 'hard-working Japanese' to do.

The aims of discursive news values analysis of news stories are at least two-fold: one, to comprehensively analyse what values are emphasised or de-emphasised in news stories; second to identify *how* news values are constructed linguistically (e.g. via recurring phraseologies, figurative devices, rhetorical strategies). Examining how events are endowed with newsworthiness by the news media shows which aspects of the event are emphasised, and reveals the shape in which events are packaged for news consumption by audiences. There is also value in showing how news values are constructed, which aids the identification of common conventions and clichés of news reporting and provides insight into news as linguistic practice (Potts et al., 2015).

4. News values and attribution

So far, DNVA has not paid much attention to intra-textual concerns, for instance combining news values analysis with analysis of attribution strategies, i.e. the use of reported speech and thought.[8] This is despite the recognised fact that "[r]eported speech is … an essential ingredient of news language" (Leitner, 1986: 191). This paper aims to somewhat rectify this neglect.

There is a wealth of linguistic studies on attribution in the news,[9] whether on print news (e.g. Bednarek, 2006a, b; Caldas-Coulthard,

(*footnote continued*)
are established by grammatical (negation) and lexical (intensified negative verb) resources: *no bodies were found; whose hopes were once again dashed.*

[7] For reasons of scope I use only orthographic transcription in this paper and restrict analysis to lexical and grammatical devices.

[8] An exception is Chapter 9 in Bednarek and Caple (2012a), which analyses only two videos.

[9] For reasons of scope, I strictly focus on linguistic research on how voices are represented here, therefore excluding research from Journalism/Communications Studies on interactions between sources and journalists (e.g. Gans, 1979) and news

1994; Calsamiglia and López Ferrero, 2003; Clark 2010, Dahl and Fløttum, 2014; Fairclough, 1988; Garretson and Ädel, 2008; Geis, 1987; Richardson, 2007; White, 2012) or broadcast news (e.g. Leitner, 1986; Lombardo, 2004; Piazza 2009; Wortham and Locher, 1996), including identification of the different voices that can be identified (e.g. Montgomery, 2007: 87–88). There is broad agreement that factors such as the following may be distinguished (not necessarily applying equally across print/broadcast news; cf. Zelizer, 1989):[10]

1) *Whose voice is it*? For instance, in the context of TV war news Haarman and Lombardo (2009) differentiate between news presenter, embedded reporter, correspondent, legitimated (high-status) person, vox populi (ordinary member of public), and military personnel (ordinary soldier). Both Tolson (2006) and Montgomery (2007) point out that broadcast news often features live interviews between the in-studio newsreader and an affiliated representative (e.g. in-field correspondent). User-generated content is also important (Lorenzo-Dus and Bryan, 2011).
2) *Where are voices located and how do we access them*? Are they in the studio or in the news field, seen on camera or heard as voice-over (Montgomery, 2007: 116)? Content attributed to other voices (e.g. in documents, graphs, emails, tweets) may also be inserted as a shot within a broadcast news story or superimposed onto the screen.
3) *How are voices identified*? Montgomery defines an *identifier* as "a specification of the grounds on which they [interviewees] speak" (Montgomery, 2007: 151). Identifiers may directly construct newsworthiness, as identification works to establish sources as authorities (e.g. *two senior Labour MPs, authorities, officials*) or 'ordinary' members of the public (e.g. *mother-of-two, panel-beater Colin McNamara*), constructing, respectively, Eliteness and Personalisation (Bednarek and Caple, 2012a, 2014). This also works for unnamed sources, with labels claiming "standing" (Bell, 1991: 193; Stenvall, 2008) or Eliteness for them.[11]
4) *How are other voices integrated*? A range of options are available here, from direct discourse to indirect discourse or unattributed discourse (Fairclough, 1988; Leitner, 1986; Piazza, 2009; Zelizer, 1989).
5) *What reporting expression is used to introduce content, if any*? It is widely recognised that different reporting expressions encode meanings ranging from the mere act of saying (*say, tell*) to the illocutionary force (*promise, threaten*), relation to surrounding discourse (*reply, add*), institutional context (*rule*) or paralinguistic features (*whisper, scream*) of the utterance (e.g. Bednarek, 2006a; Caldas-Coulthardt, 1994) or according to other types of meaning, such as degrees of reliability or dis/endorsement (e.g. Calsamiglia and López Ferrero, 2003, White, 2012).

In relation to point 4 above, Leitner (1986) recognises six options for broadcast news. Bell (1991) mentions five ranks, arguing that "[t]here is a hierarchy of talk in news stories which ranks it according to the degree in which the original verbatim input is reproduced" (Bell, 1991: 205). Fairclough (1988) focuses on demarcation instead of hierarchy, proposing that in direct discourse, "the 'voice' of the reporter or the newspaper and the 'voice' of the person whose discourse is being represented" (126) are clearly demarcated, which is not the case in indirect and unsignalled discourse. Table 4 combines the three approaches, using the term *source* for Bell's term *newsmaker*. Note that Leitner and Fairclough position free indirect discourse differently, Leitner as close to direct quotation, Fairclough including it under his "unsignalled" option.

Drawing on the distinctions made in Table 4, I will now discuss a range of examples to illustrate how news values and attribution analysis might be combined. I will also refer to Montgomery's work on news interviews where relevant. Most examples are taken from a set of radio podcasts collected between December 2010 and April 2011 (Bednarek and Caple, 2012a: xiii), with some additional audio–visual examples collected for this paper. Since my focus is to illustrate the combination of news values analysis with analysis of attribution strategies, rather than to provide quantitative insights, examples were selected that exemplify well the different ways of integrating voices described in Table 4.

4.1. One voice: news presenter

Despite the importance of attributed speech in the news, there are instances without other 'voices', where newsworthiness is constructed solely by the institutional voice. In example 3 (in Table 5), the female news presenter seen at the beginning is the only one speaking, the only 'voice' heard, and no other voices are integrated via attribution. In combination with the visuals, which I will not analyse here, her talk (on camera and voiceover) establishes newsworthiness by constructing Proximity through place references (e.g. *South-East Queensland; Brisbane; The Gold Coast*) – the more so, the closer to South-East Queensland the Australian audience is located. Her talk also constructs Eliteness through mentioning the state's emergency services as an authority (*emergency services*), Superlativeness through intensification and quantification (*battered; a second round … in as many days; more than 70; more than a hundred kilometres an hour; up to 60 mm; wild*), (negative) Impact (*battered; calls for help; receiving … rain*),[12] and Timeliness (underlined): Although no time is specified, the presumption is recency, and the event is constructed as ongoing through *set to continue over the week-end*. It is the news presenter (in combination with the visuals) who establishes newsworthiness here.

4.2. Multiple voices

According to Montgomery, "in most broadcast news the discourse supplied by the institutional voice is supplemented and elaborated by a range of other voices – some, such as correspondents and reporters, affiliated to the institution, some, such as politicians, bystanders, experts and witnesses, not" (Montgomery, 2007: 87–88). When multiple voices are combined to construct the newsworthiness of an event, we can consider the various aspects of attribution outlined in Table 4.

(*footnote continued*)
source diversity (e.g. Sigal, 1973; Brown et al., 1987). This research asks questions such as 'how *prominently,* as well as how *often* different kinds of sources appear' as well as 'how frequently different kinds of sources are cited anonymously' (Hallin et al., 1993: 753, italics in original). Some of these studies focus specifically on how 'ordinary' people/citizens are represented in the news (e.g. Massey, 1998; Lewis et al., 2005).

[10] Additional options include whether or not aspects of the interactional context, such as references to conversational participants or eliciting questions, are reported (Clayman, 1990; Geis, 1987), the use of "second-hand hearsay" (Geis, 1987: 86) or "nested speech" (Garretson and Ädel, 2008: 178), the use of predicted, hypothetical or irrealis speech (Garretson and Ädel, 2008: 179; Geis, 1987: 88), and whether or not the source's utterance is translated or interpreted, which adds an additional layer of mediation (for example, interpreters speaking with an accent).

[11] Labels/identifiers also construct news value for other news actors, not just interviewees and other sources. See e.g. Bednarek (2006a), Bell (1991) and Jucker (1992).

[12] Where impact is constructed as negative, both Negativity *and* Impact are established simultaneously. However, impact need not be clearly negative. For instance, receiving a lot of rain is not necessarily negative in a country plagued by drought.

Table 4
Integration of voices.

Bell (1991): television, radio, press		**Leitner (1986): broadcast news**	**Fairclough (1988): press**
1 Film and voice of source (television), i.e. 'talking head'	"Variations of direct quotation conditioned by the technology of the medium, with the higher medium able to encompass the lower, but not vice versa." (205)	"Quote directly as either a constituent of such a text or a sound or synchronous film insert" (190)	N/A
2 Voice of source (radio)			N/A
3 Direct quotation of source (press)			Direct discourse
		Partial quotes	Sub-type "slipping", where a reporting clause partially incorporates a direct quote
		Free indirect speech "is closer to direct quotations (than is reported speech)" (190)	
4 Indirect speech of source	"The main method by which all media handle newsmakers' speech" (205)	Reported speech	Indirect discourse: reporting clause, shift of pronouns and deictics, back-shift of tense
		Attributing content but not form (e.g. *was announcing more job losses*)	
5 Unattributed embedding of source content		"Without attributing any … structural or semantic components to another source explicitly" (190)	Unsignalled: "what is clearly secondary discourse appears in primary discourse without being explicitly marked as represented discourse" (126), including free indirect discourse

4.3. Direct discourse/quote: eyewitness

It is a common practice to incorporate 'ordinary people' as eyewitness voices (e.g. Montgomery, 2007: 159) whose contribution establishes news value. Example 4 (in Table 6) is another storm video on the *Brisbane Times* website, which integrates different voices, alongside visuals. Similarly to example 3, the news presenter's on camera and voiceover talk constructs Proximity (e.g. *South-East Queensland*), Superlativeness (e.g. *more than 90 km an hour*), (negative) Impact (e.g. *properties damaged*)[13] and Timeliness (e.g. *over night*), although the event is not constructed as continuing into the near future and no Eliteness is established. In contrast to example 3, the news Presenter's talk frames an eyewitness contribution.[14] This contribution is not introduced via a reporting expression and the eyewitness is seen/heard directly (via on camera/voiceover direct discourse, i.e. rank 1). In her contribution, the eyewitness describes the storm's effects in her own words using negative lexis (e.g. *damaged/damage*), thereby constructing Negativity/Impact. She also uses quantification and intensification which establish the scope of the happening (e.g. *a lot of, very, very very*) – constructing Superlativeness. Additionally, she emphasises how surprising and unusual the extent of the damage is for her (e.g. *shocking, I just can't believe*) – constructing Unexpectedness. The use of the present tense establishes her reaction as immediate (Timeliness). Overall, this eyewitness account, from an 'ordinary' Australian – identified via caption simply as *Nicole McPhee, resident* – also provides a human face to the event (Personalisation).

There is no assumption here that the news organisation was not involved in the eyewitness's contribution: clearly, the source's talk is elicited, selected and edited by news professionals in the various stages of the news process. It is clear from the video, for example, that her first utterance is a reply to a reporter's question and that editing has occurred to splice her utterances together. As Montgomery notes, it is a common practice in news bulletins to insert interview fragments, often without reporting clauses, and that these only make sense "as embedded fragments of larger interviews conducted by the reporter in preparing the report" (Montgomery, 2007: 177). Table 7 illustrates the resulting packaging of news values in example 4.

4.4. Direct discourse/quote: relatives

'Ordinary people' are also integrated in their role as victims, "to give a viewpoint privileged by some kind of closeness to proceedings" (Montgomery, 2007: 156), including quotes from the relatives of affected news actors, especially when news organisations do not have access to the latter. Example (5) is an instance of such practice:

(5) Newsreader: And the wait continues for the parents of Australian journalist Peter Greste, whose hopes of release on bail were once again dashed in an Egyptian court over night.
Male voice [presumably Peter Greste's father]: I wouldn't want anybody to even remotely imagine that he's enjoying where he is now. It is extremely hard and yet er as parents we are just so so proud to know that he's handling it so well with such composure and dignity. (ABC, The World Today, 1/4/2014)

[13] There is also a reference to the event not having significant impact, at least in the context of claiming human lives (*Luckily no one was injured*), but this is presented at the very end of the report, not foregrounded – possibly because it arguably decreases the newsworthiness of the happening.

[14] I call her an eyewitness as she is labelled as a resident, having experienced and lived through the event.

Table 5
Example 3.

Shot of female news presenter	NEWS PRESENTER (TO CAMERA) South-East Queensland has been battered by a second round of storms in as many
Shots of rain, clouds, winds at various locations	NEWS PRESENTER (VOICEOVER) days. The state's emergency services responded to more than 70 calls for help as the system [?] battered parts of Brisbane and the Gold Coast. Wind gusts of more than a hundred kilometres an hour were recorded on the gold coast with the region receiving up to 60 mm of rain. The wild weather is set to continue over the week-end.

("Storms lash Brisbane", Nine News video embedded in *Brisbane Times* online content at http://media.brisbanetimes.com.au/news/national-news/storms-lash-brisbane-4923942.html,15/11/2013)

Table 6
Example 4.

Shot of female news presenter (to camera)	NEWS PRESENTER (TO CAMERA): Parts of South-East Queensland also took a battering over night.
Shots of damaged property, identified via caption as near Rosewood, Queensland	NEWS PRESENTER (VOICEOVER): The rural community around Rosewood west of Brisbane bore the brunt of the wild weather, with trees down and properties damaged. Winds reached speeds of more than 90 km an hour.
Shot of Nicole McPhee, identified via caption as *resident*, in front of damaged property	NICOLE MC PHEE (TO CAMERA): Well, this house here with the roof gone, a lot of trees down, um, fences damaged, seeing the livestock looking very shocked, so yeah it's very
Shot of damaged property	NICOLE MC PHEE (VOICEOVER) very shocking. But this is the first time that you've really seen the damage. We've seen
Shot of Nicole McPhee in front of damaged property	NICOLE MC PHEE (TO CAMERA) tin down on the roads and that kind of thing but this is like, I just can't believe this area is so damaged
Shots of damaged property	NEWS PRESENTER (VOICE-OVER): The storm dumped more than 60 mm of rain in less than an hour and left 18.000 homes without power. Luckily no one was injured.

("Storm was 'very shocking'" Ten Eyewitness News video embedded in *Brisbane Times* online content at http://media.brisbanetimes.com.au/news/national-news/storm-was-very-shocking-4951621.html, 25/11/2013)

This extract is about an Australian journalist who was in jail and on trial in Egypt, beyond direct access to the media. Instead, we hear from his father, as a surrogate victim. The newsreader in the studio identifies him indirectly (metonymically) as father (*the parents*), which is repeated in the source's contribution (*as parents we*). Such identifications establish sources as having "an entitlement to speak based upon a personal and particular connection with the news material" (Montgomery, 2007: 157).

It is unclear where the father is located (presumably at a press conference) and like in example 4 there is no reporting expression: we simply hear his voice, with the father's words integrated as a direct quote (rank 2). The content of the direct quote is interesting, as it represents both negativity and positivity: the negativity relates to Peter Greste's negative emotions and the evaluation of his situation as *extremely hard*, whereas the positivity relates to his parents' pride. I would argue that the father's talk here constructs the news values of Superlativeness and Negativity with respect to the news event (how hard it is), but also provides a personal human reaction (Personalisation), framing the event from the perspective of parental pride (how well Greste is handling it). In addition, Timeliness is established through the use of simple and progressive present tense and the adverb *now*, constructing the event as ongoing. In his discussion of experiential interviews, Montgomery argues that they give audiences "a version of what we might think, see, or feel if we too were close up in some way to the event" (Montgomery, 2007: 159). In discursive news values analysis I therefore interpret contributions by victims or their relatives as constructing the news value of Personalisation. Stories featuring affected individuals can thus be contrasted with more abstract stories, presenting viewers with statistics about press freedom, for instance.

The newsreader's preceding utterance also constructs Timeliness (*continues, over night*), Negativity/Superlativeness (*wait continues*; *hopes … were once again dashed*) and Personalisation (reference to Peter Greste's emotions and his parents' experience), but without including any positivity. In this example, there is a clear demarcation of the voice of the source and the voice of the news organisation, but at the same time, there is also reinforcement, as similar news values are constructed by both voices.

Table 7
Voices/news values.

Voice	News values
News presenter	Proximity
News presenter and eyewitness	Superlativeness, Negativity, Impact, Timeliness
Eyewitness	Unexpectedness, Personalisation

In addition to eyewitness (example 4) and victim (example 5), there are other roles that ordinary people may inhabit in broadcast news, without being so directly affected. For example, Montgomery notes that "short on-the-spot interviews amongst bystanders – vox pops – play an important role in offering a range of emotional reactions to the event" (177). Lewis et al. (2005: 71) see vox pops as a type of citizen participation. From the perspective taken here, such contributions also establish Personalisation, but the discussion will now move to integration of contributions by journalists.

4.5. Direct discourse/quote: correspondent

In his taxonomy of news interviews, Montgomery (2007: 117–143) describes in detail the live affiliated interview between news presenter and reporter/correspondent, without however integrating news values analysis. Example 6 is an instance of such an exchange and will here be discussed primarily in terms of newsworthiness.

(6) News reader: First to that attempted robbery and kidnap of a postal worker and his family in Dublin over night. Our crime correspondent Paul Reynolds is with us. Paul, what happened? Correspondent (Paul Reynolds): Well, it started at about half nine last night when about four armed and masked men entered the home of Liam O'Sullivan, now Liam O'Sullivan is **a very senior executive**, and I'm [?positive?] he's **one of the top ten executives** in the company […] (RTÉ Radio 1 News at One, 5 April 2011)

Example 6 is the beginning of an exchange between a news reader and a correspondent. Because this is an interview, no reporting expression is used and we hear the correspondent's words in his own voice (rank 2). His location is not specified, although *is with us* implies virtual, if not spatial proximity and he is identified as *our crime correspondent Paul Reynolds*. Because Reynolds is another journalist rather than a news actor, this label does *not* construct the news value of Eliteness. However, the label does imbue him with status and authority via his specialisation, justifying his contribution and adding value to it. It also confers value on the news organisation as a whole, establishing it as a trustworthy and authoritative organisation that employs such 'specialists'. It is important to make this distinction between creating value in the news event (constructing it as newsworthy) and creating value for the news organisation (see Bednarek and Caple (2015) for further discussion). The status of journalists can be further boosted by premodifiers, as in: *ABC's **chief** business correspondent Rebecca Jarvis*.

Without analysing this example in depth, what is interesting in this exchange between news reader and correspondent is that the news reader's talk only labels Liam O'Sullivan a *postal worker*, but the correspondent repeatedly emphasises his high status, evaluating and describing him as *a very senior executive* and *one of the top ten executives in the company*. It is the correspondent's contribution that establishes the news value of Eliteness here, constructing the affected news actor, Liam O'Sullivan, as a socially recognised elite professional. Montgomery (2007: 122) points out that the language of correspondents is often evaluative, and he argues their talk is about "doing being interesting", by which he means sounding lively and engaging. However, it is clear from this example that the talk by correspondents is *also* about establishing newsworthiness. This would be in line with Montgomery's observation that correspondents who are interviewed in a bulletin news programme "will be invited to give an assessment (or, maybe, an explanation) of the significance of the news material" (Montgomery 2007: 199) – if we consider newsworthiness a key aspect of the significance of the news material.

So far the emphasis was on direct quotes, but I will now briefly discuss partial quotes and indirect integration.

4.6. Slipping/partial quote

As noted above, the term *slipping* or *partial quote* refers to instances that integrate an incomplete direct quote. This is most easily seen in writing, as in *The report said there was a "significant disconnect" between what consumers expected of their policy and the reality of what it provided* (*The Sydney Morning Herald* online).[15] In contrast, example (7) shows an instance from an Australian radio programme:

(7) Newsreader: The Marshall Islands government criticises Australia's approach to climate change, calling it confusing and disappointing (ABC, The World Today, 1/4/2014)

In Example 7 we are provided with the newsreader's voice and do not hear the voice of the source directly, but the use of the reporting expression *calling it* seems to suggest that the adjectives *confusing* and *disappointing* are quoted verbatim. In other words, this verbal phrase signals that these are the exact words chosen by the Marshall Islands Government.[16]

At the same time, the voices are not clearly demarcated, as listeners only aurally experience the voice of the newsreader. In example 7, then, the newsreader constructs Eliteness through identification of the source (*The Marshall Islands government*) as well as Proximity for the Australian target audience (*Australia's*), with Negativity established both through the reporting expression *criticise* and the negative evaluative adjectives (*confusing*, *disappointing*) that are integrated via slipping (falling between ranks 3 and 4).

4.7. Indirect discourse/reported speech and thought

As mentioned in Table 4, the use of indirect discourse (with reporting clause and shifts of pronouns, deictics, tense, etc.) is, according to Bell (1991), "the main method by which all media handle newsmakers' speech" (205). Example (8) provides several examples of indirect speech in a radio news programme:

(8) Newsreader: The international court in The Hague found that Japan was not meeting the objectives of its research under International Whaling Commission rules. Japan has said it's disappointed by the decision but will abide by it. But some legal experts are cautioning environmentalists not to celebrate too soon, saying the decision could perversely lead to even more whale deaths. (ABC, The World Today, 1/4/2014)

Focussing only on the underlined sentence in example 8, we can see how the news organisation makes use of indirect discourse (rank 4) by sources that are constructed as elite (*legal experts*). The voices of the news organisation and the experts are not clearly demarcated here. The reporting expression *cautioning* and the reported utterances are used to emphasise the news value of Negativity, rather than focusing on what many Australian listeners might see as a positive outcome (the court decision). This is in line with assumptions that Negativity is "the basic news value" (Bell, 1991: 156) and Galtung and Ruge's original claim that "*negative* news will be preferred to positive news" (Galtung and Ruge, 1965: 69, italics in original). This is not to say that positivity does not occur in news discourse: van Dijk argues that "[n]egative news without positive elements of some kind is probably hard to digest" (van Dijk, 1988: 124), providing the example of attention to the police in crime news and rescue operations in disaster news. We have also seen positivity used in the construction of Personalisation (parental pride) in example 5 above. However, it appears that positivity may often be de-emphasised, especially in hard news stories.[17] We have already seen in example 4 that positivity may

[15] Esther Han, Private health insurers may be breaking the law by varying customers' policies: ACCC, http://www.smh.com.au/business/retail/private-health-insurers-blasted-for-confusing-customers-by-accc-20151020-gkddrz.html, accessed 20 October 2015.

[16] In print news, the use of *calling it* is often but not always followed by a word or phrase in quotation marks. The question is whether or not examples that lack direct quotes should be classified as examples of indirect discourse (because there are no quotation marks) or as examples of slipping (because of the use of *calling it*). If we assume that it is the use of *calling it* rather than the use of quotation marks that indicates a verbatim choice of words, then such instances in broadcast news should be considered examples of slipping. Leitner's (1986: 191) example for partial quotes is *what he called*.

[17] Positivity may play a more important role in soft news. Feez et al. (2008: 72) argue that newsworthiness is in essence about reporting both "destabilising"

be backgrounded by placing it at the very end of a news story (*Luckily, no one was injured*). Example 8 shows how potential positivity (*celebrating*) is nipped in the bud, so to speak, by contrasting it with negativity attributed to authoritative (elite) sources.

4.8. Unattributed/unsignalled

The final category to be discussed concerns what Bell (1991) calls 'unattributed' and Fairclough (1988) 'unsignalled' discourse (cf. Table 4). Here, source content is not explicitly marked as such, as seen in example (9):

(9) Correspondent: … **According to these newly released documents from the house panel investigating GM** it was a series of missteps by both GM and regulators that allowed the problem to go unaddressed for more than a decade. In 2002, GM approved using the faulty switches even after the outside vendor provided test results that showed GM the parts that didn't meet specifications. Then in 2005 GM engineers met to consider making changes to the switches, **according to the reports**, but decided against it.
(ABC/US World News with Diane Sawyer, 31/3/2014)

In example 9, the correspondent's underlined utterance is not explicitly attributed to anyone but listeners know that the information comes from the documents/reports that are explicitly mentioned before and after, using the neutral reporting expression *according to*. Thus, the utterance is an example of unsignalled discourse, where audiences might need to work harder to recognise the source of the reported content. In this example, the focus of the reported content is squarely on the news value of Negativity. But the identification of the documents used by the correspondent further constructs Timeliness (*newly released*) and Eliteness (*the house panel investigating GM*), signalling to the audience that this is new information provided by an authority. As Lemke (1998: 52) proposes, specifying a credible source increases the warrantability of attributed propositions (a similar argument is made in Fairclough, 1988: 131, and White, 2006, 2012). In a similar vein, van Leeuwen includes 'expert authority' as a legitimation strategy (van Leeuwen, 2008: 107).

5. Concluding remarks

This paper has discussed a range of issues around discursive news values analysis (DNVA) that have remained relatively unexplored so far. In addition to other aspects, I have illustrated how DNVA may be combined with analysis of attribution, which can show us both how sources are identified and how their talk is integrated. The latter has consequences for distinguishing clearly between voices or not and how news values are combined and packaged. Bringing together news values analysis and attribution analysis can provide detailed insights into the linguistic practices of journalism as evident in published texts. As Clayman puts it, "embedding practices constitute fundamental journalistic tools-of-the-trade, for it is through them that reporters and their audiences jointly construct the sense and import of reported speech" (Clayman, 1990: 100). It can tell researchers how news values are integrated, structured, presented and packaged in the form of consumable news products for audiences and how news organisation position themselves within discourse. Such analysis enables us to see whether audiences engage with the voice and authority of sources or of the news organisation (Bednarek and Caple, 2012a: 214) – whose version of events is presented and how visible is the news organisation in its reporting?

In this paper I have only focussed on language and have primarily used examples from broadcast news. Clearly, devices other than language also play a role in constructing newsworthiness and need to be taken into account when investigating the packaging of events as news (Caple, 2013b). Further research is also needed into the different ways in which newsworthiness is constructed across print, radio, TV, online and mobile news and into how the different resources and affordances of each medium are exploited to establish and package events as 'news'.

(*footnote continued*)
(negative) and "stabilizing" (positive) events. Conboy mentions the "feelgood" stories of the popular press (Conboy, 2002: 174) and ben-Aaron (2003) argues that stories about national holidays are neutral or positive. Compare also Caple and Bednarek (2013: 19) for Journalism scholars who claim that success or positivity may be a news value. More empirical research is needed into where and how positivity occurs in different kinds of news stories and news story genres. For instance, news stories reporting the death of a person would usually not emphasise negativity, unless the person was controversial or socially classified as a criminal or dictator for instance. Sports news may also exhibit more positive than negative emotivity (Caple 2013a: 285).

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